THE [illegible]
OF THE CHURCH

Together with an Appendix, containing a defenſe of ſuch partes and paſſages of the former Bookes, as haue bene either excepted againſt, or wreſted, to the maintenance of *Romiſh errours*.

By RICHARD FIELD, Doctour *of Diuinity*.

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The Epiſtle to the Reader.

AS in the daies of *Noe* they all periſhed in the waters, that entred not into the Arke prepared by Gods own appointment, for the preſeruation of ſuch as ſhould eſcape that fearefull and almoſt vniuerſall deſtruction: So is it a moſt certaine and vndoubted truth, good Chriſtian Reader, that none can flie from the wrath to come, and attaine deſired happineſſe, but ſuch as enter into that ſocietie of men which we call the Church, which is the choſen multitude of them whom God hath ſeparated from the reſt of the world, and to whom he hath in more ſpeciall ſort manifeſted himſelfe by the knowledge of reuealed truth, then to any other. So that nothing is more neceſſary to bee ſought out and knowne, then which, and where this happy ſociety of holy ones is, that ſo we may ioyne our ſelues to the ſame, and inherit the promiſes made vnto it; according to that of the holy Patriarch *Noe*: Bleſſed be the God of *Sem*, and let *Chanaan* be his ſeruant: the Lord perſwade *Iapheth* to dwel in the tents of *Sem*. The conſideration whereof moued me, when I was to enter into the controuerſies of theſe times, firſt and before all other things, carefully to ſeeke out the nature and being of this Church, the notes whereby it may be knowne, which it is amongſt all the ſocieties of men in the world, and what the priuiledges are that doe belong vnto it; of all which things I haue treated in thoſe foure Bookes of that argument, which not long ſince I offered to thy view and cenſure. Now it remaineth that in this inſuing Booke then promiſed, I ſhew in what ſort almighty God, who ſitteth betweene the Cherubins

rubines in this his holy Temple, reuealeth himselfe from off the mercy-seat, to such as by the calling of grace he hath caused to approach, and draw neere vnto himselfe; and how hee guideth, and directeth them, to the attaining of eternall felicity. Many and sundry waies did God reueale himselfe in ancient times, as it is in the Epistle to the Hebrewes. For sometimes he manifested himselfe to men waking, by visions; sometimes to men sleeping, by dreames; sometimes he appeared in a pillar of a cloud; sometimes in flaming fire; sometimes he came walking a soft pace among the trees of the garden, in the coole of the day; sometimes he rent the rocks, and claue the mountaines in sunder; sometimes he spake with a still and soft voyce; sometimes his thunders shooke the pillars of heauen, and made the earth to tremble, as in the giuing of the law, when he came downe vpon Mount *Sinai*; what time the people by *Moses* direction went forth to meet him: but when they heard the thunders, and the sound of the trumpet, and saw the lightnings, and the mountaine smoaking, they fledde and stood a far off, and said vnto *Moses*, Talke thou with vs, and we wil heare thee, but let not God talke with vs, lest wee die.

This their petition Almighty God mercifully granted, & knowing whereof they were made, resolued no more to speake vnto them in so terrible and feareful manner, but rather to put heauenly treasures into earthen vessels, that is, to enlighten the vnderstandings, and to sanctifie the mouthes and tongs of some amongst themselues, and by them to make knowne his will and pleasure to the rest. In this sort after the giuing of the law hee employed the Priests and Leuites in a set and ordinary course, appoynting that the people should seeke the knowledge of the same at their mouthes; and in case of great confusion, and generall defects of these ordinary guides, raised vp Prophets, as well to denounce his iudgements against offenders, and to reforme abuses; as also to foreshew the future state of things, and more and more to raise in men, a desire, hope, and expectation of the comming of the promised *Messias*, whom in the fulnesse of time he sent into the world as the happiest Messenger of glad tidings, that euer came vnto the sonnes of men, and the Angell of the great couenant of peace, causing this proclamation to be made before him, This is my welbeloued Sonne, in whom I am well pleased; heare him. In him were hid all the treasures of wisedome and knowledge, so that as

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it was sayd of him, He hath done all things well, so likewise that Neuer man spake, as he spake. But because he came not into this lower world, to make his abode here perpetually, but to cary vp with him into heauen, our desires first, and then our selues: after he had wrought all righteousnesse, and performed the worke for which he came, he returned backe to God that sent him. Choosing out some of them that had bene conuersant with him in the daies of his flesh, that had heard the words of his diuine wisedome, and were eye witnesses of all the things he did, and suffered; and sending them as his Father sent him, who were therefore named Apostles. These had many excellent preeminences, proper to those beginnings, and fit for the founding of Christian Churches: as immediate calling, infallibility of iudgement, generall commission, the vnderstanding and knowledge of all tongs, power to confirme their doctrine by signes and wonders, and to conferre the miraculous gifts of the Spirit vpon other also, by the imposition of their hands. In which things, when they had finished their course, they left none to succed them; yet out of their more large, ample, and immediate commissions, they authorized others to preach the Gospel, administer Sacraments, to bind and loose, and to performe other like Pastorall duties, sanctifying and ordaining them to this worke, by the imposition of hands. These they honoured with the glorious title of Presbyters, that is fatherly, guides of Gods Church and people; and knowing the weight of the burden they laid on their shoulders, added vnto them as assistantes, other of an inferiour degree and rancke, whom they named Deacons or Ministers. Amongst these fatherly guides of Gods Church and people, for the preuenting of dissention, the auoyding of confusion, and the more orderly managing of the important affaires of Almighty God, they established a most excellent, diuine, and heauenly order, giuing vnto one amongst the Presbyters of each Church, an eminent and fatherly power, so that the rest might do nothing without him: whom for distinctions sake, and to expresse the honour of his degree and place, afore and aboue other, wee name a Bishop. And farther, by a most wise disposition prouided, that amongst Bishops all should not challenge all things vnto themselues, but that there should be in seuerall prouinces, seuerall Bishops, who should be first and chiefe amongst the brethren: and againe constituted and placed certaine other, in greater cities,

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who might take care of more then the former. The former of these were named Metropolitanes, the later were knowne by the name of Patriarchs, or chiefe Fathers, who also in order & honour were one before and after another. By meanes of this order established by the Apostles of Christ among the guides of Gods people, and receiued and allowed by the first and Primitiue Christians, vnity was preserued, the parts of the Church holden fast together, in a band of concordant agreement; questions determined, doubtes cleared, differences composed, & causes aduisedly & deliberately heard, with all indifferency & equity. For how could there bee any breach in the Christian Churches, when none were ordained Presbyters in any Church, but by the Bishop, the rest of the Presbyters imposing their hands on them, together with him? None admitted to the degree and order of a Bishop, but by the Metropolitane, and other Bishops of the Prouince, sufficiently approuing that they did, to the people ouer which they set him? None receiued as a Metropolitane, vnlesse being ordained by the Bishops of the Prouince, vpon notice giuen of their orderly proceeding, and the sincerity of his faith and profession, hee were confirmed by the Patriarch? Nor none taken for a Patriarch, though ordained by many neighbour Bishops, til making knowne the soundnesse of his profession, and the lawfulnesse of his election and ordination, to the rest of the Patriarches, hee were allowed and receiued by them, as one of their rancke and order? Or what feare could there be of any wong, iniustice or sinister proceedings in the hearing of causes, and determining of controuersies, vnlesse there were in a sort a generall failing? When if there grew a difference betweene a Bishop and his Presbyters, or if either Presbyter, Deacon, or inferiour Clergy-man, disliked the proceedings of his Bishop, there lay an appeale to the Metropolitane, who had power to re-examine the matter in a Synode, and to see they were not wronged? And if either Clearke or Bishop, had ought against the Metropolitane, it was lawfull for them to appeale to the Primate, or Patriarch, who in a greater and more honorable Synode, was to heare the matter and to make a finall end? When if any variance rose betweene any of the Patriarchs and their Bishops, or amongst themselues, it was lawfull for the Patriarches that were aboue and before them, in order and honour, to interpose themselues, and with their Synods to iudge

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of ſuch differences; and in ſuch caſes as could not ſo be ended, or that concerned the faith, and the ſtate of the whole vniuerſall Church, there remained the iudgement, and reſolution of a generall Councell; wherein the Biſhop of the firſt Sea was to ſit as Preſident, and moderatour; and the other Biſhops of the Chriſtian world, as his fellow Iudges, and in the ſame commiſſion with him. This order continued in the Church from the Apoſtles times, and wrought excellent effects, til the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* firſt ſought, and after him the Biſhop of *Rome* obtained, to bee not onely in order and honour before the reſt, as anciently he had bin, but to haue an abſolute and vniuerſall commanding power ouer all, that either by fraud, or violence, hee could bring into ſubiection. Whence followed horrible confuſions in the Chriſtian Church, and almoſt the vtter ruine, and deſolation of the ſame. For after that this child of pride, had in this *Lucifer-like* ſort aduanced himſelfe aboue his brethren, he thruſt his ſickle into other mens haruеſts, he encroched vpon their boundes and limits; hee pretended a right to confer all dignities, whether elective or preſentatiue; to receiue appeales of all ſorts of men, out of all parts of the world; nay, without appeale or complaint, immediatly to take notice of all cauſes, in the Dioceſſes of all other Biſhops: ſo ouerthrowing their iuriſdiction, and ſeizing it into his owne handes. Hee exempted Presbyters from the iuriſdiction of their Biſhops, Biſhops of their Metropolitans, and Metropolitanes of their Primates and Patriarches; and leauing vnto the reſt nothing but a naked and empty title, tooke vpon him to determine all doubts and queſtions of himſelfe alone, as out of the infallibility of his iudgment; to excommunicate, degrade, and depoſe, and againe to abſolue, reconcile, and reſtore, and to heare and iudge of all cauſes, as out of the fulneſſe of his power. Neither did he there ſtay, but hauing ſubiected vnto him, as much as in him lay, all the members of Chriſts body, and trampled vnderneath his feete, the honour and dignity of all his brethren and collegues, he went forward, & challenged a right to diſpoſe of all the kingdomes of the world, as being Lord of Lords, and King of Kings. To this height he raiſed himſelfe by innumerable ſleights and cunning deuices, taking the aduantage of the ignorance, ſuperſtition, negligence, and baſe diſpoſition which he found to be in many of the guides of the

Church in thoſe daies, and by their helpe and concurrance, preuailing againſt the reſt that were of another ſpirit. Neither did hee demeane himſelfe any better after hee had attained to this his deſired greatneſſe; for ſuch was his pride, inſolencie, and tyranny, and ſuch, ſo many, and vnſupportable were the burthens hee laid on the ſhoulders of them that were no way able to beare them, that the voyces of complaint and murmuring were euery where heard, and the mindes of all men filled with diſcontentment, and deſire of alteration; which after many longing deſires of our anceſtours, hath beene effected in our time. God, at the laſt, hearing the cryes of his people, and ſtirring vp the heroicall ſpirits of his choſen ſeruants, to worke our deliuerance, to take the burthens from our ſhoulders, the yoke from our necke, and to bring vs out of that *Babylon*, wherein wee were captiues, and that ſpirituall *Egypt*, wherein wee were formerly holden in miſerable bondage. But as there were ſome of the children of the captiuity, that after long continuance abroad forgat *Hieruſalem*, and preferred *Babylon* before *Sion*, neuer deſiring to returne into their owne country any more: And as many of the *Iſraelites* brought out of the houſe of *Pharoahs* bondage by God himſelfe, and conducted by *Moſes* and *Aaron* to take poſſeſſion of *Canaan*, the land of promiſe, a land that flowed with mike and hony, in their heartes returned backe: ſo are there many that would neuer bee induced to come out of the ſpirituall *Babylon*; and other that are eaſily perſwaded to looke backe, and in their heartes to returne into *Egypt* againe. For the winning and gaining of the former, and the ſtaying of the latter, I haue indeauoured by the true deſcription of them out of the Scripture, and the authenticall records of antiquitie, to make it appeare, how farre *Canaan* exceedeth *Egypt*, and *Sion Babylon*, how different the gouernement of Chriſt is from that of *Antichriſt*: how happy the people are that liue vnder the one, and how miſerable their condition is, that are ſubiect to the other.

Beſeeching God, for his mercies ſake, to enlighten them that ſitte in darkneſſe, to bring backe them that are gone aſtray, to raiſe vp them that are fallen, to ſtrengthen them that

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ſtand, to confirme them that are doubtfull, to rebuke ſathan,
to put an end to the manifold vnhappy contentions of
theſe times, to make vp the breaches of *Sion*,
to build the wals of *Hieruſalem*,
and to loue it ſtill.

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The fifth booke is concerning the diuers degrees, orders, and callings of thoſe men, to whom the gouernment of the Church is committed.

Chap. 1
OF the Primitiue and firſt Church of God in the houſe of Adam, *the Father of all the liuing; and the gouernment of the ſame.*

Chap. 2 *Of the dignity of the firſt borne amongſt the ſons of* Adam, *& their Kingly, and Prieſtly direction of the reſt.*

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Chap. 8 *Of Prophets, and Nazarites.*

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Chap. 11 *Of the manifeſtation of God in the fleſh, the cauſes thereof; and the reaſon why the ſecond Perſon in the Trinity rather tooke fleſh, then either of the other.*

Chap. 12 *Of the manner of the vnion that is betweene the Perſon of the Son of God, & our nature in Chriſt, and the ſimilitudes brought to expreſſe the ſame.*

Chap. 13 *Of the communication of the properties of either nature in Chriſt, conſequent vpon the vnion of them in his Perſon, and the two firſt kinds thereof.*

Chap. 14 *Of the third kind of communication of properties, & the firſt degree thereof.*

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Chap. 18 *Of the nature and quality of the paſſion and ſuffering of Chriſt.*

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Chap. 28 *Of the diuision of the lesser Titles, and smaller Congregations or Churches, out of those Churches of so large extent, founded and constituted by the Apostles.*

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Chap. 44 *Of the Popes vniust claime of temporal dominion ouer the whole world.*

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THE FIFTH BOOKE, OF THE DIVERSE DEGREES, ORDERS AND CALLINGS OF THOSE men to whom the gouernement of the Church is committed.

CHAP. 1.

Of the Primitiue and first Church of God, in the house of Adam, the father of all the liuing, and the gouernement of the same.

ALMIGHTIE God, the fountaine of all being, who to manifest the glorie of his power, and the riches of his goodnesse, made all things of nothing, disposed and sorted the things he made into three seuerall rankes. For to some he gaue being without any apprehension or discerning of it. Others he made to feele, and sensibly discerne that particular good he was pleased to do vnto them: And to a third sort of a more eminent degree and qualitie, made after his owne image, he gaue generality of knowledge of all things, and extent of desire answerable thereunto; causing them without all restraint or limitation, to take view of all the varietie of things that are in the world, and neuer to rest satisfied, till they come to see, inioy, and possesse him that made them all.

These he separated from the rest of his creatures, causing them to approach and draw neere vnto himselfe; and to compasse about his sacred throne, and called them forth to be a ioyfull company of blessed ones, praising and worshipping him in the glorious Temple of the world; and

to be vnto him an holy Church, in the midst whereof his greatnesse should be knowne, and his name called vpon. These are of two sorts: Angels, dwelling in heauenly palaces: and Men, made out of the earth, dwelling in houses of clay, whose foundation is in the dust. The Angels are immortall, immateriall, and spirituall substances, made all at once, and immediatly after their creation, so many as turned not from God their Creator, confirmed in grace, and perfectly established in the full possession of their vttermost good, so that they need no guide to leade them to the attaining of the same; howsoeuer in the degrees of their naturall or supernaturall perfections, and in the actions of their ministerie wherein God employeth them, they are more great and excellent one then another, and are not without their order and gouernment. But concerning men made out of the earth, and compounded of body and spirit, it is farre otherwise: For God did not create them all at one time, but made onely one man, and one woman immediatly with his owne hands; appointing that the rest should descend and come of them by naturall generation. Whereupon we shall find, that as in the Creation the tree was first, and then the seede, but in the naturall propagation of things the seed is first, and then the tree: So the first man whom God made out of the earth, and the first woman whom he made of man, were perfect at the first, as well in stature of body, as in qualities of the mind, (both because whatsoeuer is immediatly from God is perfect, as also for that the [a] first things whence all other haue their being, must be perfect:) but afterwards the beginnings of all the sonnes of men are weake, and they grow by degrees to perfection of body and mind, hauing need to receiue nourishment, support, guidance, and direction from them, from whom they receiue their being. So that nothing is more naturall then for children to expect these things from their parents, nor for parents then to nourish, guide and direct their children. This care pertaineth as well to the mother that bare them, and in whose wombe they were conceiued; as to the father that begate them, and out of whose loynes they came. Yet because the man was not of the woman, but the woman of the man; the man was not created for the woman, but the woman for the man; the originall disposition and soueraigne direction of all doth naturally rest in the man, who is the glorie of God, the womans head; and euery way fittest to be chiefe commander in the whole familie and houshold. Hereupon *Adam* the father of all the liuing was appointed by that God that made him, to instruct, direct and guide those that should come of him, euen in the state of natures integritie, though without any forcing with terrours, or recalling with punishments while there was yet no proneneſſe to euill, nor difficultie to doe good. And when he had broken the Law of his Creator, was called to an account, made know his sinne, and recomforted with the promise, that the seede of the woman should breake the Serpents head: he was to teach

[a] *Prima omnia perfecta sunt; cætera autẽ omnia, quæ ex ipsis oriuntur, & post ipsa sequuntur, nisi per interualla temporum crescendo ad perfectionem venire non possunt. Hugo, citat. ab Alex. de Hales, part. 2. quæst. 89. memb. 2.*

teach his children the same things; and sanctified to be both a King to rule in the little world of his owne familie; and a Priest, as well to manifest the will of God to them of the same, as to present their desires, vowes and sacrifices vnto him: then which course what could be deuised more fitting? For when there were no more in the world but the first man whom God made out of the earth, the first woman that was made of man, and the children which God had giuen them, who could be fitter to rule and direct, then the man for whose sake the woman was created, and out of whose loines the children came?

Chap. 2.

Of the dignitie of the first borne amongst the Sonnes of Adam, and their Kingly and Priestly direction of the rest.

AND Seeing nothing is more naturall, then that as the Father is to instruct, direct and set forward the children that God hath giuen him, in the way of vertue and well doing, so amongst the children the elder should helpe the yonger, the stronger, and more excellent the weaker, and more meane; none could be fitter to assist him in the Kingly, and Princely office, while he liued, and to succeed him in the same when he died, then the first borne, [a] *the beginning of strength, the excellencie of dignitie, and the excellencie of power*. And hereupon we shall find, that from the beginning the first borne excelled the rest in three things. For first he was Lord ouer his brethren, according to that of *Isaac* blessing *Iacob* the yonger in steed of the elder, and thereby preferring him to the dignitie of the first borne: [b] *Be Lord ouer thy brethren, and let thy mothers children bow downe vnto thee*. Secondly, he had a double portion; and thirdly he was holy vnto God: which dignitie as it belonged formerly euen from the beginning to the first borne, as being most worthy and excellent; so was it confirmed, [c] when God striking all the first borne in Ægypt, spared the first borne of the Israelites. This præeminence of the first borne continued, the eldest euer succeeding in the Kingly and Priestly office, vnlesse for impietie, or cause best knowne to God he were reiected by him, till the time that *Israel* came out of Ægypt, and the Church of God became nationall. For then according to the tenor of *Iacobs* [d] blessing these priuiledges were diuided. *Iudah* had the Scepter, *Leui* the Priesthood, and *Ioseph* the double portion, in that two of his Sonnes *Ephraim* and *Manasses* became Patriarches and Heads of tribes, and had equall inheritance in the land of promise with the sonnes of *Iacob*. So that in the societies of faithfull and holy ones, from the first man that God made, till *Aaron* was sanctified to be a Priest vnto God in steed of the first borne, the eldest alwaies (vnlesse for impiety, or other cause best knowne

a Gen. 49. 3.

b Gen. 27. 29.

c Num. 3. 13.

d Gen. 49. & 49.

to God, he were reiected by him) had the Kingly, and Priestly direction of the rest. So when *Cain* the eldest Sonne of *Adam*, and first that was borne of a woman, to whom the dignitie of the first borne did pertaine, was for his impietie reiected from that honor, and *Abel* who by faith offered a better sacrifice then he, was slaine by him, God raised vp [e] *Seth*, who being taught by *Adam* his father touching the Creation, the fall, the punishments of sinne, and the promised Sauiour, assisted him while he liued in guiding the people and Church of God, and succeeded him in the same gouernment after his death. In like sort [f] *Enosh* assisted and succeeded *Seth*, and dying left that honor to *Kenan*: *Kenan* to *Mahalaleel*: *Mahalaleel* to *Iered*; *Iered* suruiuing *Enoch* his sonne, whom God translated, left it to *Methusalem*, *Methusalem* to *Lamech* the father of *Noe*, in whose time the children of God, that is, the posteritie of *Seth*, marying with the daughters of men, that is, such as came of wicked *Cain*, highly displeased almightie God, who thereupon appointed [g] him to be a preacher of repentance vnto them, whom when they contemned and despised, he brought in the floud, and destroyed both them, and all the inhabitants of the world, *Noe* and his familie onely excepted. *Noe* gouerned the Church before and after the floud, and left the same office and dignitie to *Sem* his eldest sonne, saying, [h] *Blessed be the God of Sem, and let Canaan be his seruant: The Lord perswade Iaphet to dwell in the tents of Sem.* [i] *Sem* begate *Arphaxad*: *Arphaxad*, *Sale*: *Sale*, *Heber*: *Heber*, *Phaleg*: *Phaleg*, *Rehu*: *Rehu*, *Serug*: *Serug*, *Nachor*: *Nachor*, *Thare*: *Thare*, *Abraham*, and *Abraham*, *Isaac*. All these, onely *Heber*, and *Isaac* excepted, he suruiued: so that dying, he left the right of his office and dignitie to *Isaac*, *Heber* hauing corrupted his waies. This [k] *Sem* the Iewes thinke to haue beene *Melchizedek*, that [l] met *Abraham* returning from the slaughter of the Kings, that brought out bread and wine, to refresh his wearied troupes, and blessed him in the name of the Lord, as being a Priest of the high God. Thus then *Sem* gouerned the Church in his time, & dying, in part left his honor to *Isaac*, soiourning as a stranger in *Canaan*: *Isaac* to *Iacob*: *Iacob* to *Iudah*, & his sons; who liuing in Ægypt in bondage with the rest of their brethren could not freely exercise the Kingly & Priestly office, nor performe the things pertaining thereunto. So that none of these succeeded *Sem* in the fulnesse as well of Kingly as Priestly power.

e Gen. 4. 25.

f Chap. 5.

g Chap. 6. & 7.

h Chap. 9. ver. 26. & 27.

i Chap. 10. 11.

k Hieronym. in epist. ad Euagrium.

l Gen. 14. 18.

Chap. 3.

Of the diuision of the preëminences of the first borne amongst the sonnes of Iacob, *when they came out of Ægipt, and the Church of God became Nationall.*

BVt when it pleased Almighty God, who chose vnto himselfe the posterity of *Israel* and sonnes of *Iacob* as his peculiar portion and inheritance, aboue all the nations of the world, to bring them with a mighty hand and out-stretched

arme

arme out of the land of *Egipt* and the house of bondage to the land which he promised to their fathers *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Iacob*, & to make of them a mighty people; then the former kind of gouernment which was domesticall, not so well fitting a people as a houshold, he setled another; and in steed of the first borne which formerly in each family and kindred was both a King and Priest, he chose the tribe of *Iudah* to sway the scepter, and to be a lawgiuer to the rest of his people; and the tribe of [a] *Leui* to attend his Tabernacle and seruice; and out of all the families of that tribe tooke [b] *Aaron* and his sonnes to serue in the Priests office, appointing the rest to meaner seruices about the Sanctuary, or to be assistants to the Priests, and rulers in the gouernment of the people.

a Numb. 3.

b Exod. 28.

CHAP. 4.

Of the separation of Aaron and his sonnes from the rest of the sonnes of Leui, to serue in the Priests office, and of the Head or chiefe of that company.

THE Priests, the sonnes of *Aaron*, whom God separated from the rest of their brethren the sonnes of *Leui*, were of two sorts. For there was an high Priest, and there were others of an inferiour condition. [a] Touching the high Priest, foure things are to be obserued. First, his consecration. Secondly, the things that were required in him that was to be consecrated to so sacred a function. Thirdly, his imployment, and Fourthly his attire. The consecration of the high Priest was seauen daies in performing, in this sort. 1. He that was to be consecrated, was brought before the Altar. 2. Then he was washed with water, and clothed with those sacred garments which God had prescribed; holy oyle was poured on his head, sacrifice was offered on the Altar for his sanctification, and his garments were sprinkled with the bloud of it. The things that were required in him that was to serue in the high Priests office, were these. He might not be defective nor deformed in body; His wife must be a virgin, not a widdow, not one that had bin diuorced, nor that had bene infamous, but of good parentage, and of his owne people. He might not vncouer his head, rent his garments, nor goe in to mourne ouer any that was dead, no though it were his father or mother. His employment was to goe daily into the Sanctuary, to light the Lampes, to burne incense, and euery weeke to prouide the shew-bread or bread of proposition; on the feast daies to offer the peoples sacrifices together with the other Priests; and once in the yeare, on the day of expiation, to enter into the holiest of all, to cleanse, and hallow it from the sinnes of the people, and to make prayer for himselfe, and them. The holy vestiments, in which he was to performe this seruice of God, are described to haue bene a Brcast-plate, an Ephod, a Robe, a broidred Coate, a Mitre,

a *Sigonius de Rep. Hebræor. lib. 5. cap. 2.*

and a Girdle. The Ephod was of gold, blue silke, purple, skarlet, and fine twined linnen of broidred worke. In the shoulders of the Ephod were two Onyx-stones, and vpon them the names of the children of *Israel* grauen, sixe names vpon the one stone, and sixe other names vpon the other stone according to their generations. These were stones of remembrance of the children of *Israel* before the Lord. Of these [b] *Iosephus* writeth, that they shewed when God was present with his people, when he accepted the sacrifices they offered vnto him, and was pleased with them, and likewise when he was displeased with them and reiected them; in that when God was pleased with his people and accepted their sacrifices, the stone which was on the right shoulder shined in such sort, that it might be seene a farre off, whereas otherwise no such shining brightnesse appeared in it. The Breast-plate of iudgement was of broidred worke, like the worke of the Ephod, of gold, blue silke, purple and skarlet, and fine twined linnen. It was set full of places for stones, euen foure rowes of stones. The stones that were set in these rowes were twelue, according to the number of the tribes of *Israel*, and in them the names of the twlue tribes were grauen. In this Breast-plate likewise were put *Vrim* and *Thummim* which were vpon the hart of the high Priest, when he went in before the Lord. By these twelue stones that were in the Breast-plate of the high Priest, God did shew vnto his people the successe of their battles when they intended to make warre. For if he meant to prosper their enterprise, these stones did so shine, that they were thereby well assured God would go forth with their armies, and fight their battels for them; otherwise they were discouraged from attempting any thing. The [c] *Vrim* and the *Thummim* likewise some of the Iewes thinke to haue bene two stones, by which the high Priest vnderstood what things were to come, and reuealed the same vnto the people. For if nothing new and strange were to fall out, they held their colour; but if any great and extraordinary mutation were to follow, the bright shinings of these stones did foreshew it. [d] Others suppose that they were the name of God, *Iehouah* in letters of gold, by the shining brightnesse whereof they vnderstood the answer of God when they sought vnto him; but [e] *Augustine* is of opinion, that these verie words were written in letters of gold in the middle of the breast-plate that did hang before the breast of the high Priest.

b *Iosephus citatus à Sygonio Ibid.*

c *Ariat Montanus in apparatu, & Sigonius de Rep. Hebr. l. 5. c. 9.*

d *Rabbi Salom. citatus à Bellarm. de Rom. Pont. l. 4 cap. 3.*

e *August. quæst. 117. in Exodum.*

Chap. 3.

Of the Priests of the second ranke or order.

TOuching the Priests of the inferiour Ranke, they had the same kind of consecration which the high Priest had; in sacrificing they were like vnto him, and in the seruice of the Sanctuarie, in burning incense, prouiding the shew-bread, and preparing

and

and looking to the lampes and lights: neither was there any other difference betweene him and them in the performance of these things, but that he was chiefe, and they assistants vnto him. The onely thing that was peculiar vnto him, was the [a] consulting of God by *Vrim* and *Thummim*, and the [b] entring into the Holiest to make an Attonement. Their vestiments were the same, [c] saue that the high Priest onely had the Breastplate and an Ephod of gold: for the rest did also sometimes weare a linnen Ephod. The things required in them that were to serue in the priestly office were these. They might not be [d] deformed nor defectiue in body; they might [e] drinke no wine nor strong drinke, when they were to enter into the Sanctuarie; they [f] might not defile themselues by the dead, nor come neare vnto any that was dead, except it were their father or mother, sonne, or daughter, or sister vnmaried: they [g] might not shaue their heads nor beards, nor cut their flesh: they might [h] marrie no harlot, nor woman diuorced. The [i] first that were consecrated Priests, were *Nadab*, *Abihu*, *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* the sonnes of *Aaron*. [k] *Nadab* and *Abihu* died before their father, and had no children: they both perished because they [l] offered strange fire vpon the Altar, so that *Eleazer* and *Ithamar* onely remained, of whom the whole number of Priests that were afterwards, did come. [m] From *Eleazar* in *Dauids* time were issued sixteene families, and from *Ithamar* eight. These *Dauid* sorted into 24 Classes or Courses, and named euerie Classis or Course after the name of him who was then chiefe of each familie; and for the ordering of them, and setting one before another, they cast lots. The reason of the sorting of them into these rankes was for that he would not haue all the Priests to attend euerie day, but that they should haue some intermission, and times of vacation, one *Classis* performing the seruice one weeke, and another another. Though, saith [n] *Iosephus*, there be 24 *Classes* or Courses of Priests amongst vs, whereof euery one hath more then 5000, yet they waite not all at once, but on certaine daies appointed and assigned vnto them; which being past, others succeed, who are called into the Temple at Noone, and haue the keyes thereof deliuered vnto them, and the sacred vessels by tale. In this sense it is sayd in the booke of *Chronicles*, that [o] *Iehoiada the Priest dismissed not the Courses*, that is, sent not away the troupes and companies of Priests that attended the seruice of the Temple when their time was expired, and according to order they should haue departed and others haue succeeded them, for that he meant to make vse of them in the deposing of wicked *Athaliah*, and the establishing and setling of the true and lawfull King in the royall throne of *Iudah*. In these Courses they were wont to cast lots what kind of seruice euerie one should do in the weeke of his attendance, as for example: Who should sacrifice, and who should burne incense: whereupon it is sayd in the Gospell of *Luke*, that [p] *in the time of Herod King of Iudea, there*

a Exod. 28. 30.
b Leuit. 16. 30.
c *Sigonius de Rep. Hebræor. l. 5. cap. 3. ex Hieronymo & Eucherio.*
d Leuit. 21. 18.
e Leuit. 10. 9.
f Leuit. 21. 1.
g Ibid. vers. 5.
h Ibid. vers. 7.
i Leuit. 8.
k 1. Chron. 24. vers. 2.
l Leuit. 10.
m 1. Chr. 24. 4.
n *Ioseph. lib. 2. contra Appionem citat. à Sigonio vbi supra.*
o 2. Chr. 23. 8.
p Luk. 1. 5.

was

q Ibid. ver. 8. & 9. *was a certaine priest named Zacharias, of the course of Abiah;* q *and it came to passe as he executed the Priests office before God, as his course came in order, according to the custome of the Priests office, that his lot was to burne incense when he went into the house and Temple of the Lord.* r Ouer euerie of these companies of Priests in their courses attending, there were certaine priests set, that were called Ἀρχιερεῖς, or *Principes Sacerdotum*, that is chiefe Priests, or rulers of the priests. Of these the Euangelist S. *Marke* speaketh when he saith, s *They brought Iesus to the High Priest, and the Chiefe Priests sought false witnesse against him*: that is, the Heads of the Companies of Priests, who came to consult with the high priest about the putting of *Iesus* to death. For while the policie appointed by almightie God continued, there was but one that properly was named the high Priest.

r *Sigon. de rep. Hebr. lib. 5. cap. 3.*

s Mark. 14. 53.

Chap. 6.
Of the Leuites.

HAuing spoken of *Aaron* and his sonnes, whom God chose out of all the families of the tribe of *Leui*, it remaineth that we speake of the employment of the rest of that tribe called by the common name of *Leuites*. a These were sorted by *Dauid* into foure rankes: for some he appointed to be ministers of the Priests and Temple, who were most specially named *Leuites*: some Singers: some Porters: and others Scribes and Iudges. Touching the Leuites more specially so named, that attended the seruice of the Sanctuarie, their office was to carie the Tabernacle, and the Arke of the Couenant in the Remoues of the people, till God fixed the same in one place; and then they were to take care of it, and the sacred vessels that were in it appointed to be vsed about the seruice of God. In later times also they flaied the Beasts appointed for the Sacrifices according to that in the second of *Chronicles*: b *The seruice was prepared, and the Priests stood in their places; also the Leuites in their orders according to the Kings commandement, and they slue the Passeouer, and the Priests sprinkled the bloud with their hands, and the Leuites flaied them.* Of the singers we reade in the first of *Chronicles*, how they were appointed c by *Dauid* to sing propheſies with Harpes, with Viols, and with Cymbals. The d Porters were appointed to see that no vncircumcised, polluted, or vncleane person should enter into the house of the Lord; and to guard the same, that all things therein might be in safetie, as the sacred vessels, the treasure of the house, and the treasure of the dedicated things. To these were added as assistants the e *Nethinim* or *Gibeonites*, who serued as f hewers of wood, and drawers of water: The Scribes were such as read, and interpreted the Law of God in the Temple at Hierusalem, and in the Synagogues

a *Sigonius de rep. Hebræor. li. 5. cap. 4. 5. 6. & 7.*

b 2. Chron. 35. ver. 10. & 11.

c 1. Chro. 25. 1.

d 1. Chron. 26.

e 1. Chron. 9. 2. Ezra. 2. 70.

f Iosuah. 9. 23.

nagogues that were in other parts of the land, and are also called Doctors of the Law, that is, Interpreters of the Law of God.

Chap. 7.

Of the Sects, and factions in Religion, found amongst the Iewes in later times.

AND here because we haue made mention of such Leuites as were Scribes, that is, Doctors and Interpreters of the Law of God, it is not out of place to speake of the doctrine of the Iewes in later times, and the seueral sects into which their teachers and guides were diuided. *Epiphanius* sheweth that there were [a] seuen principall sects amongst them; the first whereof was that of the [b] Scribes, who were Interpreters of the Law, but such as deliuered many traditions as from their Elders, that were not contained in the Law, and sought to bring in a more exact kind of worship of God, then *Moses* and the Prophets taught, consisting in many voluntarie obseruations and customes deuised by men.

a *Epiphan. contra hæres. lib. 1.*
b *Hæres. 15.*

The second, [c] *Sadduces*, which were of the race of the *Samaritanes*; these had their name from one *Sadoc* a Priest; they denied the resurrection, and beleeued not that there is any Angell or Spirit, and consequently ouerthrewe all Religion.

c *Hæres. 14.*

The third sort were [d] *Pharisees*; these were the strictest of all other, and most esteemed: they beleeued the resurrection of the dead, that there are Angels and Spirits, as the Scribes also did, and that all shall come into iudgement to receiue according to the things they do in this body, whether they be good or euill: they much honoured virginitie and single life: they payed tithes of the smallest things they possessed: they washed cups, platters, and all kind of vessels they vsed: they fasted twice euery weeke: they brought in the doctrine of fatall necessitie: and differed in their habit from other men.

d *Hæres. 16.*

The fourth sort were the [e] *Hemerobaptists*, who did thinke that no man could be saued, if he were not washed euery day, that so he might be cleansed from the impuritie of sinne; but, as *Epiphanius* rightly noteth in refutation of the errour of these men, it is not the whole flould Iordan wherein Christ was baptized, nor the sea, nor any fountaine abounding with water, that can wash away the impuritie of sinne by any naturall force thereof or voluntarie vse; but repentance, and the vse of such sacred ceremonies, and sacramentall elements, as God appointeth to signifie, expresse, and communicate vnto vs the vertue of Christ Iesus, and the sanctifying grace of the Spirit of God.

e *Hæres. 17.*

Next vnto the *Hemerobaptists* were the [f] *Essees*. These withdrew themselues from the society of other men. They despised mariage, and liued

f *Hæres. 19.*

without the company of women, hauing no children of their owne; they adopted such as voluntarily came vnto them,[g] *Quos vita fessos* (saith *Plinie*) *ad mores eorum fortunæ fluctus agitat: Ita per sæculorum millia* (*incredibile dictu*) *gens æterna est, in quâ nemo nascitur; tam fœcunda illis aliorum vitæ pœnitentia est.* That is, Such as wearied with the turmoils of this life, were by the experience of fortunes vncertainties forced to like their retired manner of liuing; so that for many ages (which is a thing not credible) there hath bene a neuer-failing nation, in which no man is borne. So many doth other mens dislike of their owne manner of liuing send vnto them. These were something like the Monkes and Religious men, that are, and haue bene amongst Christians.

g *Plinius nat. hist. lib. 5. cap. 17.*

h *Epiphan. lib. 1. hæres. 18.*

The sixt sort were the *Nazarei*, who in all other things were *Iewes*, but held it vnlawfull to kill any liuing thing, or to eate the flesh of any thing wherein the Spirit of life had bene; they condemned the bloudy sacrifices prescribed in *Moses* law, and therefore could not be induced to thinke, that *Moses* was Author of the bookes that goe vnder his name; yet did they honour *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Iacob*, and other holy men mentioned in them.

i *Hæres. 20.*

The seauenth and last sort were the[i] *Herodians*, who were of the *Iewes* Religion in all other things, but thought *Herod* to be the Christ, because the scepter departed from *Iudah*, and the Law-giuer from betweene his feete, when *Herod* who was a stranger obtained the title and power of a king, and ruled ouer the people of God.

These were the sects and Heresies, that preuailed in the Church of the *Iewes* before the comming of Christ, amongst whom the *Pharisees* & *Sadduces* were chiefe; so that the whole state seemed to be deuided into these two factions,[k] the nobles and great ones enclining for the most part to the *Sadducees*, and the common people to the *Pharisees*; whereupon wee reade in the Acts of the Apostles, that *Paul* standing before *Ananias* the high Priest, and the rest of the chiefe Priests and Rulers of the people to be iudged, knowing that the one part of them were *Sadducees*, and the other part *Pharisees*, cried aloud,[l] *I am a Pharisee, and the sonne of a Pharisee, I am accused of the hope and resurrection of the dead:* and that vpon the hearing of these words, there was a dissention betweene the *Pharisees* & *Sadduces*, so that the whole multitude was deuided; that there was a great cry; and that the *Scribes* of the *Pharisees* part arose vp, and stroue, saying,[m] *We find no euill in the man: But if a Spirit or an Angle hath spoken vnto him, let vs not fight against God.*

k *Sigon. de rep. Hebr. lib. 5. cap. 11. ex Iosepho.*

l Act. 23. 6.

m Ibid. ver. 9.

CHAP.

CHAP. 18.

Of Prophets and Nazarites.

BEsides the Priests and Leuites, whom God chose to attend his seruice and Sanctuary, true and deuided in latter times into the manifold factions and Heresies aboue mentioned, there were other who medled not with the Ministery of holy things, and yet were specially dedicated and sanctified vnto God. These were either such as dedicated their bodies and persons to God, as the *Nazarites*; or such as God raised vp extraordinarily to foreshew future things, and to reforme abuses and errors, as were the Prophets.

The vow of the *Nazarites* is described in the booke of *Numbers*, where the Lord God spake vnto *Moses*, saying: [a] *Speake vnto the children of Israel, and say vnto them. When a man, or a woman doth separate themselues to vow a vow of a Nazarite to separate himselfe vnto the Lord, he shall abstaine from wine and strong drinke; no razor shall come vpon his head: but he shall let the lockes of the haire of his head to grow during the time that he separateth himselfe vnto the Lord: He shall come at no dead body; he shall not make himselfe vncleane at the death of his father or mother, brother or sister: for the consecration of the Lord is vpon his head.* a Numb. 6.

The *Nazarites* were of two sorts; for some did separate themselues vnto the Lord but for a time, and others perpetually. *Nazarites* of the former sort they were, of whom *Iames* and the Elders do speake in the Acts, saying vnto *Paul*, [b] *We haue foure men which haue made a vow; them take, and purifie thy selfe with them, and contribute with them, that they may shaue their heads, and all shall know that those things whereof they haue been informed concerning thee are nothing, but that thou thy selfe also walkest and keepest the Law.* b Act. 21. 23.

Of the later sort the Scripture mentioneth onely two: *Sampson* and *Samuel*. Concerning *Sampson* we reade, that the Angell of God appeared to the wife of *Manoah* his mother, and sayd vnto her: [c] *Behold now thou art barren, and bearest not; but thou shalt conceiue, and beare a sonne; and now therefore beware that thou drinke no wine nor strong drinke, neither eate any vncleane thing. For loe, thou shalt conceiue, and beare a sonne, and no razor shall come on his head; For the Child shall be a Nazarite vnto God from his birth, and he shall begin to saue Israel out of the hands of the Philistines.* And of *Samuel*, his mother sayd before he was borne: [d] *I will giue him to the Lord, all the dayes of his life, and no razor shall come vpon his head.* To these [e] *Hierome* addeth out of *Egesippus*, *Iames* the iust, the brother of our Lord. c Iudges 13. 7. d 1. Sam. 1. 11. e *Hieron. Catalog. Script. Eccles. in Iacobo.*

Prophets properly are such as foreknow and foretell things that are to come: but because, as [f] *Gregorie* fitly noteth, it is as hard to know the things that are past, whereof there is no report, and the things that are done a farre off, or in secret, or that are but contriued, and resolued on in the purposes of the heart, as to foresee what shall come to passe hereafter, f *Gregor. homil. 1. super Ezekiel.*

the knowledge of all these things pertaineth to propheticall grace and illumination; and it was no lesse a propheticall spirit that directed *Moses* in writing the storie of the creation, fall, and propagation of mankind, nor no lesse a propheticall illumination that made *Elizeus* know what was done in the King of *Arams* priuie chamber, then it was in *Esay* and the rest, that enabled them to foretell and foreshew the things that were to come: And therefore the Diuines make diuerse sorts of Prophets; some to whom principally things past were reuealed, or hidden things then being; and some to whom things that were after to come to passe, were more specially manifested or made knowne: [g] Some that were Prophets both in grace and mission, some in grace onely: In grace and mission, as they that were specially sent to foreshew the people of God what was to come to passe, to tell them of their transgressions, and the iudgements that were to follow: In grace onely, as were all such as were not specially imployed to this purpose, and yet had the knowledge of secret things, as *Daniel* and some other.

g *Hugo de S. Victore, Erudit. Theolog. de Sacram. fidei, lib. 1. part. 1. prologi. cap. 17.*

Chap. 9.

Of Assemblies vpon extraordinary occasions.

Thus hauing spoken sufficiently of the persons that God sanctified to serue him in the Temple, and to teach, direct, and instruct his people; as also of such as voluntarily dedicated themselues vnto him, or were extraordinarily raised vp by him: Let vs see what the gouernement of the Church, and people of God was vnder them during the time of the law, vntill the comming of Christ.

The Scriptures shew vs that God appointed for the gouernement of his people extraordinary Assemblies, and set Iudgements: Whereunto the Prophet *Dauid* seemeth to allude, when he saith, *The* [a] *wicked shall not rise vp in iudgement, nor Sinners in the assembly of the righteous.* In Assemblies were handled things concerning the state of the whole common wealth: In the set Courts, things concerning particular parts of it. Assemblies were of two sorts: either of the whole people, or of the Elders and Rulers onely. Assemblies of the whole people were gathered together to heare the commandements of God; to make publike prayers vnto him, or to performe and do some extraordinary things as to appoint a King, a Iudge, or a Prince, to proclaime or to wage warre, or the like.

a Psal. 1. vers. 5.

These Assemblies were either of the whole people of Israel, or onely of the whole people of one tribe or city. For the calling of these assemblies God commanded [b] two trumpets of siluer to be made, and to be in the custodie of *Moses* and his successors; with this direction, that when they blowed with them both, all the congregation should assemble vnto them; but when they blowed but with one, the Princes or Heads ouer the

b Numb. 10. 2.

the thousands of Israel onely should come.

The set Courts and Tribunals were of two sorts, the one in the gates of euerie City, called κρίσις, Iudgement; the other at Hierusalem, called συνέδριον or Councell: whereunto Christ seemeth to haue alluded, when he sayd, [c] *Whosoeuer is angry with his brother vnaduisedly, shall be guiltie of Iudgement; but whosoeuer saith, Racha, shal be guiltie of a Councell: and he that saith, Thou foole, shall be worthy to be punished with Gehenna of fire,* or *the fierie Gehenna.* Thereby shewing vs, that one of these offences and faults is more grieuous and worthy of greater punishment then the other: for the Councell or *Sanedrim* did handle weightier causes, and might inflict more grieuous punishments, then the set courts of Iustice in the gates of euerie citie. So that this is that which he meant to say. He that is angry with his brother vnaduisedly shall be guiltie of iudgement, that is, of some lighter punishment; and he that saith, *Racha* shall be subiect to the Councell, that is, punished more grieuously: But he that saith, *Thou foole,* shall be punished with all extremitie, answering in proportion to the cruell and mercilesse burning of men in the [d] valley of *Hinnon,* or in the fierie *Gehenna.*

c Matth. 5. 22

d 2. Chron. 33. vers. 6.

S. *Augustine* in his first booke [e] *De Sermone Domini in monte,* doth somewhat otherwise, but very excellently, expresse the meaning of Christs words in this sort. There are, saith he, degrees of sinne in this kinde mentioned by Christ: *Itaque in primo vnum est, id est, ira sola; in secundo, duo; & ira, & vox quæ iram significat: in tertio, tria; & ira, & vox quæ iram significat, & in voce ipsa certa vituperationis expressio. Vide nunc etiam tres reatus, Iudicij, Concilij, & Gehennæ ignis. Nam in Iudicio adhuc defensioni datur locus; ad Concilium pertinet sententiæ prolatio, quando non iam cum reo agitur, vtrum damnandus sit, sed inter se qui iudicant, conferunt, quo supplicio damnari oporteat; quem constat esse damnandum. Gehenna verò ignis nec damnationem habet dubiam, sicut Iudicium, nec damnati pœnam sicut Concilium: in Gehennâ quippe ignis certa est & damnatio, & pœna damnati.* That is: In the first degree there is but one thing, that is, anger only: In the second two; anger, and a voyce expressing anger: In the third three; anger, the voyce that giueth signification of it, and in the voyce it selfe an expressing of some certaine reproach. See now also three guilts, of Iudgement, of Councell, and the *Gehenna* of fire. For in Iudgement there is yet place left for defence; to Councell pertaineth the pronouncing of the sentence, when there is no more to be done with the partie guilty, nor no further doubt whether he be to be condemned or not, but they that iudge take counsell and confer amongst themselues, to what punishment they shall condemne him, of whose condemnation they are already resolued: but in the *Gehenna* of fire, there is neither doubtfulnesse of condemnation, as in Iudgement, nor of the punishment of the condemned, as in Councell: For there both the condemnation is certaine, and the punishment also.

e Cap. 19. *Apparet Augustinum iudicialis rationis Hebraicæ notionem non habuisse. Sigonius de rep. Hebr. lib. 6. cap. 7.*

The Papists alledge the words of Christ for proofe of veniall sinnes,

because onely the last degree of vnaduised and causelesse anger is pronounced worthy to be punished with *Gehenna* of fire, or hell fire. Whence they think it may be concluded, that other degrees of causelesse anger, though sinfull, yet doe not subiect men to any punishment in hel, and consequently are by nature venial. But if we vnderstand that Christ alluded to the different courts of iustice amongst the Iewes, their proceedings in the same, and the diuersitie of punishments which they inflicted more or lesse grieuous, as *Sigonius* in his booke [f] *De repub. Hebræorum*, and other excellently learned do; then by *Gehenna* of fire, is not simply meant hell fire, which is the generall punishment of damned sinners: but the greatest extremitie of punishment in hell, expressed by comparison with the cruell torments which they indured that were consumed in fire in *Gehenna*, or the valley of *Hinnon*, farre more intollerable then were the punishments inflicted by the Iudgement or Councell, to which the lighter and lesser punishments in hell due to lesser and lighter sinnes, may be resembled. And though we vnderstand the words as [e] *Augustine* doth, yet is not their errour confirmed by this place: for as he fitly noteth, whereas to kill is more grieuous then to wrong by contumelious and railing speeches, amongst the Pharisees onely killing was thought to make a man guiltie of iudgement; But here anger, the least of all the sinnes mentioned by Christ, is by him pronounced guiltie of iudgement; and whereas amongst them the question of murther was brought before the iudgement seate of men, here all things are left to the iudgement of God, where the end of the condemned and guiltie is hell fire. And for farther cleering of this point he addeth, that if any man shall say, that murther, as more grieuous, is to be punished more grieuously, according to the rule of iustice, then with hell fire: if railing speeches be punishable with hell fire, he will force vs to acknowledge diuerse hels, or kinds and degrees of punishments in hell. So farre was *Augustine* from imagining any such difference of sinnes, whereof some should be worthy to be punished in hell, and some not, to be proued out of this place, as our aduersaries would enforce and vrge.

f *Loco supra citato.*

Chap. 10.

Of the set Courts amongst the Iewes, their authority, and continuance.

TOuching the Tribunals and iudgements that were in euerie city, God sayd vnto *Moses*: [a] *Thou shalt appoint thee Iudges and Magistrates in all thy cities*; and againe: *They shall go vp to the Iudges that sit in the gates of the city.* But the [b] *Sanedrim* or great Councell of State consisted of the King, the twelue Princes of the people, the seauentie Elders, the high Priest, the chiefe Priests, and the Scribes. And this Councell

a Deut. 16. 18.

b *Sigon. de rep. Hebr. lib. 6. cap. 7*

Councell was first in *Siloh*, afterwards at Hierusalem; first in the tribe of *Ephraim*, and after in the tribe of *Iudah*: & after the rent of the ten tribes, none but the elders of *Iudah*, and *Beniamin*, and the Priests and Leuites entred into this Councell.

This Councell either the King or high Priest called, according as the matter to be heard, touched Religion or the common wealth: But after the returne from Babylon the high Priest was alwayes chiefe, and gouerned with the Elders and chiefe Priests: For there were no more kings of *Iudah* after that time, but the kings of Persia, Ægypt, and Syria had the command ouer *Iudæa*, and made the Iewes pay tribute vnto them. Of this Councell almightie God did speake when he sayd: [c] *If there arise a matter too hard for thee in iudgement betweene blond and blond, betweene plea and plea, betweene plague and plague, in matters of controuersie within thy gates, then shalt thou arise and go vp to the place which the Lord thy God shall chuse; and thou shalt come vnto the Priests of the Leuites, and vnto the Iudge that shall be in those dayes, and aske; and they shall shew thee the sentence of iudgement: and thou shalt do according vnto that thing which they of that place which the Lord hath chosen, shew thee; and thou shalt obserue to do according to all that they informe thee, according to the Law which they shall teach thee, and according to the iudgement which they shall tell thee, shalt thou do; thou shalt not decline from the thing which they shall shew thee, neither to the right hand, nor to the left: And that man that wil do presumptuously not hearkening to the Priest that standeth before the Lord thy God to minister there, or vnto the Iudge, that man shall die, and thou shalt take away euill from Israel.* c Deut. 17. 8.

This was the highest Court amongst the Iewes, and from this there was no appeale: and this Court some thinke to haue enioyed so great and ample priuiledges, as that it could not erre: and thereupon inferre, that Popes in their Consistories cannot erre, to whom Christ hath made as large promises of assistance and direction, as euer he did to the high Priests and Rulers in the time of *Moses* Law.

That the Priests and Rulers in the time of the Law could not erre, they indeauor to proue, because he was to answer it with his bloud whosoeuer disobeyed the sentence and decree of those Iudges; and God required euerie man without declining to the right hand or the left, to do that they commanded.

If it be obiected that the words of almightie God requiring all men so strictly to obey the sentence and decree of those Rulers, are not to be vnderstood concerning matters of faith, but causes Ciuill and Criminal; and that therefore this place maketh not any proofe of the infallibility of their iudgement in matters of faith; it will be answered, that there is no reason to doubt of their iudgement in matters of faith, of whose right iudgement in matters Ciuill and Criminall we are assured.

Surely, it is true, that if those Iudges in the time of the law could not erre

erre in matters Ciuill and Criminall; they were vndoubtedly much more freed from danger of erring in matters of faith: but it is one of the ſtrangeſt paradoxes, as I thinke, that euer yet was heard of, that the Prieſts and Iudges in the time of the law were priuiledged from danger of erring in matters of fact, and that they were ſo aſſiſted in their proceedings, as that they could not be miſ-led by any paſſions or ſiniſter affections, to peruert iudgement and do wrong. For, beſides that it is refuted by ſundrie inſtances of ſiniſter and wicked iudgements paſſed by thoſe iudges againſt the ſeruants and Prophets of almightie God, it maketh the Miniſterie and gouernement vnder the law incomparably more glorious and excellent then the Miniſterie of the Goſpell. For it is by all confeſſed, that Popes and Councels may erre in things of this nature: But that the Prieſts in the time of the law did ſomtimes erre in iudgement, condemning them whom God would not haue had condemned, appeareth euidently by that we reade in the booke of the Prophefies of *Ieremie*, where [d] *when Ieremie had made an end of ſpeaking all that the Lord commanded him to ſpeake, then the Prieſts and the Prophets and all the people tooke him, and ſayd, Thou ſhalt dye the death.* [e] *And when the Princes of Iudah heard of theſe things, they came vp from the Kings houſe into the houſe of the Lord, and ſate downe in the entrie of the new gate of the Lords houſe. Then ſpake the Prieſts and the Prophets vnto the Princes and to all the people, ſaying, This man is worthy to dye;* [f] *but the Princes ſayd, This man is not worthie to die: for he hath ſpoken vnto vs in the name of the Lord our God.* Here we ſee the Prieſts erred, and were reſiſted by the Princes of the land: but elſewhere we reade that [g] *the Princes alſo were angrie with Ieremie, and ſmote him, and layd him in priſon in the houſe of Ionathan the Scribe,* and ſayd vnto the King: [h] *We beſeech thee, let this man be put to death, for he weakneth the hands of the men of warre, that are in the Citie, and the hands of all the people.* So that both Prieſts and Princes might and did ſometimes erre in iudgement. But ſome man perhaps will ſay, that howſoeuer they might erre in matters of fact, yet they could not erre in any matter of ſubſtance pertaining to the worſhip and ſeruice of God. This alſo is clearly demonſtrated to be falſe, and their errours in things pertaining to the worſhip and ſeruice of God proued by ſundrie examples.

In the ſecond booke of Kings we reade that [i] *Ahaz* king of *Iudah walkedin the wayes of the kings of Iſrael, made his ſonnes go through the fire, after the abominations of the heathen, and offered burnt incenſe in the high places, and on the hils, and vnder euerie greene tree.* This wicked *Ahaz* [k] *ſent from Damaſcus to Vrias the Prieſt the patterne of the Altar he ſaw at Damaſcus, and the faſhion of it, and all the workemanſhip thereof; and Vrias the Prieſt made an Altar in all points like to that which King Ahaz ſent from Damaſcus.* So did *Vrias* the Prieſt before King *Ahaz* came from Damaſcus; [l] *and the King commanded Vrias to offer ſacrifice vpon the Altar, and* [m] *Vrias did whatſoeuer the*

d Ierem. 26.8.
e Ibid. ver. 10.
f Ver. 16.
g Ierem. 37. 15.
h Ier. 38.4.
i 2. Kings 16.3.
k Ibid. ver. 10, 11.
l Ver. 15.
m Ver. 16.

King

King commanded him. [n] Yea, we reade of many Priests, especially about the time of the *Maccabees*, that forsooke the law of God, and followed the abominations of the heathen Idolaters; and many Iudges and Kings likewise; so that, *Dauid, Hezekiah*, and *Iosias* onely excepted, there was none of the Kings that did not decline more or lesse to Idolatrie.

The meaning therefore of almightie God according to the iudgement of the best Diuines was not, that Priests and Iudges in the time of the Law should be obeyed in all things without exception, but when they commanded and iudged according to the diuine law and veritie: and in the same sort must we vnderstand the words of Christ, when he saith, [o] *The Scribes and Pharisees sit on the Chaire of Moses*, and commandeth the people to *obserue and do whatsoeuer they prescribe to be obserued and done*. For otherwise Christ should be contrary to himselfe, who elsewhere willeth men to [p] *beware of the leauen of the Pharisees*, (which S. *Matthew* interpreteth to be their [q] doctrine) and teacheth men [r] by his owne example to contemne their traditions. Yea, it is most certaine, that the Pharisees erred dangerously and damnably in many things, notwithstanding their sitting on *Moses* chaire: and therefore Christ doth oftentimes sharply reproue them for mis-interpreting the Law of God.

Lyra in Deuteron. 17. & alij.

o Matth. 23. 2.

p Matth. 16. 6.
q Ibid. ver. 12.
r Matth. 15.

Some man perhaps will say; they taught lesse then is implied in the Law, in that they condemned murther, adulterie, and the like crimes, but not lust, hatred, and such other sinister affections of the heart; and that therefore Christ did not reproue them as teaching any thing contrary to the Law, but as teaching lesse then is contained in it, and comming short of it. This euasion will not serue: for it appeareth euidently, that they did not onely come short of that the Law requireth, but were also contrary vnto it, and that Christ taxeth them for the same. [s] *Quia non intelligebant*, (saith S. *Augustine*,) *homicidium nisi per interemptionem corporis humani per quam vitâ priuaretur, aperuit Dominus omnem iniquum motum ad nocendum fratri in homicidij genere deputari: vnde & Iohannes dicit, Qui odit fratrem suum, homicida est; & quoniam putabant tantummodò corporalem cum fœminâ illicitam commixtionem vocari mœchiam, demonstrauit Magister etiam talem concupiscentiam nihil esse aliud.* That is, they vnderstood no other kind of murther, but that which is the sundring of soule and body, and the taking away of life, therefore our Lord shewed, that euerie vnrighteous motion to hurt our brother is to be accounted murther. Whence also S. *Iohn* saith, *He that hateth his brother, is a man-slayer*: and because they thought the vnlawfull coniunction of man and woman onely to be adulterie, our Maister shewed, that euen the desire is no lesse. Now I thinke, that to say, that is not murther nor adulterie which Christ pronounceth to be murther and adulterie, is not onely to teach lesse then is in the Law, but to teach contrary to it.

[s] *August. contra Faust. Manichæũ Lib. 19. cap. 24.*

But to make this point more cleare and euident, and that there may be

no doubt, but that their doctrine was contrarie to the Law, the Scripture reporteth, nay our Sauiour Christ telleth vs in the Scripture (whose report we may not doubt of) that they taught a man [t] *to loue his friend, and to hate his enemie*; whereas by the Law of God we are bound *to loue our enemies, to blesse them that curse vs, to do good to them that hate vs, and to pray for them that hurt vs, and persecute vs.* It is true indeed, that [u] S. *Augustine* not obseruing this glosse of hating our enemies, to be the lewd tradition of the Pharisees, but thinking it to be written in the Law, doth in one place say, that that which is sayd in the Law, *Thou shalt hate thine enemie*, is not to be taken as the voyce of him that commandeth and prescribeth what the iust should do, but permitteth what the infirmitie of the weake requireth; and in another place writing against the *Manichees* saith, [x] that that which is in the old Scripture, *Hate thine enemie*, & that which is in the Gospell, *Loue your enemies*, do agree together very well: For euery vnrighteous man *in quantum iniquus est, odio habendus est, & in quantum homo, diligendus*, in that he is vnrighteous, is to be hated, and in that he is a man, is to be loued. This saying he saith the Pharisees did not rightly vnderstand, and that therefore Christ laboured to teach and instruct them better, and to let them know, that they were so to hate their enemies, that they should also loue them.

Matth. 5. 43.

[t] *Aug. de Serm. Dom. in monte lib. 1. cap. 41.*

[x] *Contra Faustum Manichæum, lib. 19. cap. 24.*

This which S. *Augustine* deliuereth is most Catholique and true: For we are to hate the vices, and loue the persons of our enemies; but neither is there any mandate in the Scriptures that we should hate our enemies, neither had that precept of the Pharisees that sense wherein S. *Augustine* conceiueth a man may lawfully hate his enemies; but as himselfe confesseth, they thought they were so to hate their enemies, that they were not bound to loue them; against which erroneous conceipt Christ opposeth himselfe, saying, *But I say vnto you, loue your enemies*. Neither doth he oppose an Euangelicall counsell of greater perfection then the Law requireth, to that imperfect thing the Law prescribeth, as some men haue ignorantly fancied; but the true meaning of the Law to the false construction of the same made by the Pharisees, as likewise he doth in all other his oppositions to that which had bene sayd to them of old time.

But let vs let this passe, and come to the other errours of the Pharisees taxed by our Sauiour Christ in such sort, as no man can excuse them. [y] *Why do ye transgresse*, saith he, *the commandement of God by your traditions? for God hath commanded, saying, Honour thy Father, and thy Mother; and he that curseth Father or Mother, let him dye the death: but ye say, Whosoeuer shall say to Father or Mother, By the gift that is offered by me thou maist haue profit, though he honour not his Father or Mother, shall be free: Thus haue you made the commandement of God of none effect, by your owne tradition.* Againe, they taught that it is [z] *nothing if a man sweare by the Altar, but that he that sweareth by the gift or offering that is on the Altar is a Dettor*, that is, bound to

y Matth. 15. 3.

z Matth. 23. 18.

do

do that he sweareth. Many other like fond and wicked glosses of the Pharisees we reade of, whereby they made the commandements of God of none effect, whereupon our Sauiour saith: [a] *Except your righteousnesse exceede the righteousnesse of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye cannot enter into the kingdome of heauen.* Thus then I hope it appeareth to all that are not wilfully blinded, that Christ meant not, when he sayd, *The Scribes and Pharisees sit on Moses chaire, therefore whatsoeuer they bid you, that obserue and do,* that they could speake nothing but truth, and that whatsoeuer they sayd was to be receiued without any examination; but that whatsoeuer things they spake *pertinentia ad Cathedram* (as the author of the * Interlineall Glosse interpreteth the words) and whatsoeuer things they deliuered as sitting on *Moses* chaire, that is, doing the duty of Teachers, they should be listned vnto, howsoeuer otherwise they were wicked, and godlesse men.

a Matth. 5. 20.

* *In illum locum.*

They that teach, iudge, and rule the people of God, are described to performe those things sitting, to put them in mind that they must do all things with setled, composed, and well aduised resolution, and not rashly, hastily, and inconsiderately: whereupon Princes haue their thrones, Iudges their Tribunals and iudgement seates, and Teachers their chaires. Hence *Moses* office of teaching the people the lawes of God, and the performance of the same, is metaphorically named *Moses* chaire; and the succeeding of *Moses* in this office and dutie of deliuering the lawes of God to the people, and the performance of the same, is rightly expressed by the sitting on the chaire of *Moses*: and in this sense the Scribes and Pharisees are rightly sayd to haue sit on *Moses* chaire, because they succeeded him in the office and duty of teaching the people the lawes of God, and in the performance of the same duty in some part, though not wholy. And therefore our Sauiour Christ requireth al men, notwithstanding their wicked conuersation and manifold errours in matters of doctrine, to do whatsoeuer they commanded while they sate on *Moses* chaire, that is, performed the duty belonging to *Moses* office and place.

It is strange that any man should seeke to extend the words of Christ any farther, as if they meant to cleare the Scribes and Pharisees from all possibilitie and danger of erring, in that they possessed the roome of *Moses*, and had the places of teachers in the Church; when it is [b] confessed by the best learned of all sides, that the Priests of the Law had no priuiledge of not erring in teaching the people of God after Christ appeared, and began to teach in his owne person, whatsoeuer they had before; and [c] that this was foretold by *Ieremie* the Prophet, when he sayd, *Peribit lex à Sacerdote, verbum à Propheta, consilium à Sapiente*; The Law shall perish from the Priest, the word from the Prophet, and counsell from the wise. But such is the impudencie of some [d] of the friends and louers of the Church of Rome, that they feare not to defend, and cleare the doctrine of

b *Bellar. de authoritate Conciliorum l. 2. cap. 8*

c *Idem de Eccle. militante lib. 3. cap. 17.*

d *Vt refert Bellarm. de author. Concil. li. 2. ca. 8.*

the Scribes and Phariſees from error, wherewith Chriſt ſo often charged thē, & to iuſtifie the proceedings of the high Prieſt, & the reſt of the prieſts and rulers aſſembled in Councell againſt Chriſt himſelfe, affirming, that the ſentence pronounced againſt him was true and iuſt, for that he was truly guiltie of death, in that he had taken vpon him our ſinnes to purge them in himſelfe, and that *it was indeede expedient, that he ſhould dye for the people*, according to the e ſaying of *Caiphas*, who in ſo ſaying is ſayd to haue propheſied, as being the high Prieſt that yeare. But *Bellarmine* ingenuouſly acknowledgeth the ouerſight of his friends and companions, and ſaith, that howſoeuer thoſe words of *Caiphas* admit a good ſenſe (though not intended by him,) for he meant it was better that Chriſt being but one ſhould die, then that the whole people (whoſe deſtruction he thought vnauoidable, if Chriſt were ſuffered to liue) ſhould periſh and come to nothing: Yet there are other words of *Caiphas*, that in no ſenſe are iuſtifiable, as when he ſayd; f *He hath blaſphemed, what needs we any more witneſſes?*

e Ioh. 18. 14.

f Matth. 26. 65.

Touching his former ſpeech, it was the will of God, for the honour of the Prieſthood, that he ſhould vtter that he meant ill, in ſuch words as might haue a good ſenſe, though not meant nor intended by him, whereupon he is ſayd to haue propheſied: but the latter words are words of curſed blaſphemie, and without horrible impietie cannot be excuſed in any ſenſe. Therefore theirs are others, who confeſſe that *Caiphas* and his aſſiſtants erred when they condemned Chriſt, but that it was but a matter of fact wherein they erred, in miſtaking the quality of Chriſts perſon, and in being miſ-informed of him, in which kind of things Councels may erre. This conceipt the Cardinall likewiſe reiecteth and explodeth as abſurd: for that howſoeuer it was a queſtion of fact, and concerning the perſon of him that ſtood to be iudged, yet it inwrapped in it a moſt important queſtion concerning the faith, to wit, whether *Ieſus* the ſonne of *Marie* were the true *Meſſias* and Sonne of God: and therefore *Caiphas*, with his whole Councell reſoluing that he was not, erred damnably in a matter of faith, and pertinaciouſly, in that they reiected him as a blaſphemer of God, whom the Angels from heauen teſtified to be the Sonne of God; the ſtarre deſigned to be that light, that lightneth euery one that commeth into the world; the Sages from a farre adored, as being that king of the Iewes, that is to ſit vpon the throne of *Dauid* for euer, whoſe dominion is from ſea to ſea, and from the riuer to the end of the land; whom the ſea and winds obeyed, and at whoſe rebuke the Diuels went out of thoſe they had formerly poſſeſſed. But if this defenſe of the helliſh ſentence of wicked *Caiphas* be too weake; as indeed it is, our aduerſaries laſt refuge is, that this Councell erred, becauſe *Caiphas* and his fellowes proceeded in it tumultuouſly, and not in due ſort; which is a moſt ſilly ſhift. For how are Councels priuiledged from erring, which is the thing theſe men ſeeke ſo

care-

carefully to defend (though it be with excuſing of the fact of thoſe men, who ſhall be found vnexcuſable in the day of iudgement) if Councels may proceed tumultuouſly, and ſo define againſt the truth.

Thus we ſee, that the great Councell of ſtate amongſt the Iewes, to which all matters of difficultie were brought, and from which there was no appeale, might and did erre ſometimes dangerouſly, and damnably. This Councell continued in ſome ſort as well after the captiuity of *Babylon*, and the returne from the ſame, as before: g though with this difference, that whereas before, the king had a principall intereſt in the ſame, afterwards the high Prieſt alwayes was chiefe, there being no more kings of *Iudah*, but the kings of *Perſia*, *Ægypt*, and *Syria* commaunding ouer the Iewes, and making them tributaries vnto them. In this ſort were they gouerned, till ſome differences growing amongſt them for the place of the high Prieſt, they were by *Antiochus Epiphanes* king of *Syria* depriued both of their liberty and exerciſe of religion, and brought into miſerable bondage; the indignitie whereof the *Aſſamonai* of the tribe of *Leui* could not indure, but by force and policie in a ſort freed the ſtate of the Iewes againe, and tooke vnto themſelues firſt the name of Princes, and then of Kings. In the booke of *Maccabees* we reade, that *Mattathias* was conſtituted Prieſt, Prince, and Ruler, and that many came downe to him to ſeeke iudgment and iuſtice. *Iudas Maccabæus* ſucceeded *Mattathias*, and ioyned the dignitie of the high Prieſt to the princely power. *Ionathas* ſucceeded *Maccabæus*, of whom we reade, h *Now this day do we chuſe thee to be vnto vs a Prince in ſtead of* Iudas, *and a captaine to fight our battels.* *Simon* ſucceeded *Ionathas*, and in his time *Demetrius* king of *Syria* and *Antiochus* his ſonne remitted all tributes; ſo that then the *Iewes* recouered their ancient liberty in as ample manner as they had formerly enioyed it vnder their kings. *Iohn* ſucceeded *Simon*, and *Ariſtobulus Iohn*, who put vpon himſelfe a Diademe, and aſſumed the name of a king. After *Ariſtobulus* ſucceeded *Alexander* his brother, marrying *Solina* his wife. *Alexander* being dead, *Alexandra* obtained the kingdome, and after her *Hircanus*, whom *Ariſtobulus* his brother expulſed. *Pompey* tooke this *Ariſtobulus* priſoner, ſubdued *Iudæa*, brought it into the forme of a prouince, and appointed *Antipater Aſcalonita* to be *Procurator* of it; but not long after, *Antigonus* the ſonne of *Ariſtobulus* recouered the City of Hieruſalem, and inuaded the kingdome; againſt whom the *Romans* ſet vp *Herod* the ſonne of *Antipater*, and gaue him the name of a King.

g *Sigonius de rep. Hebræorum lib. 7. cap. 4.*

h 1. Maccab. 9 30.

Thus the direction and gouernment of the *Iewes* reſted principally in the *Sanedrim*, as well before as after their returne from *Babylon*; and the *Sanedrim*, which was the higheſt Court, and ſwaied all, conſiſted for the moſt part of men taken out of the houſe of *Dauid*, and therfore the Scepter did not depart from *Iudah* ſo long as that Court continued, and retained the authority belonging to it; though there were no king of the poſteritie

steritie of *Dauid* and tribe of *Iudah*, but the high Priests first, and then other of the tribe of *Leui*, assuming to themselues Priestly, and Princely dignitie, had the chiefest place and highest roome in this court of state. But when *Herod* swaied the Scepter, slue all those that he found to be of the bloud royall of *Iudah*, and tooke away all power and authority that the *Sanedrim* formerly had, then the Scepter departed from *Iudah*, and the Law-giuer from betweene his feete; so that then was the time for the *Shiloh* to come.

Chap. 11.

Of the manifestation of God in the flesh, the causes thereof, and the reason why the second Person in the Trinitie rather tooke flesh, then either of the other.

GOd therefore in that fulnesse of time sent his Sonne in our flesh to sit vpon the throne of *Dauid*, and to be both a King and Priest ouer his house for euer; concerning whom, three things are to be considered. First, his humiliation, abasing himselfe to take our nature, and become man. Secondly, the gifts and graces he bestowed on the nature of man, when he assumed it into the vnitie of his Person. Thirdly, the things he did and suffered in it for our good.

In the Incarnation of the Sonne of God, we consider first, the necessitie, that God should become man; secondly, the fitnesse and conuenience, that the second Person rather then any other: thirdly, the manner, how this strange thing was wrought and brought to passe. Touching the necessity that God should become man, there are two opinions in the *Romane* schooles.

For some thinke, that though *Adam* had neuer sinned, yet it had beene necessary for the exaltation of humane nature, that God should haue sent his Sonne to become man; but others are of opinion, that had it not beene for the deliuering of man out of sinne and miserie, the Sonne of God had neuer appeared in our flesh. [a] Both these opinions, saith *Bonauentura*, are Catholique, and defended by Catholiques: whereof the former seemeth more consonant to reason, but the later to the pietie of faith, because neither Scripture, nor Fathers doe euer mention the Incarnation, but when they speake of the redemption of mankind: so that seeing nothing is to be beleeued, but what is proued out of these, it sorteth better with the nature of right beleefe, to thinke the Sonne of God had neuer become the Sonne of man, if man had not sinned, then to thinke the contrarie. [b] *Venit filius hominis*, saith *Augustine*, *saluum facere quod perierat: Si homo non periisset, filius hominis non venisset: nulla causa fuit Christo veniendi, nisi peccatores saluos facere. Tolle morbos, tolle vulnera; & nulla est medicinæ causa,*

a *Bonauent. in 3 Sent. dist. 1. quæst. 2.*

b *Aug de verb. Apostoli. Serm. 70. tract. 1 in illud Luæ, Venit filius hominis saluum facere quod perierat: & illud 1. ad Timoth. 1. venit in hunc mundum peccatores saluos facere.*

causa: that is, The Sonne of man came to saue that which was lost; If man had not perished, the sonne of man had not come, there was no other cause of Christs comming, but the saluation of sinners: Take away diseases, wounds and hurts, and what neede is there of the Phisition or Surgeon? Wherefore resoluing with the Scriptures and Fathers, that there was no other cause of the incarnation of the Sonne of God, but mans redemption, let vs see whether so great an abasing of the Sonne of God, were necessary for the effecting hereof.

Surely there is no doubt, but that almightie God, whose wisedome is incomprehensible, and power infinite, could haue effected this worke by other meanes, but not so well beseeming his truth and iustice; whereupon the Diuines do shew, that in many respects it was fit and necessary for this purpose, that God should become man.

c First, *ad fidem firmandam*, to settle men in a certaine and vndoubted perswasion of the truth of such things as are necessarie to be beleeued: *vt homo fidentius ambularet ad veritatem*, saith * *Augustine*, *ipsa veritas, Dei filius, homine assumpto, constituit & fundauit fidem*: that is, That man might more assuredly, and without danger of erring, approach vnto the presence of sacred truth it selfe, the Sonne of God, assuming the nature of man, setled & founded the faith, & shewed what things are to be beleeued.

c *Thomas Sum. Theol. part. 3. quæst. 1. art. 2.*
* *August. de Ciuit. Dei, lib. 11. cap. 2.*

Secondly, *ad rectam operationem*, to direct mens actions; for whereas man, that might be seene, might not safely be followed, and God, that was to be imitated and followed could not be seene, it was necessary that God should become man, that he, whom man was to follow, might shew himselfe vnto man, and be seene of him.

Thirdly, *ad ostendendam dignitatem humanæ Naturæ*, to shew the dignitie and excellencie of humane nature, that no man should any more so much forget himselfe, as to defile the same with sinfull impurities. d *Demonstrauit nobis Deus*, saith *Augustine*, *quàm excelsum locum inter creaturas habeat humana natura, in hoc quòd hominibus in vero homine apparuit*: that is, God shewed vs how high a place the nature of man hath amongst his creatures, in that he appeared vnto men in the nature, and true being of a man. e *Agnosce* (saith *Leo*) *O Christiane dignitatem tuam, & diuinæ consors factus naturæ noli in veterem vilitatem degeneri conuersatione redire*: that is, Take knowledge ô Christian man of thine owne worth and dignitie; and being made partaker of the diuine nature, returne not to thy former baseneſse by an vnfitting kind of life and conuersation. Lastly, it was necessary the Sonne of God should become man, *ad liberandum hominem à seruitute peccati*, to deliuer man from the slauerie and bondage of sinne. For the performance whereof, two things were to be done: For first, the iustice of God displeased with sin cõmitted against him, was to be satisfied; & secõdly, the breach was to be made vp that was made vpon the whole nature of man by the same: neither of which things could possibly be performed by

d *Aug. de verâ Religione cap. 16.*
e *Leo Serm. 1. in natiuit. Dom.*

man or Angell, or by any creature. For touching the first, the wrath of God displeased with sinne, and the punishments which in iustice he was to inflict vpon sinners for the same, were both infinite; because the offence was infinite: and therefore none but a person of infinite worth, value, and vertue was able to endure the one, and satisfie the other.

If any man shall say, it was possible for a meere man stayed by diuine power and assistance, to feele smart and paine in proportion answering to the pleasure of sinne, which is but finite, and to endure for a time the losse of all that infinite comfort, and solace that is to be found in God, answering to that auersion from God that is in sinne, which is infinite, and so to satisfie his iustice; he considereth not, that though such a man might satisfie for his owne sinne, yet not for the sinnes of all other, who are in number infinite, vnlesse his owne person were eminently as good as all theirs, and vertually infinite. Secondly, that though he might satisfie for his owne actuall sinne, yet he could not for his originall sinne, which being the sinne of nature, cannot be satisfied for but by him, in whom the whole nature of man in some principall sort is found. Thirdly, he considereth not, that it is impossible that any sinner should of himselfe euer cease from sinning; and that therefore, seeing so long as sinne remaineth, the guilt of punishment remaineth, he must be euerlastingly punished, if he suffer the punishment due to his euerlasting sinne: and consequently, that he cannot so suffer the punishments due to his actuall sinnes, as hauing satisfied the wrath and iustice of God to free himselfe from the same. If it be sayd, that by grace he may cease from sinning, and so suffer the punishment due to sinne so ceasing, and not eternall; it will be replied, that God giueth not his grace to any till his iustice be first satisfied, & a reconciliation procured: for he giueth it to his friends, and not to his enemies.

Touching the second thing that was to be done for mans deliuerance, which was the making vp of the breach made vpon the nature of man, and the freeing him from the impuritie of inherent sinne, that so the punishment due to sinne past being felt and suffered, he might be reconciled to God; it could not be performed by any meere creature whatsoeuer. For as all fell in *Adam*, the roote and beginning of naturall being, who receiued the treasures of righteousnesse and holinesse for himselfe, and those that by propagation were to come of him: so their restauration could not be wrought, but by him that should be the roote, fountaine, and beginning of supernaturall and spirituall being, in whom the whole nature of mankind should be found in a more eminent sort then it was in *Adam*: as indeed it was in the second *Adam*, [f] *of whose fulnesse we all receiue, grace for grace*. And this surely was the reason, why it was no iniustice in God to lay vpon him the punishments due to our sinnes, and why his sufferings do free vs from the same. It is no way iust, that one man hauing no speciall communion with another, should suffer punishment for another

f Ioh. 1. 16.

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mans fault; but the whole nature of man being found in him in a more eminent ſort, then either in *Adam* or any of them that came of him, and he hauing vndertaken to free and deliuer it, it was iuſt and right, he ſhould feele the miſeries it was ſubiect vnto: and that being felt, and ſuſtained by him in ſuch ſort as was ſufficient to ſatisfie diuine iuſtice, they ſhould not be impoſed or laid on vs.

Hereupon ſome haue ſaid, that Chriſt was made ſinne not by acting or contracting ſin (for ſo to ſay were horrible blaſphemy) but by taking on him the guilt of all mens ſins: which yet is wiſely to be vnderſtood, leſt we run into errour. For whereas the guilt of ſin implieth two things; a worthineſſe to be puniſhed, and a deſtination vnto puniſhment; the former implieth demerite naturall or perſonall in him that is ſo worthy to bee puniſhed, and this could not be in Chriſt: the other, which is *Obligatio ad pœnam*, a being ſubiect vnto puniſhment, may grow from ſome communiõ with him or thẽ that are worthy to be puniſhed. And in this ſenſe ſome ſay Chriſt tooke the guilt of our ſins, not by acting or contracting ſin, but by communion with ſinners, though not in ſinne, yet in that nature, which in them is ſinfull and guilty; as thoſe good men that are parts of a ſinful Citty, are iuſtly ſubiect to the puniſhments due to that Citty, not in that they haue fellowſhip with it in euill, but in that they are parts of it being euill; as the ſonne of a traitor is iuſtly ſubiect to the grieuous puniſhment of forfeiting the inheritance that ſhould haue deſcended vpon him from his father, though he no way concurred with him in his treaſõ, in reſpect of his neareneſſe & cõmunion with him, of whom he is as it were a part. Whereupõ all Diuines reſolue, that men altogether innocent, yet liuing as parts of the ſocieties of wicked men, are iuſtly ſubiect to thoſe temporall puniſhments thoſe ſocieties are worthy of: and that the reaſon why one man cannot be ſubiect to thoſe ſpirituall puniſhments which others deſerue, is, for that in reſpect of the ſpirit & inward man, they haue no ſuch deriuation from, dependance on, or communion with others, as in reſpect of the outward man they haue.

Wherefore to conclude this point, we may ſafely reſolue, that no other could ſatisfie diuine iuſtice, and ſuffer the puniſhments due to ſin in ſuch ſort as to free vs from the ſame, but Chriſt the Sonne of God, in whom our nature by perſonall vnion was found in an excellent ſort; and that it was right and iuſt, that hauing taken our nature vpon him, and vndertaken to free and deliuer the ſame, he ſhould ſuffer and endure whatſoeuer puniſhments it was ſubiect vnto. For the illuſtration of this point the learned obſerue, that g when God created *Adam*, he gaue him all excellent & precious vertues, as Truth to inſtruct him, Iuſtice to direct him, Mercy to preſerue him, and Peace to delight him with all pleaſing correſpondence; but that when he fell away, and forgate all the good which God had done for him, theſe vertues left their lower dwellings, and ſpeedily returned backe

g *Cameracenſis in principio in 3. lib. ſent.*

backe to him that gaue them, making report what was fallen out on earth, and earneſtly mouing the Almighty concerning this his wretched and forlorne creature; yet in very different ſort and maner. For Iuſtice pleaded for the condemnation of ſinfull man, and called for the puniſhment he had worthily deſerued; & Truth required the performance of that which God had threatned; but Mercy intreated for miſerable man made out of the duſt of the earth, ſeduced by Satan, and beguiled with the ſhewes of ſeeming good: and Peace no leſſe carefully ſought to pacifie the wrath of the diſpleaſed God, and to reconcile the Creature to the Creator. When God had heard the contrary pleas and deſires of theſe moſt excellent Orators, and there was no other meanes to giue them all ſatisfaction, it was reſolued on in the high Councell of the bleſſed Trinitie, that one of thoſe ſacred Perſons ſhould become man, that by taking to him the nature of man he might partake in his miſeries, and be ſubiect to his puniſhments, & by conioining his diuine nature and perfection with the ſame, might fil it with all grace and heauenly excellencie. Thus were the deſires of theſe ſo cõtrary Petitioners ſatisfied: for man was puniſhed as Gods Iuſtice vrged; that was performed which God had threatned, as Truth required: the offender was pitied, as Mercy intreated; and God & man reconciled, as Peace deſired; & ſo was fulfilled that of the *Pſalmiſt:* [h] *Mercy and Truth are met together, Righteouſneſſe and Peace haue kiſſed each other.*

h Pal.85.10.

Wherefore now let vs proceede, to ſee which of the Perſons of the bleſſed Trinitie was thought fitteſt to be ſent into the world to performe this worke. Not the Father; for being of none, he could not be ſent: Not the holy Ghoſt; for though he proceede, yet he is not the firſt proceeding Perſon; and therefore, whereas a double miſſion was neceſſary, the one to reconcile, the other to giue gifts to reconciled friends; the firſt proceeding Perſon was fitteſt for the firſt miſſion, and the ſecond for the ſecond. Secondly, who was fitter to be caſt out into the Sea, to ſtay the tẽpeſt, then that *Ionas* for whoſe ſake it aroſe? Almighty God was diſpleaſed for the wrong offred to his Sonne, in deſiring to be like vnto God, and to know all things in ſuch ſort as is proper to the onely begotten Son of the Father, therefore was he the fitteſt to pacifie all againe. Thirdly, who was fitter to become the Sonne of man, then he that was by nature the Sonne of God? [i] *Patrem habuit in cœlis, Matrem quæſiuit in terris:* He had a Father in heauen, he ſought onely a mother on earth. Who could be fitter to make vs the Sonnes of God by adoption and grace, then he that was the Sonne of God by nature? who fitter to repaire the Image of God decaied in vs, then he that was the brightneſſe of glory, and the engrauen forme of his Fathers Perſon? Laſtly, who was fitter to be a Mediator, then the middle Perſon, who was in a ſort a Mediator in the ſtate of creation, and before the fall?

i I. Bernard. de aduent. domini, Serm. 1.

Whereupon *Hugo de Sancto victore* bringeth in Almighty God ſpeaking of

of the Sonnes of men concerning Christ his Sonne in this sort: k *Nolite putare, quòd ipse tantùm sit Mediator in reconciliatione hominũ, quia per ipsum etiam commendabilis & placita sit aspectui meo conditio omninum creaturarũ:* that is, thinke not that he is a Mediator onely in the reconciliation of men, for by him the condition of all creatures is grateful vnto me, and pleasing in my sight. *Magni consilij Angelus*, saith *Hugo*, *nobis mittitur, vt, qui conditis datus fuit ad gloriam, idem perditis veniat ad medelam:* that is, the Angel of the great Counsell is sent vnto vs, that hee who was giuen vnto vs, when we were made, to bee the crowne of our glory, and Prince of our excellency, might relieue, helpe and restore vs when we were lost.

k Hugo. erudit. Theol. de Trinit. sum. per visib. agnition. lib. 7. cap. 24.

Yet our aduersaries take I know not what exceptions against *Caluin* for saying, that Christ was a Mediator in the state of creation; but they should know, that there is a Mediator of reconciliation of parties at variance, & a Mediator of coniunction of them that are farre asunder, and remote one from another: and that in this latter sort, betweene the Father, that no way receiueth any thing from another, and the creatures, that so receiue their being from another, that they are made out of nothing, he may rightly be said to mediate, that receiueth being from another, but the same that is in him from whom he receiueth it. If any man shall say, that the holy Ghost also in this sort commeth betweene him, in whom the fulnesse of being is originally found, and the creatures that are made of nothing, as well as the Sonne, and that therefore in this sence, he also may be said to be a Mediator, it is easily answered, that the Sonne onely commeth betweene the Father, in whom the fulnesse of being is originally found, and the creatures made of nothing, as he by whom all things were made; the holy Ghost, as he in whom all things do consist and stand; and that therefore he hath not the condition of a Mediator being not considered as he by whom all things are bestowed vpon vs, but as that gift in which all other things are giuen vnto vs: so that the Sonne onely is the Mediator, because by him, from the Father, in the holy Ghost, we receiue all that which we haue and enioy.

Neither needeth there any Mediator to conioine him to vs, and vs to him: for the *medium* conioineth both the extremes, first with it selfe, and then within themselues, in that it hath something of one of them, & something of another, in something agreeing with, and in something differing from either of the extremes: So the Sonne of God agreeth with vs, in that he receiueth the being and Essence he hath from another, in which respect he is distinguished, though not diuided from the Father; but in that the nature he receiueth from the Father is not another, but the same which the Father hath, he is vnlike vnto vs, but agreeth with the Father. And here we may see the malice and ignorance of l them that charge *Caluine* with heresie, for affirming that Christ is *αὐτόθεος*, *God of himselfe*, as if he denied the eternall generation of the Son of God, and

l *Genebrard. lib. 1. de Trinitate Lindanus in 2. Dialogo qui inscribitur Dubitantius. Petrus Canisius præfat. lib. de Sto Ioanne Baptista. citat à Bellarm.*

and were contrary to the decree of the sacred *Nicene* Councell, which defineth that he is *Deus de Deo, Lumen de Lumine:* for these men should know, that Christ may be sayd to be from another in two sorts; either by production of Essence, or by communication of Essence: the *Nicene* Councell defined that Christ the Sonne of God who is ὁμοούσιος, that is, consubstantiall with the Father, is notwithstanding God of God, that is, hath his Essence & Deitie cõmunicated vnto him by eternall generation from the Father, euen the same the Father had originally in himselfe. All which *Caluin* most willingly acknowledgeth to be true, & therefore denieth not, but that it may be truly said according to the sacred decree and definition of that worthy Councell, that Christ the Son of God is God of God, & light of light: but to imagine, as *Valentinus Gentilis*, & other damnable heretickes did, that he is from the Father by production of Essence, whence it will follow, that he hath not the same essence with the Father, but another different from it, inferior to it, & dependant on it, is impious & heretical: and in opposition to this impious conceit of these Hereticks, and in the sense intended by them, *Caluin* rightly denied Christ to be God of God. For this their conceipt was euer detested by all Catholiques, as wicked & blasphemous, yea so farre are they frõ approuing any such impiety, that no axiome is more cõmon in al their Schooles, then that *Essentia nec generat, nec generatur*, that is, the diuine Essence neither generateth, nor is generated: & surely, howsoeuer [m] *Kelliſon* in his Suruey saith the cõtrary, and opposeth his affirmatiue against the negatiue of all the most famous & renowned Schoole-men, yet I am perswaded he did so rather out of ignorance, then any reason leading him so to do, and do thinke it more then improper & hard to say, that the diuine Essence doth either generate or is generated.

m Booke 3. chap. 1.

Thus then Christ is truly said by *Caluin* to be God of himselfe, by way of opposition to that kinde of being from another, which is by productiõ of Essence, and yet is rightly acknowledged by him with the *Nicene* Fathers to be from another, to wit, the Father, and to be *God of God*, in that he receiueth the eternall Essence by communication from him.

This [n] *Bellarmine* saw, and acknowledged to be true, pronouncing that touching this point *Caluin* erred not in iudgment, & that his opinion is rather an errour in the forme of words, and expressing ill that he meant well, then in the thing it selfe. That *Caluin* erred not in the thing it selfe he deliuered, he proueth at large, specially out of the doctrine of *Caluins* followers: for *Bezain axiomatibus de Trinitate*, and in the 14 axiome, affirmeth, that the Sonne is from the Father by infallible communication of the whole diuine Essence: & *Iosias Simlerus* in his epistle to the *Polonians*, defendeth the opinion of *Caluine*, and expresseth his owne opinion & *Caluins* in this sort: *Non negamus filium habere essentiam à Patre, sed essentiam genitã negamus*; that is, we do not deny the Son to haue receiued his Essence from

n *Bellarm. de Christo. lib. 2. cap. 19.*

from the Father, but that his Essence is generated. This doctrine of *Simlerus*, why it should not be Catholique, *Bellarmine* professeth he cannot see: yet his fellowes in all their Pamphlets traduce *Caluins Autotheisme* as an execrable heresie; and muster the *Autotheani*, as they call them, amongst the damned Heretickes of this time: which is not to be maruailed at; for the maner of these men is, odiously to obiect things againe and againe, that haue bene often cleared both by themselues and vs, little regarding whether it bee true or false they say, so they may fasten some note of disgrace vpon them whose persons & professions they hate. f

One memorable example of hellish impudency in this kinde, worthy neuer to be forgotten, but to be remembred and recorded to the shame and reproofe of the slaundering sect of Papists, we haue in *Matthew* o *Kellison* his late Suruey of the new religion: who, to proue that the Protestants contemne the Fathers, affirmeth, that *Beza* called *Athanasius* (that worthy Champion of the Catholique faith) *Sathanasius*, and iudged the Fathers of the *Nicene* Councell to haue bene blinde Sophisters, ministers of the Beast, and slaues of Antichrist: whereas *Beza* esteemeth of *Athanasius* as one of the worthiest Diuines that the world for many ages had, in whose lappe and bosome our wearied mother the Church, in her greatest distresses, forsaken of her owne children, was forced to repose and lay her head in those restlesse and confused turmoiles during the time of the *Arrian* heresie; p and professeth, that he thinketh the Sunne in heauen neuer beheld a more sacred and diuine assembly or meeting then that of the *Nicene* Fathers, since the Apostles times; yea he pronounceth, that there was neuer any found to resist against the proceedings and decrees of that Councell, but their wofull and vnhappy ends made it appeare to all the world, they were fighters against God: & condemneth the *Arrians* as execrable miscreants, to the pit of hell, for vsing those words wherewith this Surueiour chargeth him. Wherefore let the Reader beware, how without due examination he giue credit to the sinister reports of these lewd companions, who haue sold themselues not onely to speake lies, but to write them, and leaue them vpon record to all posterity.

o Booke. 1. chap. 4. pag. 47.

p For proofe hereof see *Stapleton* in his triplicatiõ against *Whithaker*, pag. 210. and 211. And the author of the treatise of the grounds of the old religion. part. 1. cap. 9. pag. 102. f

But let vs see whether *Caluin* haue not erred at least in the forme of words, & ill expressed that he meant wel, as *Bellarmine* chargeth him. Surely we shall finde, if we take a view of that which *Caluin* hath written, that the Cardinals reprehension of him in this behalfe is most vniust: for *Epiphanius* a worthy Bishop, and great Diuine writing against heresies, and therefore endeuouring to be most exact in his formes of speech, calleth the Sonne of God q αὐτόθεον, as well as *Caluine* doth. It is true, saith *Bellarmine*, he doth so: but when he saith, Christ is αὐτόθεος, he meaneth onely, that he is truly God; whereas *Caluin* affirmeth, that he is so αὐτόθεος, that he is God of himselfe, which is false; for neither the Father, nor the Son is God of himselfe, the Son being of the Father, & the Father of none, because

q *Epiphanius contra Hæres. hæres.* 69.

becauſe he receiueth being frō none: as if it were ſo ſtrange a thing to ſay God is of himſelfe, or as if it were all one for a thing to be of it ſelfe, and to be produced, or to receiue being of, or from it ſelfe. [r] *Omne ens* (ſaith *Scaliger*) *aut eſt à ſe, aut ab alio*; that is, euery thing that hath being, either is of it ſelfe, or of another. [ſ] *Cuius rationi* (ſaith *Scotus*) *ſimpliciter repugnat eſſe ab alio, illud ſi poteſt eſſe, poteſt eſſe à ſe; ſed rationi primi effectiui repugnat eſſe ab alio; ergo poteſt eſſe à ſe, ergo eſt à ſe; quia quod non eſt à ſe, non poteſt eſſe à ſe: quia tunc non ens produceret aliquid ad eſſe, & idem cauſaret ſe, & ita non erit incauſabile omnino.* That thing, with the nature and condition whereof it cannot ſtand, to be of, or from another, if it may be at all, it may be of it ſelfe: but it ſtandeth not with the nature and condition of the firſt efficient cauſe, to be of or from another, therefore it may be, nay therefore it is of it ſelfe: becauſe that which is not of it ſelfe, cannot afterwards be of it ſelfe: For then a thing not being might cauſe a thing to be, yea the ſame might be the cauſe of it ſelfe, and ſo the higheſt and firſt cauſe of all things might haue a cauſe giuing being vnto it, which is impoſſible. Theſe men feared not to ſpeake, as *Caluin* ſpeaketh, & yet I thinke *Bellarmine* dareth not reprehend them alſo as he doth *Caluine*; but if he do, I ſuppoſe the world will thinke they knew how to ſpeake as properly as he.

r *Scalig. exerc. 6. ſect. 3.*

ſ *Scotus, 1. Sent. diſt. 2 queſt. 2.*

Thus then we ſee the Sonne of God is αὐτόθεος, that is, God of himſelfe, and that yet he receiued his eſſence from the Father, but the ſame that was in the Father, not another cauſed, made or produced by him; and that ſo he was a Mediator in the ſtate of creation betweene God and his Creatures, in that he was of a middle condition betweene him that no way was of any other, and thoſe things that by another were made and produced out of nothing, knitting and ioyning them together in an indiſſoluble band; and that in this reſpect he was fitteſt to become Man, and to be a Mediator of reconciliation, when betweene God and his creatures there was not onely a great diſtance as before, but a great diuiſion, difference, and breach alſo.

Chap. 12.

Of the manner of the vnion that is betweene the Perſon of the Sonne of God, and our nature in Chriſt, and the ſimilitudes brought to expreſſe the ſame.

Herefore let vs proceede to ſee how the natures of God and Man were vnited in Chriſt, and what kinde of vnion it was, that made God to become Man, and Man God. For the clearing heereof the [a] Diuines do note, that there is *Vnum per vnitatem*, and *Vnum per vnionem*, that is, that ſometimes a thing is ſayd to be one by vnitie or Oneneſſe, and ſometimes by vnion. *Vnum per vnitatem eſt illud in quo non eſt multitudo, quod ſcilicet non eſt in multis, nec ex multis*; that is, That thing is one by vnitie, wherein there are not many

a *Alex. de Ales Sum. Theolog. part. 3. queſt. 7. memb. 1. art. 1.*

many things found, which neither conſiſteth in many things, nor of many things: in which ſort God onely is moſt properly ſayd to be One, in whom there is neither diuerſitie of natures, nor multiplicitie of parts, nor compoſition of perfection and imperfection, being and not being, as in all creatures. One by vnion, is that, which either conſiſteth in many things, or of many things; and is either in a ſort onely, or ſimply One. In a ſort onely a thing conſiſting in or of many things, is ſayd to be one three wayes. Firſt, when neither the one of the things whereof it conſiſteth hath denomination from the other, nor the property of it, as when ſtones are layd together to make one heape. Secondly, when the one hath the property of the other, but no denomination from it, as is the vnion betweene the hand and thoſe ſweete ſpices it holdeth in it. Thirdly, when the one hath denomination from the other, but no property of the other, as a man is ſayd to be apparelled from his apparell, but no property thereof paſſeth from it vnto him, as the ſauour of the ſweete ſpices doth into the hand.

Vnion ſimply is of diuerſe ſorts: Firſt, when one of the things vnited is turned into the other: this falleth out ſo often as there is a repugnance betweene the things vnited, and one is predominant, and preuailing, as when a drop of water is poured into a whole veſſell of wine. Secondly, when both the things vnited are changed in nature and eſſence; and that commeth to paſſe ſo often as the things vnited haue a repugnance betweene themſelues, and yet no preuailing of one ouer the other: In this ſort the elements are vnited to make mixt or compound bodies. Thirdly, when there is no tranſmutation of the things vnited, but the conſtitution of a third nature out of them, becauſe they haue no repugnance, but mutuall dependance: Of this ſort is the vnion of the ſoule and body. Fourthly, when there is neither tranſmutation of the natures vnited, nor conſtitution of a third out of them, but onely the founding, ſetling, and ſtaying of the one of the things vnited in the other, and the drawing of it into the vnity of the perſonall being or ſubſiſtence of the other: this commeth to paſſe, when there is neither repugnance nor mutuall dependance of one of the things vnited vpon the other, but a dependance of another kind; ſo the braunch of a tree being put vpon the ſtocke of another tree, is drawne into the vnitie of the ſubſiſtence of that tree into which it is put; & whereas if it had bene ſet in the ground, it would haue growne as a ſeparate tree in it ſelfe, now it groweth in the tree into which it is grafted, and pertaineth to the vnitie of it.

Here is neither mixture of the natures of theſe trees, nor conſtitution of a third out of them, but only the drawing of one of them into the vnitie of the ſubſiſtence of the other: ſo that here is not *Compoſitio huius ex his*, but *Huius ad hoc*, that is, not a compoſition of a third thing out of the things vnited, but an adioyning of one of the things vnited to the other. And this

Durand in 3. Sentent. diſt. 6. queſt. 3.

this kinde of vnion doth of all other moſt perfectly reſemble the perſonall vnion of the natures of God and man in Chriſt; wherein the nature of man, that would haue bene a perſon in it ſelfe, if it had bene left to it ſelfe, is drawen into the vnity of the diuine perſon, and ſubſiſteth in it, being preuented from ſubſiſting in it ſelfe by this perſonall vnion and aſſumption.

This that we may the better conceiue, we muſt conſider what the difference is betweene nature and perſon, and what maketh an indiuiduall nature to be a perſon. Some thinke that nature and perſon differ, as that *Quod eſt*, and *Quo eſt*, that is, as the thing that is, & that whereby it is. Other, that the condition of perſonal being, addeth to an indiuiduall nature a negation of dependance or being ſuſteined by another: but to leaue all vncertainty of opinions, to be *this* or *that*, is indiuiduall; to be *this* or *that* in and for it ſelfe, is perſonall being; to be *this* or *that in and for another*, is to pertaine to the perſon or ſubſiſtence of another: ſo that euery thing that is in or for it ſelfe, is a ſubſiſtence or thing ſubſiſting, and euery ſuch rationall indiuidual nature is a perſon.

Amongſt thoſe created things which naturally are apt to make a ſubſiſtence, or to ſubſiſt in and for themſelues, there is very great difference: for ſome naturally may become parts of another more entire thing of the ſame kinde, as we ſee in all thoſe things wherein euery part hath the ſame nature and name that the whole hath, as euery droppe of water is water, and, being left to it ſelfe, is a ſubſiſtence in it ſelfe, and hath that being, quality and nature that is in it, in and for it ſelfe; but being ioyned to a greater quantity of water, it hath now no being, quantity or operation, but in and for that greater quantity of water into which it is poured.

Other things there be, that cannot naturally or by the working of naturall cauſes put themſelues into the vnity of any other thing, but by the helpe of ſome forreine cauſe they may be made to pertaine to the vnity of another thing different in nature and kinde: So the braunch of a tree of one kinde, which put into the ground would be an entire diſtinct tree in it ſelfe, growing, mouing, and bearing fruit in and for it ſelfe, may by the hand of man be put into the vnity of the ſubſiſtence of a tree of an other kinde and ſort, and ſo grow, moue, and beare fruit, not diſtinctly in and for it ſelfe, but iointly in and for that tree into which it is implanted.

A third ſort of things there are, which being left to themſelues become ſubſiſtences; and cannot by force of naturall cauſes, nor the helpe of any forreine thing, euer become parts of any other created thing, or pertaine to the vnity of the ſubſiſtence of any ſuch thing: ſuch is the nature of all liuing things; and ſuch is the nature of man, which cannot be brought by force of any cauſe to pertaine to the vnity of any created ſubſiſtence; becauſe it cannot haue ſuch dependance on any created thing as is required

to

to make it pertaine to the ſubſiſtence thereof; yet by diuine and ſupernaturall working, it may be drawen into the vnitie of the ſubſiſtence of any of the Perſons of the bleſſed Trinitie, wherein the fulneſſe of all being, and the perfection of all created things is in a more eminent ſort then in themſelues. For though all created things haue their owne being, yet ſeeing God is nearer to them then they are to themſelues, and they are in a better ſort in him then in themſelues, there is no queſtion, but that they may be preuented, and ſtaied, from being in and for themſelues, and cauſed to be in and for one of the diuine Perſons of the bleſſed Trinitie.

So that as one drop of water, that formerly ſubſiſted in it ſelfe, poured into a veſſell containing a greater quantitie of water, by continuitie becommeth one in ſubſiſtence with that greater quantitie of water: and as a braunch of a tree, which being ſet in the ground, and left to it ſelfe, would be an entire and independent tree, becommeth one in ſubſiſtence with that tree into which it is graffed; they both loſe their owne bounds, within which contained, they were diſtinctly ſeuered from other things, and the relation of being totall things: ſo the indiuiduall nature of man aſſumed into the vnity of one of the Perſons of the bleſſed Trinitie loſeth that kinde of being, that naturally left to it ſelfe, it would haue had, which is, to be in and for it ſelfe, and not to depend of any other, and getteth a new relation of dependance a being in another. And as it is continuitie that maketh the former things one with them to which they are ioined: ſo here a kinde of ſpirituall contact betweene the diuine Perſon and the nature of man, maketh God to be Man. For as ſituation and poſition is in things corporall, ſo is order and dependance in things ſpirituall.

There are many ſimilitudes brought by the Diuines to expreſſe this vnion of the natures of God, and Man in the ſame Chriſt, as of the ſoule and body; of a flaming and fiery ſword; of one man hauing two accidentall formes: and laſtly, of a tree, and a braunch or bough that is graffed into it. The ſimilitude of the ſoule and body making but one man, is very apt, & vſed by the [b] Ancient, yet is it defectiue, and imperfect: firſt for that the ſoule and body being imperfect natures, concurre to make one full and perfect nature of a man: ſecondly, for that the one of them is not drawen into the vnitie of the ſubſiſtence of the other, but both depend of a third ſubſiſtence, which is, that of the whole: whereas in Chriſt, both natures are perfect, ſo that they cannot concurre to make a third nature or ſubſiſtence; but the eternall Word ſubſiſting perfectly in it ſelfe, draweth vnto it, & perſonally ſuſtaineth in it, the nature of man, which hath no ſubſiſtence of it owne, but that of the Sonne of God communicated vnto it.

b *Athanaſius in Symbolo.*

Touching the ſimilitude [c] of a fierie & flaming ſword, it moſt liuely expreſſeth the vnion of the two natures in Chriſt, in that the ſubſiſtences of

c *Baſil in orat. in Sanct. natiuit. & Damaſ. lib. 3. de Orthodox fide cap. 11.*

fire, and of the ſword, are ſo nearely conioined, that the operations of them for the moſt part concurre, and there is in a ſort, a communication of properties from the one of them to the other. For a fiery ſword in cutting and diuiding, waſteth and burneth; and in waſting and burning, cutteth and diuideth; and we may rightly ſay of this whole thing, wherein the nature of the fire, and the nature of the ſteele, or Iron (whereof the ſword is made) do concurre and meet, that it is fire, and that it is ſteele, or Iron: that this fiery thing is a ſharpe piercing ſword, and that this ſharpe piercing ſword is a fiery and deuouring thing. But this ſimilitude is defectiue, becauſe the nature of Iron is not drawen into the vnity of the ſubſiſtence of fire, nor the fire of Iron, ſo that we cannot ſay, this fire is ſteele or Iron, or this ſteele or Iron is fire.

The third ſimilitude of one man hauing two qualities, or accidentall formes, (as the skill of Phyſicke and Law) hath many things in it moſt aptly expreſſing the perſonall vnion of the two natures of God and Man in Chriſt. For firſt, in ſuch a man there is but one perſon: and yet there are two natures concurring and meeting in the ſame: the qualities are different, and the things had, not the ſame: but he that hath and poſſeſſeth them, is the ſame. Secondly, the perſon being but one, is denominated from either, or both of theſe different formes, qualities, or accidentall natures, and doth the workes of them both: and there is a communication of properties conſequent vpon the concurring of two ſuch formes in one man. For we may rightly ſay of ſuch a one: This Phyſition is a Lawyer, and, this Lawyer is a Phyſition. This Lawyer is happy in curing diſeaſes; and, this Phyſition is carefull in following his clients cauſes.

d *Scotus in 3. Sentent. diſt. 1. quæſt. 1.*

d *Scotus* eſpecially approueth the ſimilitude of the ſubiect, & accident; firſt taking away that which is of imperfection in the ſubiect, as that it is potentiall in reſpect of the accident to be informed of it; & in a ſort perfected by it: Secondly, that which is of imperfection in the accident, as that it muſt be inherent: for otherwiſe the nature of man is ioyned to the perſon of the Son of God *per modum accidentis*, for that *aduenit enti in actu completo*, that is, it commeth to a thing already complete and perfect in it ſelfe. In which ſort, one thing may be added and come to another; either ſo, as not to pertaine to the ſame ſubſiſtence, as the garments that one putteth on; or ſo, as to pertaine to the ſame ſubſiſtence, but by inherence; or thirdly, ſo, as to pertaine to the ſame ſubſiſtence, without the inherence of the one in the other, by a kinde of inexiſtence, as the braunch is in the tree into which it is grafted; which is the e fourth ſimilitude, and of all other moſt perfect. For there are but two thinges wherein it faileth and commeth too ſhort: whereof the firſt is, for that the braunch hath firſt a ſeparate ſubſiſtence in it ſelfe, and after loſeth it, and then is drawen into the vnitie of the ſubſiſtence

Durand. in 3. Sentent. diſt. 6. quæſt. 4.

e *Alex. de Ales. Sum. Theolog. part. 3. qu. 7. Memb. 1. art. 1.*

ſtence of that tree into which it is implanted: the ſecond, for that it hath no roote of it owne, and ſo wanteth one part pertaining to the integritie of the nature of each tree. But if a braunch of one tree ſhould by diuine power be created and made in the ſtocke of another, this compariſon would faile but onely in one circumſtance, and that not very important; ſeeing, though the humane nature want no part pertaining to the integritie and perfection of it, (as the implanted braunch doth of that pertaineth to the integritie of the nature of a tree, in that it hath no roote of it owne) yet the humane nature in Chriſt, hath no ſubſiſtence of it owne, but that of the Sonne of God communicated vnto it; and therefore in that reſpect it is, in ſome ſort, like to the braunch that hath no roote of it owne, but that of the tree, into which it is implanted, communicated vnto it.

This compariſon is vſed by *Alexander* of *Hales*, and diuers other of the Schoole-men, and, in my opinion, is the apteſt and fulleſt of all other. For as betweene the tree and the braunch there is a compoſition, not *Huius ex his*, but *huius ad hoc*, that is, not making a tree of a compound or middle nature, and qualitie, but cauſing the braunch, though retaining it owne nature, and bearing it owne fruite, to pertaine to the vnitie of the tree into which it is implanted, and to beare fruite in and for it, and not for it ſelfe: ſo the Perſon of Chriſt is ſaid to bee compounded of the nature of God and Man, not as if there were in him a mixt nature ariſing out of theſe, but as hauing the one of theſe added vnto the other in the vnitie of the ſame perſon. And as this tree is one, and yet hath two different natures in it, and beareth two kinds of fruite: ſo Chriſt is one, and yet hath two different natures, and in them performeth the diſtinct actions pertaining to either of them.

Laſtly, as a man may truly ſay, after ſuch implanting, this Vine is an Oliue tree, and this Oliue tree is a Vine; and conſequently, this Vine beareth Oliues, and this Oliue tree beareth Grapes: ſo a man may ſay, this Sonne of *Marie* is the Sonne of God: and on the other ſide, this Sonne of God, and firſt borne of euery creature, is the Sonne of *Marie*, borne in time: the Sonne of God, and Lord of life was crucified, and the Sonne of *Marie* laied the foundations of the earth, and ſtretched out the Heauens like a curtaine.

Chap. 13.

Of the Communication of the properties of either nature in Christ, consequent vpon the vnion of them in his Person, and the two first kindes thereof.

HAuing spoken of the assuming of our nature by the Son of God into the vnitie of his diuine Person, it remaineth, that we speake of the consequents of this vnion, and the gifts and graces bestowed vpon the nature of Man when it was assumed. The first and principall consequent of the personall vnion of the natures of God and Man in Christ, is, the Communication of their properties: of which there are three kindes or degrees. The first is, when the properties of either nature considered singly and apart, as the properties of this or that nature, are attributed to the person from whichsoeuer of the natures it be denominated. The second is, when the different actiõs of two natures in Christ concurre in the same works and things done. The third, when the diuine attributes are communicated vnto the humane nature, & bestowed vpon it. Vsually in the Schooles, only the first degree or kinde of communication, is named the communication of properties. Which that we may the better vnderstand, we must obserue, that there are abstractiue & concretiue words: the former whereof do precisely note the forme or nature of each thing; the latter imply also the person that hath the same nature or forme; as, *Humanitas*, and *Homo*, *Sanctitas*, and *Sanctus*. Manhood & Man: Holinesse & Holy. Secõdly we must obserue that abstractiue words, noting precisely the distinct natures, cãnot be affirmed one of the other, nor the properties of one nature attributed to the other abstractiuely expressed. For neither can we truly say, that *Deity* is *Humanity*, or *Humanity*, *Deity*; nor that the *Deity* suffered, or the *Humanity* created the world; but we may truly say *God* is *Man*, & *Man* is *God*: God died vpon the Crosse, & *Maries* babe made the world; Because the person which these concretiue words imply, is one: & all actions, passions, & qualities, agree really to the Person, though in, and in respect sometimes of one nature, and sometimes of another. When we say, *God* is *Man*, and *Man* is God, we note the coniunction that is betweene the natures meeting in one person; & therefore this mutuall and conuersiue predication cannot properly be named communication of properties; but the communication of properties is, when the properties of one nature are attributed to the Person, whether denominated from the other, as some restraine it, or from the same also, as others enlarge it. This communication of properties is of diuers sorts: first, when the properties of the diuine nature are attributed to the whole Person of Christ subsisting in two natures, but denominated from the diuine nature: as when it is said: [a] *Those things which the Father doth, the Sonne doth also.* Secondly, when the properties of the humane nature are attributed to the person denominated from

a Ioh. 5. 19.

from the diuine nature, as when it is ſaid, [b] *They crucified the Lord of glory*; [c] *They killed the Lord of life*. Thirdly, when the properties of the diuine nature are attributed to the perſon denominated from the nature of man, as when it is ſaid: [d] *No man aſcendeth into Heauen, but the Sonne of man that came downe from Heauen, euen that Son of man that is in Heauen*. Fourthly, when thoſe things that agree to both natures are attributed to the perſon denominated from one of them, as when the Apoſtle ſaith: [e] *There is one God, & one Mediator betweene God & man, which is the man Chriſt Ieſus*. Fiftly, when the properties of one nature are attributed to the perſon, neither denominated preciſely from the one nature, nor from the other, but noted by a word indifferently expreſſing both; as when we ſay, *Chriſt* was borne of *Mary*. If any man liſt to ſtriue about words, not admitting any cõmunication of properties, but when the properties of one nature, are attributed to the perſon denominated from the other, as when we ſay, the *Son* of *God* died on the Croſſe, the *Son* of *Man* made the world; beſides that he is contrary to the ordinary opinion, he ſeemeth not to conſider, that it is a perſon conſiſting in two natures that is noted, by what appellation ſoeuer we expreſſe the ſame; & that therefore the attributing of the properties of any one of the natures vnto it, may rightly be named a communication of properties, as being the attributing of the properties of this or that nature to a perſon ſubſiſting in both, though denominated from one. For the better vnderſtanding of that hath bene ſaid touching this firſt kinde of cõmunication of properties, & the diuers ſorts thereof, there are certaine obſeruations neceſſary, which I wil here adde. The firſt is, that the cõmunication of properties, wherein the properties of the one nature, are affirmed of the perſon denominated of the other, is real, & not verbal only. The ſecond, that the properties of the humane nature are not really cõmunicated to the diuine nature. The third is, that the properties of the diuine nature, are in a ſort really cõmunicated to the humane nature, whereof we ſhal ſee more in the third kind of communication of properties. The fourth obſeruation is, that in the ſacred & bleſſed Trinity, there is *Alius & Alius*, but not *Aliud & Aliud*, diuerſitie of perſons, but not of being & nature; but that in Chriſt there is *aliud & aliud*, & not *alius & alius*, that is, diuerſity of natures, but ſo that he that hath them is the ſame; whence it commeth that the properties of either nature may be affirmed of the perſon, from which ſoeuer of thẽ it be denominated; yet ſo that more fully to expreſſe our meaning, it is neceſſary ſometimes to adde for diſtinction ſake, that they are verified κατ' ἄλλο *ſecundum aliud*; that is, according vnto the other nature, & not according vnto that whence the perſon is denominated. This explication, or limitation is then ſpecially to be added, when ſuch properties of one nature, are attributed to the perſon denominated from the other, as ſeeme to exclude the properties of the other: ſo when we ſay, *Chriſt* the *Son* of God is a creature, we muſt adde, that we neither ſcanda-

b 1. Cor. 2. 8.
c Acts. 3. 15.
d Ioh. 3. 13.
e 1. Tim. 2. 5.

lize them that heare vs, nor giue any occasiō of error, that he is a creature, in that he is man. Now it followeth that we speake of the second kinde or degree of communication of properties, which is in that the actions of Christ are θεανδρικαὶ, *Deiuiriles*, Diuinely-humane, & Humanely-diuine, and each nature so worketh it owne worke, according to the naturall property thereof, that it hath a kinde of communion with the other. But lest we fall into error touching this point, we must obserue, that the actions of Christ may be said to be *Theandrical*, that is, *Diuinely-humane*, three waies. First so, as if there were one action of both natures, & so we must not vnderstand the actions of Christ to be *Diuinely-humane*, for this is to confound the natures; whereas we must vndoubtedly beleeue, that [f] *Omnia in Christo sunt duplicia, naturæ, proprietates, voluntates, & operationes: solâ exceptâ subsistentiâ, quæ est vna:* that is, that all things in Christ are twofold, or double, as his natures, properties, wils, and actions: his subsistence onely or Person excepted, which is but one. Secondly, the actions of Christ may be said to be *Theandricall*, that is, *Diuinely-humane*, for that both the actions of *Deitie* & *Humanitie*, though distinct, yet concurre in one work: to which purpose *Sophronius* in that notable Epistle of his, which we reade in the [g] sixth general Councel, doth distinguish three kindes of the workes of Christ, making the first meerely diuine, as, to create all things: the second, meerely humane, as to eate, drinke, & sleep: the third, partly diuine & partly humane, as to walke vpō the waters: in which worke, walking was so humane, that the giuing of firmenesse & soliditie to the waters to beare the weight of his body, was an action of Deity. Thirdly, the actions of Christ may be said to be *Theandricall*, that is, *Diuinely-humane*, in respect of the Person that produceth and bringeth them forth, which is θεάνθρωπος, *God-man*. In either of these two latter senses, the actions of Christ may rightly be vnderstood to be *Theandricall*: & that of *Leo* is most true concerning Christ. [h] *In Christo vtraq; forma operatur cum alterius cōmunione quod proprium est:* that is, in Christ both natures do work that which is proper vnto them, with a kind of communion the one hath with the other: for this saying is true, first in respect of the Person, & the communion which either nature hath with other therein. Secondly in respect of the work & effect, whereunto by their seueral proper actions they concurre, though in different sort; as in the healing of the sicke, not only the force of *Deity* appeared, and shewed it selfe, but the humane nature also did concurre, in respect of the body, in that he touched those that were to be healed, laid his hands vpon them, and spake vnto them: in respect of the soule, in that he desired, applauded, and reioiced in that, which by diuine power he brought to passe: thirdly, in that the actions of humane nature in Christ haue in them a greater perfection then can be found in the actions of any meere man, from the assistance of the *Deity* that dwelleth bodily in him.

f *Epist. Agathonis recitata & approbata in 6. Synodo. act 10. 4.*

g *Actione 11.*

h *Leo epist. 10. cap. 4.*

CHAP.

Chap. 14.

Of the third kinde of Communication of Properties, and the first degree thereof.

NOw let vs come to the third kinde of Communication of properties, which is that wherby diuine & precious things are really bestowed on the nature of man, The things which are thus communicated and bestowed, are of two sorts. The first, finite, and created; as qualities or habites formally, habitually, & subiectiuely inherent in the humane nature: the second, the essentiall attributes of the diuinitie it selfe, communicated to the humane nature, not formerly by physicall effusion, or essentiall confusion, but by dispensation of personall vnion. Touching the things of the first sort, there is no question but that they were bestowed vpon the nature of man, in all perfection when it was vnited to the Person of the Sonne of God: so that in it was found the fulnesse both of grace and vertue, according to that of S. *Iohn*: [a] *The word was made flesh, and dwelt amongst vs, and we saw the glory of it, as the glory of the onely begotten Sonne of God, full of grace and truth,* [b] The fulnesse of grace (as the Schoole-men excellently note) is of two sorts: first in respect of grace it selfe: and secondly in respect of him that hath it: The fulnesse of grace in respect of grace it selfe, is then, when one attaineth to the highest and vttermost of grace both *quoad essentiam, & virtutem, intensiue, & extensiue:* in the Essence and vertue of it, intensiuely, and extensiuely, that is, when he hath it as farre forth as it may be had, & vnto all effects and purposes whereunto grace doth or can extend it selfe; as he is said, to haue life perfectly, or the fulnesse of life, that hath it not onely in the essence, but according to all the operations and acts of life, sensible, rationall, intellectuall, spirituall, and naturall; in which sort, man onely hath the perfection and fulnesse of life in him, and no other thing of inferior condition. This kinde of fulnesse of grace is proper to Christ onely, [c] *Of whose fulnesse we all receiue* The fulnesse of grace in respect of the subiect or him that hath it, is then, when one hath grace fully and perfectly, according to his estate and condition, both intensiuely to the vttermost bound that God hath prefixed to thē of such a condition; & extensiuely in the vertue of it, in that it extēdeth to the doing & performing of all those things that may any way pertaine to the condition, office, or estate of such as are of his place and Ranke. In this sort *Stephen* is saide to [d] *haue bene full of the holy Ghost*, who is the fountaine of grace; and *Marie* the blessed Virgin, the mother of our Lord, is by the Angell, pronounced: [e] *Blessed amongst women, and full of grace*: for that she had grace in respect of the Essence of it, intensiuely, in as perfect sort as any mortal creature might haue it, and in respect of the vertue of it, extending to all thinges that might any way pertaine to her that was chosen to bee the sacred vessell

a Ioh. 1. 14.
b *Thomas Sum. Theol, part 3. quæst. 7, art. 9.*
c Ioh. 1. 16.
d Acts. 7. 55.
e Luke. 1. 28

of the incarnation of the Sonne of God: So that there was neuer any but Christ, whose graces were no way stinted, and to whom the spirit was not giuen in measure, that was absolutely full of grace; which fulnesse of grace in Christ, the Diuines do declare and cleare vnto vs, wherein it consisted, by distinguishing a double grace in Christ, the one of vnion, the other of vnction, or habituall; and do teach, that the grace of vnion, in respect of the thing giuen, which is the personall subsistence of the Son of God bestowed on the nature of man formed in *Maries* wombe (whence that which was borne of her, was the Son of God) is infinite, howsoeuer the relation of dependance found in the humane nature, whereby it is vnited to the person of the Son of God, is a finite, & created thing. Likewise touching the grace of vnction, they teach, that it is in a sort infinite also: for that howsoeuer it be but a finite, and created thing, yet in the nature of grace it hath no limitation, no bounds, no stint, but includeth in it selfe whatsoeuer any way pertaineth to grace, or cõmeth within the compasse of it. The reason of this illimited donatiõ of grace thus without all stint bestowed on the nature of man in Christ, was, for that it was giuen vnto it, as to the vniuersall cause, whence it was to be deriued vnto others. From the fulnesse of grace in Christ let vs proceed to speake of the perfectiõ of his vertues also. [f] Vertue differeth from grace, as the beame of light frõ light: for as light indifferently scattereth it selfe into the whole aire, & all those things vpon which it may come, but the beame is the same light as it is directed, specially to some one place or thing: so grace repleniſheth, filleth & perfecteth the whole soule, & spirit of man; but vertue more specially this or that faculty or power of the soule, to this or that purpose or effect. In respect of both these the soule of Christ was perfect, being full of vertue as well as grace; whereupon the Prophet *Esay* saith: [g] *The Spirit of the Lord shall rest vpon the flowre of Iſhai, the Spirit of wisedome and vnderstanding, the Spirit of counsell & strength, the Spirit of knowledge & of the feare of the Lord.* Wisedome is in respect of things diuine: vnderstanding of the first principles, science of conclusions, counsell of things to be done: feare maketh men decline from that which is ill, & strength confirmeth them to ouercome the difficulties wherewith weldoing is beset: So that seeing the spirit, that is the giuer of all these vertues (within the compasse whereof al vertue is confined) is promised to rest on our Sauiour Christ, we may vndoubtedly resolue, that there is no vertue pertaining to man ([h] neither including in it imperfection, as Faith, & Hope, nor presuppoſing imperfection in him that hath it, as Repentance, which presupposeth the penitent to be a sinner) but it was found in Christs humane nature, and reasonable soule, and that euen from the very moment of his incarnation. How is it then, will some man say, that the Scripture pronounceth, that he [i] increased in the perfections of the minde, to wit, both in grace and wisedome, as he grewe in stature of body. And here that question

f *Alex. de Ales. part 3. qu. 61. memb. 2. art. 4.*

g Esay. 11. 2.

h *Paludanus in 3. Sentent. dist. 14. qu. 2.*

i Luke. 2. 25.

queſtion is vſually propoſed and handled, whether Chriſt did truly and indeede profit, and growe in knowledge, as not knowing all things at the firſt, as he grew in ſtature of body from weake beginnings; or onely in the farther manifeſtation of that knowledge he had in like degree of perfection from the beginning. For the clearing whereof, we muſt note, that there were in Chriſt two kinds of knowledge: the one diuine, and increate: the other humane and created. Touching the firſt, there is no doubt, but that being the eternall Wiſedome of the Father, by whom all things were made, he knew eternally all things that afterwards ſhould come to paſſe; and therefore the *Arrians* impiouſly abuſed thoſe places of Scripture, which they brought to proue, that Chriſt grew in knowledge, and learned ſomething in proceſſe of time, which he knew not before; in that they vnderſtood them of his diuine knowledge which he had in that he was God: and thereby went about to proue, that he was not truely and properly God, nor conſubſtantiall with the Father, but ſo only, and in ſuch a ſenſe, as that wherein the Apoſtle ſaith, [k] *There are many Lords, and many Gods.* The later kinde of knowledge found in Chriſt, which is humane, the Schoolemen diuide into two kinds; the one, *in verbo*, the other *in genere proprio*, that is, the one in the eternall Word, wherein he ſeeth all things; the other, that whereby he ſeeth things in themſelues: for he hath an immediate and cleare viſion of the Godhead, and in it of all things; and he hath alſo the knowledge and ſight of things in themſelues. [l] By vertue of the firſt of theſe two kinds of humane knowledge, the ſoule of Chriſt beholding the diuine Eſſence, in it ſeeth all things in reſpect of that they are, and taketh a perfect view of the Eſſence and nature of euery thing that is, may be, or is poſſible to be, as in that ſampler, according to which God worketh all things; but the actuall being of things it cannot know by the viſion and ſight of Gods Eſſence, but meerely by his voluntarie reuelation, and manifeſtation of the ſame; ſeeing though the Eſſence of God be naturally a ſampler of all things that are or may be, according to which all things are wrought, yet he produceth things voluntarily, and according to the good pleaſure of his will, and not naturally and neceſſarily: ſo that that kind of knowledge, which conſiſteth in the viſion of God, is more perfect then any other, and onely maketh men happie, becauſe it is in reſpect of the beſt and moſt noble obiect. Yet [m] the other kind of knowledge, that maketh vs take a view of things in themſelues, is more perfect, in that it maketh knowne vnto vs the actuall being of things, and particular facts, which that happie kind of knowledge of things ſeene in the glaſſe of the diuine Eſſence doth not.

k 1. Cor. 8. 5.

l *Durand. in 3. Sentent. diſt. 14. queſt. 2.*

m *Ibid queſt. 3.*

Theſe things thus diſtinguiſhed, it is eaſie to conceiue how, and in what ſort Chriſt grew and increaſed in grace and wiſedome, and how he was full of the ſame from the moment of his incarnation, ſo that nothing could

could be afterwards added vnto him. For, concerning his diuine knowledge, the perfection of it was such, and so infinite from all eternitie, that it is impious once to thinke that he grew and increased in the same.

k *Vide apud Scotum l.3. dist. 14.q.2. opinionem Henrici quol.5.q.14.&c.*

*Touching the humane knowledge he had of things seene in the eternal word, and in the cleare glasse of the diuine Essence, it is most probably thought by some of excellent learning, that though the soule of Christ had at the first, and brought with it into the world a potentiall hability and aptnesse to see all things in God, so soone as it should conuert it selfe to a distinct view of them: that yet it did not actually see all things in the Essence of God at once from the beginning, but afterwards in processe of time; and for the n other kind of knowledge and apprehension of things, which he had as beholding them in themselues, they thinke it was perfect in habit from the first moment of his incarnation, but not in actual apprehension, wherein he did truly increase and grow; as also in experimentall knowledge; For the humane knowledge that was in Christ, was by conuersion to those *Phantasmata* and sensible representations of things, that from without are by the senses presented to the Soule; and was discursiue, though not proceeding from things known, to find out things altogether vnknowne, yet from things actually knowne, to such as he knew but habitually only, and not actually before. That humane knowledge Christ had of things in themselues, was discursiue, and by conuersion to the sensible representations of them from without, it is euident, in that all perfections are receiued according to the condition and capacitie of the receiuer. Now the condition of the Soule of man in the state of this life is, to know nothing but by conuersion to the sensible appearances of the same, and that not onely in respect of things naturall, but mysticall also and supernaturall; o *Quia impossibile est* (saith *Dionysius Areopagita*) *nobis aliter superlucere radium diuinum, nisi sacrorum velaminum varietate circumuelatum*; that is, because it is impossible the beame of diuine light should shine on vs, vnlesse it be vailed on euerie side with the varietie of sacred vailes.

n *Ibid. quæst.4.*

o *Dionys citatus ab eodem Durand. ibid. quæst.3.*

Thus then we see, how it may be truly sayd, that Christ grew in wisedome and knowledge, as he did in stature of body, *non quoad habitus essentiam & extensionem, sed quoad actualem cognitionem & experimentum*; that is, not in respect of the Essence or extension of the habit, but of actuall knowledge, and experience. That which *Thomas* and others haue, that Christ knew all things at first by an *infused* knowledge, & afterwards attained another kind of knowledge of the same things, which they named *acquisite*, is not so fit: for two formes or qualities of one kind cannot be in the same subiect. Now as the sight which is in mē naturally, & that which once lost is restored againe by miracle, is of the same nature & condition: so is that knowledge of things that is by *infusion*, & that which is *acquisite*; howsoeuer these men seeme to make them of two kinds. Wherfore passing by this cōceipt as not probable, to conclude this point; p euen as, touching the condition of children, which should haue bene borne in the state of innocency,

p *Alen. de Ales part.2 quæst.89. membro.2.*

nocency, there are diuerſe opinions, ſome thinking they ſhould haue had the vſe of reaſon, & perfection of knowledge at the very firſt, ſo that they ſhould haue growne and increaſed afterwards onely in experimentall knowledge; others, that they ſhould haue had no vſe of reaſon at the firſt; and a third ſort, that ſo ſoone as they had bin borne, they ſhould haue had the vſe of reaſon, ſo farre forth as to diſcerne outward things good or euill (ſeeing euen the little lambes by natures inſtinct do know the wolfe, and flie from him, and ſeeke the dugges of their dammes) but not to diſcerne things concerning morall vertue, and the worſhip of God. So likewiſe, ſome thinke that the Babe *Ieſus*, euen in his humane ſoule, had the actuall knowledge of all things euen from the beginning, and that he grew only in experimentall knowledge; but there are other of as good iudgement, and as great learning, who thinke, that howſoeur he had the habit of all knowledge from the beginning, & brought it with him out of the womb, yet not the act and vſe of it; & this is all that either *Luther* or *Caluine* ſay; and yet we know how clamorouſly ſome inueigh againſt them, as if they had broached ſome damnable hereſie. But ſome man will ſay, if we grant that Chriſt in his humane Soule knew not all things from the beginning, but in proceſſe of time learned that which before he actually knew not, we faſten on him the diſgraceful note of ignorance, & conſequently bring him within the confines & cõpaſſe of ſin. Hereunto *Hugo de S. Victore* anſwereth; & ſheweth the folly of this ſilly obiection, peremptorily reſoluing, that [q] *non omnis qui aliquid neſcit, aut minus perfectè ſcit, ſtatim ignorantiã habere, ſeu in ignorantiâ eſſe dicendus eſt; quia ignorantia non dicitur, niſi tunc ſolùm, cum id quod ignorari non debuiſſet, neſcitur*; that is, we muſt not ſay, that euery one that knoweth not a thing, or doth leſſe perfectly know it, is ignorant, or in ignorãce, becauſe ignorance is only the not knowing of ſuch things as ſhould haue bin knowne. Neither is there any diſtinction more triuiall or ordinary in the ſchooles, then that of neſcience, & ignorance; & therefore howſoeuer ſome in the heate of their diſtempered paſſions lay a heauy imputation of horrible impietie vpon *Luther*, *Caluine*, & others, for that they ſay, there were ſome things which Chriſt in his humane ſoule did not actually know from the beginning; yet *Maldonatus*, a man as ill conceited of them as any other, [r] confeſſeth, that though ſome ſay Chriſt profited in wiſdom & knowledge, not in his owne perſon, but in his myſticall body, which is, the Church; others, that his growing & increaſing was only in the manifeſtation of that, which in all perfection was found in him from the beginning; or in experimentall knowledge of thoſe things, which in generall contẽplatiõ he knew before; yet many of the anciẽt Fathers, anſwering the obiections of the *Arrians*, & other like heretiques, & reiecting as impious their cõceit, who thought Chriſt was abſolutly ignorãt of any thing, denied not but that there were ſome things which Chriſt in his humane nature did not actually alwayes know. This (ſaith *Maldonatus*) I ſuppoſe *Luther*, *Caluin*, & the reſt knew not; for had they known, that

q *Hugo de S. Victore, de Sacramentis fidei lib. 1. part. 6. cap. 26.*

r *Maldonatus in 2. Luc, ver. 40.*

that the Fathers taught, that Chriſt did truly grow in humane knowledge and wiſedome, and that he knew not all things actually from the beginning, to be contrary to the Fathers, they would haue beene of another minde. How charitable this his ſurmiſe and coniecture is, let the Reader iudge. Howſoeuer, we haue his cleare confeſſion, that many of the Fathers were of opinion, that Chriſt in his humane nature did not alwayes actually know all things. Yea, vpon the 24 of *Matthew* he teſtifieth, that [s] many of them ſayd plainely, that Chriſt as man knew not the day appointed for the generall iudgement of the quicke and dead, when he ſaid, *That day and howre knoweth no man, no not the Angels, nor the Sonne himſelfe, but the Father onely*. It is true indeed, that he goeth about, notwithſtanding this his cleare confeſſion of the truth, to conſtrue the words of ſome of the Fathers in ſuch ſort, as if they had not meant ſimply, that Chriſt in his humane ſoule knew not that howre and time, but onely that he knew it not by force of his humane nature; but this commentarie (I feare) will not agree with their texts. For *Origen* in his third tract vpon *Matthew* ſaith, that Chriſt knew not the time and day of iudgement, when he ſayd, *Of that day and howre knoweth no man, no not the Sonne*; but that afterwards he knew it, when he was riſen, and appointed of his Father, King and Iudge; which words of his admit no ſuch gloſſe. Wherefore *Ianſenius* ſaith, there are [t] two principall interpretations of thoſe words of Chriſt, when he ſaith, *Of that day and howre knoweth no man, no not the Sonne*; the one, that he ſayd he knew it not, becauſe he knew it not to reueale it, and becauſe his body the Church knew it not; the other, that he knew it not, as man; and this interpretation he ſheweth to be likewiſe two-fold: For, ſaith he, if we follow the common opinion, that Chriſt had the perfect knowledge of all things in his humane ſoule at the firſt, then we muſt vnderſtand that Chriſt ſayd, he knew not the day of iudgement, becauſe he knew it not by naturall and acquiſite knowledge, but by vertue of that knowledge, that was infuſed into him: but if we follow the other opinion, that Chriſt had not perfect knowledge of all things in his humane ſoule at the firſt, but grewe in it, then, as *Origen* among other ſenſes deliuereth, the meaning of the words is, that he knew it not, till after his reſurrection.

And ſurely [u] *Cyrill* a worthy Biſhop, and one that had many conflicts with the *Neſtorian* heretiques, who diuided the perſon of Chriſt, feareth not directly to ſay, that Chriſt as man knewe not the day appointed for the generall iudgement, when he vſed the words before mentioned. Neither is this the hereſie of the *Agnoëtæ*, as ſome ignorantly affirme: for their errour was, that the Deitie of Chriſt was ignorant of ſome thing, or that Chriſt in his humane nature was properly ignorant, that is, knew not ſuch things, & at ſuch time, as he ſhould haue knowne; and that he is ſtill ignorant of ſundry things in the ſtate of his glorification, as it appeareth by

[s] *Idem in 24. Matth. ver. 36.*

[t] *Ianſenius comm. in Euang. concord. cap. 123.*

[u] *Cyrill. lib. 9. theſauri. cap. 4. citat. à Ianſenio, ibid.*

by that x Epiſtle of *Gregorie*, in which one of them alledgeth, that as Chriſt tooke our nature, ſo he tooke our ignorance, to free vs from the ſame: and therefore *Maldonatus* vpon the 24. of *Matthew* ſaith; that the *Themiſtians*, called alſo *Agnoeta*, were accounted heretiques, not for ſaying Chriſt knew not the day of iudgement, as *Damaſcene de hæreſibus* teſtifieth; but that, as may be gathered out of the ſame *Damaſcene*, they ſimply, without all diſtinction of the diuine or humane nature, ſaid, Chriſt was ignorant thereof, becauſe they thought the Diuinitie was turned into the Humanitie:

x *Gregor. lib. 8. epiſt. 42. Nicephor. lib. 18. cap. 50. de Agnoetis.*

Chap. 15.

Of the third kind of Communication of properties, and the ſecond degree thereof.

THus hauing ſpoken of thoſe finite and created things, that were beſtowed on the nature of man, when it was aſſumed into the vnitie of the diuine Perſon, let vs come to thoſe things that are infinite. Where firſt, we are certainely to reſolue, that as the nature of man was truly giuen and communicated to the Perſon of the Sonne of God, ſo that he is indeed and really Man; ſo the Perſon of the Sonne of God was as truly communicated to the nature of man, that it might ſubſiſt in it, and that that which was faſhioned in the wombe of the bleſſed virgin, and borne of her, might not onely be holy, but the holieſt of all, euen the Sonne of God.

Secondly, that in this ſenſe, the fulneſſe of all perfection, and all the properties of the diuine Eſſence are communicated to the nature of man in the Perſon of the Sonne. For as the Father communicated his Eſſence to the Sonne by eternall generation, who therefore is the ſecond Perſon in Trinitie, and God of God; ſo in the Perſon of the Sonne, he really communicated the ſame to the nature of man formed in *Maries* wombe, in ſuch ſort, that that Man, that was borne of her, is truely God. And in this ſenſe the *Germane* Diuines affirme, that there is a reall Communication of the diuine properties to the nature of man in the perſonall vnion of the natures of God and Man in Chriſt; not by phyſicall communication, or effuſion, as if the like and equall properties to thoſe that are in God, were put inherently into the nature of man, in ſuch ſort, as the heate transfuſed from the fire into the water is inherent in it, (whence would follow a confuſion, conuerſion, and equalling of the natures, and naturall properties) but perſonall, in the Perſon of the Sonne of God. For as the Perſon of the Sonne of God, in whom the nature and Eſſence of God is found, is ſo communicated to the nature of Man, that the man Chriſt is not onely in phraſe of ſpeech named God, but is indeede, and really God: ſo he is as really

really omnipotent, hauing all power both in heauen and in earth. [a] There is one Christ (saith *Luther*) who is both the Sonne of God, and of the Virgin. By the right of his first birth, not in time, but from all eternity, he receiued all power, that is, the Deitie it selfe, which the Father communicated to him eternally: but touching the other nature of Christ, which began in time, euen so also the eternall power of God was giuen vnto him; so that the Sonne of the Virgin is truly and really eternall God, hauing eternall power, according to that in the last of *Matthew*, [b] *All power is giuen vnto me both in heauen, and in earth.* And of this power, a little after he bringeth in Christ speaking in this sort; Although this power was mine eternally, before I assumed the nature of man, notwithstanding after I began to be man, euen according to the nature of man, I receiued the same power in time, though I shewed it not during the time of my infirmitie, and crosse. [c] *Bonauentura* saith the very same in effect that *Luther* doth: when it is sayd, saith he, speaking of the Man Christ, This Man is euerie where, this may either note out the Person of Christ, or the singular and indiuiduall nature of a man: if the Person of Christ, there is no doubt but the proposition is true: if the indiuiduall nature of a Man, yet still it is true, not by proprietie of nature, but by communication of properties; because that which agreeth to the sonne of God by nature, agreeth vnto this Man by grace: Cardinall [d] *Cameracensis* agreeth with *Bonauentura*, affirming, that the diuine attributes and properties are more really communicated to the Man Christ, then the humane are to the Sonne of God: and that therefore a man may most truely and properly say, speaking of the Man Christ, This Man is immortall, almightie, and of infinite power, and maiestie; because he is properly the diuine Person, and so consequently, truely and really immortall, and omnipotent. Yea [e] *Bellarmine*, though he impugne the errours of the *Lutherans*, (as he calleth them) with all bitternesse, yet confesseth all that hitherto hath bene sayd to be most true. [e] I say, saith he, as before, that the glorie of God the Father was giuen to the humanitie of Christ, *non in ipsâ*, not to be formally or subiectiuely inherent in it, but in the diuine Person; that is, that by grace of vnion the humane nature of Christ obtained to be in such sort the nature of the Sonne of God, that the Man Christ should be truely and really in the glory of God the Father, filling both heauen & earth. Again he saith, those places, [f] *All things are giuen me of my Father*; and, [g] *All power is giuen me both in heauen and earth*, may be vnderstood, first, of diuine power which the Sonne of God receiued of the Father by eternall generation; and secondly, of diuine power which the nature of Man receiued by personall vnion: and in another place speaking of sundry things proper to God, he saith, [h] All those things may be sayd to be communicated and giuen to the humane nature, not formally in it selfe, but in the Person of the Sonne of God by the grace of vnion.

[a] *Luther de verb. nouiss. Dauidis, tom. 3. fol. 91.*

[b] Matth. 28. 18.

[c] *Bonauent. in 3. Sentent. dist. 22. quæst. 2.*

[d] *Camerac. lib. 3. quæst. 1. in Sententias.*

[e] *Bellarm. de Incarnatione, lib. 3. cap. 16.*

[f] Matth. 11. 27.

[g] Matth. 28. 18.

[h] *Ibid. cap. 15.*

The

The Diuines diſtinguiſh the properties of God, and make them to be of two ſorts; communicable, and incommunicable: Communicable properties they define to be thoſe perfections, that are called *perfectiones ſimpliciter*, which are found without mixture of imperfection in God, and in a more imperfect ſort in the creatures. Theſe they name *perfectiones ſimpliciter*, that is, ſimply and abſolutely perfections; becauſe it is better for any thing to haue them, then not to haue them; & becauſe thoſe things are better that haue them, then thoſe that haue them not: as likewiſe, for that they implie in them no imperfection, though they be mingled with imperfection & defect in the Creatures. Of this ſort is life, which it is better to haue, then not to haue; and it includeth in it no imperfection, though it be accompanied with defect and imperfection in many of the things wherein it is found: for that life that is in trees, is an imperfect life, and the life of men, who in truth then begin to die, when they begin to liue, is imperfect, yea, the life of Angels is imperfect, becauſe, if they be not continually ſuſtained, they returne to that nothing out of which they were made. Of the ſame kind, are Truth, Goodneſſe, Iuſtice, Mercie, Wiſdome, Knowledge & Vnderſtanding. And therfore all theſe ſeparated from that imperfection that cleaueth vnto them elſewhere, are found in God, and may truely be attributed vnto him. Incommunicable properties are nothing elſe but the negation and remouing of all that imperfection that is in the creatures, of which ſort are Immortality, Eternity, Immenſitie, Infinity, and the like, all importing a negation of imperfection. The former of theſe two ſorts of diuine properties which are named Communicable, are cõmunicated to meere creatures in ſome degree & ſort, though in higheſt degree they are no where found but in God, &, with the additiõ of words expreſſing ſuch eminencie, they may be attributed to none but to God: for he only is almightie, moſt wiſe, moſt iuſt, & moſt merciſull. But both theſe, with addition of higheſt degree, & the other, which are named Incõmunicable, are by al Diuines confeſſed, to be in ſuch ſort cõmunicated in the Perſon of the Son of God to the nature of man aſſumed into the vnity of the ſame, that the Man Chriſt, and Sonne of *Marie*, is not in title onely, but really and indeed moſt wiſe, moſt iuſt, omnipotent, incomprehenſible, eternall and infinite. And this is all, as I thinke, that the Diuines of *Germanie*, the followers of *Luther* meane, when they ſpeake of the reall communication of diuine properties to the humane nature in Chriſt.

If any man ſay, that they may iuſtly be thought to proceede farther, and to vnderſtand ſome other cõmunication of properties, then that by vs expreſſed, in that they do not only ſay cõcretiuely, that the Man Chriſt is omnipreſent, but the Humanitie alſo: It may be anſwered, that when we ſpeake of the humanity of Chriſt, ſometimes we vnderſtand only that humane created eſſence of a man, that was in him; ſometimes all that, that is implied in the being of a Man, as well ſubſiſtence as eſſence. In the former

former sort, it is absurd and impious to thinke that the humanitie of Christ, that is, the created Essence of a man in him, is omnipotent, omnipresent, or infinite; neither do they so thinke; but they affirme, that the subsistence of the man Christ implied in his being a man, is infinite, and omnipresent, as being the subsistence of the Sonne of God communicated to the nature of Man, in stead of that finite subsistence, which, left to it selfe, it would haue had of it owne.

Much contention there hath beene betweene them and other, touching the vbiquitarie presence of the humanitie of Christ; but I verily thinke it hath beene in a great part vpon mistaking, and because they vnderstood not one another. For the followers of *Luther* confesse, that the bodie of Christ is onely in one place locally, and do not thinke it to be euerie where in extent of Essence diffused into all places, but say only, that it is euerie where in the infiniteneſse of the subsistence of the Sonne of God communicated to it. [i] If we aske them (saith *Zanchius*) whether Christs bodie be euerie where, they answere, that locally it is but in one place, but that personally it is euery where: If they meane, saith he, that in respect of the being of Essence it is finite, and confined to one certaine place, but that the being of subsistence which it hath is infinite, and contained within the straites of no one place, they say the truth, and contradict not them whom they seeme to do.

[i] *Zanchius in indic. de dissidio cœna Dominica; in fine Miscell. & eorum.*

Now that this is their meaning, which this worthy learned Diuine acknowledgeth to be true and Catholique, and not contradicted by them that seeme to be their opposites, they constantly professe: and therfore I am perswaded, that howsoeuer some of them haue vsed harsh, doubtfull, dangerous, and vnfitting formes of speech, yet they differ not in meaning and iudgement from the Orthodoxe, and right beleeuers. For they do not imagine, if we may beleeue their most constant protestations, any essentiall or naturall communication of diuine properties, but personall onely, in that the Person of the Sonne of God is really communicated to the nature of man, in which Person they are. Neither do they define the personall vnion by the communication of properties, but say onely, that it is implied in it: and touching the co-operation of the two natures of God and Man in Christ, they teach no other, but that which we described, when we spake of the *Theandricall* actions of Christ.

The infinite obiections that are made on either side, to the multiplying of needlesse, and fruitlesse contentions, may easily be cleared, and the seeming contradictions reconciled by the right vnderstanding of the point, about which the difference hath growne.

CHAP.

Chap. 16.

Of the worke of Mediation performed by Christ in our nature.

THus hauing ſpoken of the abaſing of the Sonne of God to take our nature, and of the gifts and graces he beſtowed on it, when he aſſumed it into the vnitie of his Perſon; it remaineth, that we ſpeake of the things he did and ſuffered for vs in the ſame. The thing in generall which he did for vs in our nature thus aſſumed, was, the mediating betweene God and vs, that he might reconcile vs vnto God. For the better vnderſtanding whereof we muſt obſerue, what it is to mediate, and the diuerſe kinds of mediation. Mediation is by all ſayd then to be performed, when one interpoſeth himſelfe betweene ſuch as are at variance, to reconcile them, or at leaſt, betweene ſuch as haue no friendly intercourſe, to ioyne them in a league of friendſhip and amitie. The mediation that is betweene them at variance, (the ende whereof is reconciliation) is performed foure wayes. Firſt, by diſcerning and iudging the matters of quarrell and diſlike, that diuide & eſtrange them one from another. Secondly, by reporting from one of the parties to the other, the conditions vpon which either of them may come to an agreement with the other; in which ſenſe *Moſes* ſaith vnto the children of *Iſrael*, [a] *I was a mediatour at that time betweene God and you*; and the Apoſtle ſayth in the Epiſtle to the *Galathians*, [b] *The Law was giuen by Angels in the hand of a mediatour*. Thirdly, by intreating one partie for another: and fourthly, by ſatisfying one partie for the wrongs done by the other. All theſe wayes Chriſt may be ſayd to haue bene a Mediatour betweene God and vs.

a Deut. 5. 5.
b Gal. 3. 19.

For firſt, he interpoſed himſelfe, as an Arbitrator betweene God and vs, ſo ordering the matters of difference betweene vs, that God ſhould accept our repentance, faith, and purpoſe of amendment: and that we ſhould not onely repent vs of the euils paſt, and proſtrate at the feete of his Maieſtie, entreate for mercie, but make a Couenant alſo with our ſelues, and bind our ſelues by a ſolemne vow, neuer to caſt his Lawes behinde our backe any more.

Secondly, he put himſelfe betweene God and vs, by reporting Gods pleaſure vnto vs, and what he requireth of vs, and by reporting vnto God our ſubmiſſiue yeelding of our ſelues to do that he requireth.

Thirdly, he performed the worke of a Mediator, by entreating the one partie to be reconciled to the other, in that [c] *He maketh requeſt for vs*, as it is in the Epiſtle to the *Romanes*, and [d] *is our Aduocate*, as it is in the Epiſtle of S. *Iohn*. Laſtly, he mediated by ſatisfying one partie for the wrongs done by the other: and this kind of mediation was proper to Chriſt alone,

c Rom. 8. 34.
d 1. Ioh. 2. 1.

2.Cor.5.21. according to that of the Apostle; *He was made sinne for vs, that we might be made the righteousnesse of God in him.* These being the diuerse kinds wherein Christ mediateth betweene God and vs; for the better vnderstanding of the nature and force of his mediation, two things are to be obserued: First, what the nature of *Medium*, that is, a meane betweene two extremes is; and secondly, how, and according to which nature Christ was a Mediatour betweene God and vs.

A *medium* or meane betweene two extremes, is of three sorts. The first, when two extremes or contraries concurre and meete in a third nature, arising and growing out of the mixture of them both; as white and blacke, being contrary colours, do meete and concurre in the middle colours: and in this sort there can be no meane betweene God and vs. The second, when some qualities or properties of either of the extremes or opposites are found in a third thing, and so Christ, as Man, was a meane betweene God and Men. For in his humane nature was found righteousnesse, wherein he was like to God; and miserie, wherein he was like to men. To which purpose that is, that S. *Augustine* hath when he saith, [e] *Christus est Mediator inter Deum & homines. Quid est Deus? Pater, Filius, & Spiritus Sanctus. Quid sunt homines? Peccatores, impij, mortales. Inter illam Trinitatem, & hominum infirmitatem, & iniquitatem, Mediator fuit vis est homo non iniquus, sed tamen infirmus: vt, ex eo quod non iniquus, iungeret te Deo; in eo quod infirmus, propinquaret tibi*, that is, Christ is a Mediator betweene God and Men. What is God, but the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost? What are Men, but sinners, wicked ones, and subiect vnto death? Betweene that Trinitie therefore, and the infirmitie, and iniquitie of men, that Man became a Mediatour, that was not sinfull, but infirme, that, in that he was not sinfull, he might ioyne thee to God; and in that he was infirme, he might draw neare vnto thee.

e *August. in Psal.39.*

The third, when both extremes concurre and meete in the same person; and in this sort Christ is most properly a meane, or of a middle condition betweene God and vs, in that both the natures of God and man do concurre, and are conioyned in his Person. And to this purpose excellent is that of *Hugo de S. Victore.* [f] The Apostle (saith he) saith, *A Mediatour is not a Mediatour of one. Deus enim erat Deus & Homo; Diuersi & Aduersi: Deus erat iustus, Homo iniustus; in hoc not a aduersi? Homo erat miser, Deus beatus; in hoc not a diuersi. Sed vtrisque Homo & aduersus Deo erat, per iniquitatem, & diuersus a Deo, per miseriam.* That is, For God and man were two; diuerse and different, aduerse and contrary one to the other. God was iust, man vniust; in this obserue their contrarietie: Man was miserable, God blessed; in this note their diuersitie and difference. So therefore man was both aduerse, and contrary vnto God, in respect of iniquitie; and diuerse and different from God, in respect of misery. And therefore in this behalfe needed a Mediator vnto God, that he might be reconciled,

f *Hugo Erudit. Theol. de Sacramentis fidei, lib. 2. part. 1. cap. 12.*

and brought backe vnto him; but the dispatch of this businesse of reconciling them that were so greatly at variance, no man could conueniently and fitly vndertake, who was not nearely conioyned by the bands of friendly Societie, and peaceable agreement with both the parties. For this cause therefore the Sonne of God became Man, that he might be a Mediatour of reconciliation, and peace betweene man and God. *Suscepit humanitatem, per quam hominibus appropinquaret; & retinuit Diuinitatem, per quam a Deo non recederet: factus Homo, sustinuit pœnam, vt demonstraret affectum; seruauit iustitiam, vt conferret remedium:* that is, he tooke vnto him the nature of a Man, that therein he might draw neare vnto men, and retained the nature of God, that so he might not depart from God: Being made Man, he suffered punishment, to shew his affection: but kept himselfe iust, and vnworthie of punishment, that he might helpe and relieue others. Againe, the same *Hugo* proceedeth and goeth forward, excellently expressing the concurrence of the natures of God & man in the vnitie of Christs person, in this sort: *Verbum, quod cum Patre Deo vnum erat per ineffabilem vnitatem, cum homine assumpto vnum factum est per admirabilem vnionem: Vnitas in natura, Vnio in persona: Cum Patre Deo vnum in Natura, non in Persona: Cum homine assumpto vnum in persona, non in natura. Assumpsit ex nobis nostram naturam, vt eam sibi sociaret per vnionem in persona, quæ socia non erat per vnitatem in natura: vt per id quod de nostro vnum secum fecerat, nos sibi vniret, vt cum ipso vnum essemus, per id quod nostrum sibi vnum erat; & per ipsum vnum essemus cum patre, qui cum ipso vnum erat.* That is, The word which was one with God the Father by ineffable vnity, became one with man assumed by admirable vnion. The vnity was in nature: the vnion in Person. With God the Father it was one in nature, not in person: with man assumed it was one in Person, not in nature. It tooke of vs our nature to ioyne it to it selfe by vnion in Person, which had no society with it by vnity of nature; that by that which taken from vs, it made one with it selfe, it might vnite vs to it selfe, that we might be one with it, by that of ours which was vnited to it: & by it we might be one with the Father, who is one with it. Thus hauing shewed in what sort Christ is a meane betweene the two extremes God & Man, it remaineth that we seeke out, how, and according to which nature he is a Mediator. That he is a Mediatour according to the concurrence of both natures in the vnitie of his Person, it is confessed by all; for if he were not both God and Man, he could not mediate betweene God and Men. But whether he be a Mediator according to both natures concurring in the worke of mediation, there be some that make question. For the clearing whereof, the Diuines distinguish the workes of mediation, making them to be of two sorts: Of Ministerie, and of Authority. Of Ministerie, as to pray, to pay the price of Redemption, and by dying to satisfie for sinne. Of Authority, as to passe all good vnto vs from the Father in the holy Ghost.

Touching the workes of Ministerie, it is agreed on by all, that the Person of the Sonne of God performed them in the nature of Man: for we must distinguish *Principium quod*, and *Principium quo*; that is, the Person which doth and suffereth, and that wherein it doth and suffereth such things as are necessary to procure our reconciliation with God. It was the Sonne of God and Lord of life, that died for vs on the Crosse, but it was the nature of Man, not of God, wherein he died; and it was the nature of God, and infinite excellencie of the same, whence the price, value, and worth of his passion grew. The workes of Authoritie and Power, as to giue life, to giue the Spirit, to raise the dead, to make the blind see, and the dumbe to speake, were all performed by the diuine nature; yet not without an instrumentall concurrence of the nature of Man, in sort as hath bene before expressed, when I shewed how the actions of Christ were *diuinely-humane*.

If it be alledged, that *Opera Trinitatis ad extra* are *indiuisa*, that is, that there is nothing that one of the Persons of the blessed Trinitie doth towards the creatures, but they all do it, and consequently, that those things which Christ did in his diuine nature, pertained not to the office of a Mediator, being common to all the Persons: we answer, that as the Persons of the blessed Trinitie, though they be one and the same God, yet differ τρόπῳ ὑπάρξεως in subsistence, and the manner of hauing and possessing the Deitie, and diuine nature; so though their action be the same, and the worke done by them, yet they differ τρόπῳ ἐνεργείας, in the manner of doing it: for the Father doth all things *authoritatiue*, and the Sonne *subauthoritatiue*, as the Schoolemen speake, that is, the Father, as he from whom, and of whom all things are; the Sonne, as he by whom all things are, not as if he were an instrument, but as *Principium à Principio*, that is, a cause & beginning of things, that hath receiued the Essence it hath, and power of working from another, though the very same that is in the other. And in this sort to quicken, giue life, & to impart the spirit of sanctification to whom he pleaseth, especially with a kind of concurring of the humane nature, meriting, desiring, & instrumentally assisting, is proper to the Sonne of God manifested in our flesh, & not common to the whole Trinity; and therefore, notwithstanding the obiection taken from the vnity of the workes of the diuine Persons, may be a worke of mediation. *Bellarmine* the Iesuite bringeth many reasons to proue, that Christ is not a Mediator according to both natures: but that which aboue all other he most vrgeth, is this. § If Christ, saith he, be a Mediator according to both natures, then either according to both iointly, or seuerally; not seuerally, because not according to his diuine nature seuerally considered, being the party offended: Not according to both ioyntly, because though in that sort he differ from the Father & the holy Ghost, neither of which is both God & Man; & from the sonnes of men, who are meerly men; yet he differeth not from the

§ *Bellarm. de Christo mediatore lib. 5. cap. 5.*

the Sonne of God (who was to be pacified by the Mediatour, as well as the Father, and the holy Ghoſt) neither in nature, nor in perſon.

This ſurely is a ſilly kind of reaſoning: for it is not neceſſary that a thing ſhould differ from both the extremes according to all that in reſpect whereof it is of a middle condition, but it is ſufficient, if it differ in ſome thing from one, and in ſome thing from another. The middle colour differeth from the extremes, not in the whole nature of it, but from white, in that it hath of blackneſſe, and from blacke, in that it hath of whiteneſſe: but it is *medium*, in that it hath ſomething of either of them. So the Sonne of God incarnate differeth not onely from the Father and the holy Ghoſt, but from himſelfe as God, in that he is Man; and from Men, and himſelfe as man, in that he is God; and therefore may mediate not onely betweene the Father and vs men, but alſo betweene himſelfe as God, and vs miſerable, and ſinfull men. Wherefore to conclude this point we ſay, that ſome of the workes of Chriſt the Mediator, were the workes of his Humanitie in reſpect of the thing done, and had their efficacie, dignitie and value from his Diuinitie, in that they were the workes of him that had the Diuinitie dwelling bodily in him; and ſome the workes of his Diuinitie, the humane nature concurring onely inſtrumentally, as the giuing of ſight to the blind, raiſing the dead, remitting of ſinnes, and the like. Neither do we imagine one action of both natures, nor ſay that Chriſt died, offered himſelfe on the Altar of the Croſſe, or prayed for vs in his Diuinitie, as ſome ſlanderouſly report of vs; and therefore all the obiections that are muſtered againſt vs, proceeding from the voluntarie miſtaking of our ſenſe and meaning (which ſome will not conceiue, that they may haue ſomething to ſay againſt vs) are all eaſily cleared and anſwered by this explication of the ſame.

By that which hath bene ſayd touching Chriſts being a Mediatour according to both natures, we may eaſily vnderſtand, how, and according to what nature he is Head of the Church. In a naturall Head [h] *Bonauentura* obſerueth three things; the firſt, that it is *Conforme cæteris membris*: the ſecond, that it is *Principium membrorum*; and the third, that it is *Influxiuum ſenſus & motus*; that is, firſt, that it hath conformitie of nature with the reſt of the members of the body. Secondly, that it is the firſt, chiefeſt, and in a ſort the beginning of all the members, and thirdly, that from it influence of ſenſe and motion doth proceed: and he ſheweth the ſame to be found in Chriſt, the myſticall head of the Church. For firſt, he hath conformitie of nature with them that are members of his body, the Church, in that he is Man: Whereupon S. *Auguſtine* writing vpon S. *Iohn*, ſaith, [i] *Vnius naturæ ſunt vitis & palmites*; the vine and the branches are of the ſame nature. And ſecondly, as the naturall Head is the chiefeſt and moſt principall of all the members, ſo is Chriſt more excellent then they that are Chriſts. [k] *Omnia membra faciunt vnũ corpus*, ſaith S. *Auguſtine*, *multum*

h *Bonauent in 3. Sentent. diſt. 13. quæſt. 1.*

i *Auguſt tract 80. de cap. 15.*

k *Idem in Pſal. 39.*

multum tamen interest inter caput, & cætera membra: Etenim in cæteris membris non sentis nisi tactu, tangendo sentis in cæteris membris: in capite autem & vides, & audis, & olfacis, & gustas, & tangis: All the members make one body, yet is there great difference betweene the head, and the rest of the members: for in the rest a man hath no sense, but that of feeling, in the rest he discerneth by feeling; but in the Head he seeth, and heareth, and smelleth, and tasteth, and feeleth. So in the members of Christs mysticall body, which is the Church, there are found diuersities of gifts, operations, and administrations: and to one is giuen the word of wisedome, to another the word of knowledge, to another faith, to another the gift of healing, to another the operation of great workes, & to another prophesie: but to the man Christ, the Spirit was giuen without stint or measure, and in him was found the fulnesse of all grace. The third property of a naturall Head, which is the influence of Sense and motion, agreeth vnto Christ in respect of his humanitie and diuinity both. For he giueth influence of diuine sense and motion two wayes: *per modum præparantis*; and *per modum impertientis*; that is, by preparing and making men fit to receiue grace, and by imparting it to them that are fitted and prepared. He prepareth and fitteth men to the receipt of Grace by the acts of his humanity, in which he suffered death, dying satisfied Gods wrath, remoued all matter of dislike, merited the fauour and acceptation of God, and so made men fit to receiue the grace of God, and to enioy his fauour: He imparteth and conferreth grace, by the operation and working of his diuine nature, it being the proper worke of God to inlighten the vnderstandings of men, and to soften their hearts. So that, to conclude this point, we may resolue, that the grace, in respect whereof Christ is Head of the Church, is of two sorts; the one created, and habituall; the other increate, and of Vnion. In respect of the one, he giueth grace *effectiuè*, by way of efficiencie; in respect of the other, *dispositiuè*, by way of disposition, fitting vs, that an impression of grace may be made in vs.

Chap. 17.

Of the things which Christ suffered for vs, to procure our reconciliation with God.

HAuing shewed how Christ as a Mediator interposed himselfe betweene God and vs when we were his enemies, and how he is the Head of that blessed company of them that beleeuing in him looke for saluation; let vs see and consider, first, what he suffered for vs, to reconcile vs to God; secondly, what he did for vs; thirdly, what the benefits are that he bestoweth on vs; and fourthly, to whom he commited the dispensation of the rich treasures of his graces, the word of reconciliation, and the guiding and gouerning of the people, which he purchased as a peculiar inheritance to himselfe.

Touching

Touching the first, to wit, the sufferings of Christ, he was by them to satisfie the iustice of God his Father displeased with vs for sinne; that so we might be reconciled vnto him. Wherefore, that we may the better conceiue what was necessary to be done or suffered to satisfie the iustice of God, we must consider sinne in the nature of a wrong, and in the nature of sinne. In the nature of a wrong; and so two things were required for the pacifying of Gods wrath: for first, he that hath done wrong, must restore that he vniustly tooke away from him whom he wronged; and secondly, he must do something in recompence of the wrong he did: as, if he tooke away another mans good name, by false and lying reports, he must not only restore it to him againe by acknowledging that the things were vntrue, which in defamation of him he had spoken, but he must also take all occasions to raise, continue and increase a good opinion of him. If sinne be considered in the nature of sinne, it implieth in it two things: *debitum pœnæ*, and *debitum neglectæ obedientiæ*; that is, a debt of punishment, and a debt of obedience then neglected, when it should haue bene performed: and therefore in the satisfaction that is to reconcile vs to God displeased with vs for sinne as sinne, two things must be implied: for first, the punishment must be sustained that sinne deserued; and secondly, that obedience must be performed, that should haue bene yeelded whilest sin was committed, but was neglected. For if only the punishment be sustained, we may escape the condemnation of death, but we cannot inherit eternall life, vnlesse the righteousnesse and obedience which Gods law requireth be found in vs also: Now the law of God requireth obedience, not only in the present time, and time to come, but from the beginning of our life to the end of the same, if we desire to inherit the promised blessednes. And though the performance of that obedience that was neglected may seeme to be in the nature of merit rather then satisfaction; yet in that it is not simply the meriting & procuring of fauour & acceptation, but the recouering of lost friendship, and the regaining of renewed loue, it is rightly esteemed to pertaine vnto satisfaction. Touching sin considered in the nature of an offence and wrong, & the things required to pacifie Gods wrath in that respect, there is no question, but that the sinner himselfe that wronged God in sinning, must, by sorrow of heart, disliking and detesting, and by confession of mouth, condemning former euils, restore that glorie to God he tooke from him; and seeke and take all occasions the weaknesse of his meanes will affoord, to glorifie God as much as he dishonored him before; and God accepteth weake indeauours as sufficient in this kind, Christ hauing perfectly satisfied for vs: as a publicke person may accept of a meane and weake satisfaction for the wrong done to him, but must inflict punishment answerable to the fault, to satisfie publicke iustice offended by that wrong. Wherefore, passing from this kinde of satisfaction, let vs speake

of that other that God requireth, standing in the suffering of punishments due to sinne. Some define this kind of satisfaction, to be the suffering of the punishments that God inflicteth, or wherewith a man voluntarily punisheth himselfe: but this is not a good definition. For as a thiefe or murtherer may not lay violent hands on himselfe, and be his owne executioner when he hath offended, to satisfie publique iustice, but must submit himselfe to that which authoritie will lay on him: so it is so farre from being any satisfaction to Gods iustice, for a man, when he hath sinned, to become his owne executioner, and to punish himselfe for his sinne, to satisfie the iustice of God, that it highly displeaseth God.

It is true indeede, that we may lawfully afflict our selues, not to satisfie Gods iustice, but to purge out the drosse of that sinfull impuritie that cleaueth to vs, and to cure the wounds of our soules: as, we may afflict our selues by fasting, watching, and abstaining from many things, otherwise lawfull, for the freeing of our selues from the remaines of our former excesse and immoderate delight in eating, drinking, surfeiting, and riot, and other abuses of the good creatures of God. So that we must not define satisfaction, to be the suffering of those punishments, that God inflicteth, or wherewith the sinner punisheth himselfe; for it is onely the sustaining of those, that God in iustice doth inflict.

And in this sort Christ satisfied his Fathers wrath, not by punishing himselfe, but by being obedient to his Father, euen vnto the death. Wherefore let vs proceed more particularly, to consider the satisfactory sufferings of Christ, and see first, what punishments Christ suffered to pacifie his Fathers wrath, and secondly, what the manner of his passion was.

Touching the punishments that Christ suffered, they were not ordinary, but beyond measure, grieuous, bitter, and insupportable; yea, such as would haue made any meere creature to sinke downe vnder the burthen of them to the bottome of Hell: For he suffered grieuous things from all the things in Heauen, Earth, & Hell; and in all that any way pertained to him. He suffered at the hands of God his Father, and of Men; of Iewes, of Gentiles, of enemies insulting, of friends forsaking, of the Prince of darkenesse, and all his cruell and mercilesse instruments; of the elements of the world, the Sunne denying to giue him light, the aire breath, and the earth supportance. He suffered in all that pertained to him: In his name, being condemned as a blasphemer, as an enemy to *Moses*, the Law, the Temple, and worship of God; to his owne nation, to *Cæsar*, and the *Romanes*: a glutton, a companion with publicanes, and sinners, a Samaritan, one that had a Diuell, and did all his miracles by the power of *Beelzebub*. In the things he possessed, when they stripped him out of his garments, and cast lots on his seamelesse coate. In his friends, greatly

distressed

distressed and discomforted with the sight of those things that fel out vnto him, according to that which was propheſied before: [a] *The Shepheard ſhall be ſmitten, and the Sheepe ſhalbe ſcattered.* In his body, when his hands and feete were nailed, his ſides goared, his head pierced with the crowne of thornes, his cheekes ſwollen with buffeting, his face defiled with ſpitting vpon, his eies offended with beholding the ſcorneſull behauiour of his proud and inſulting enemies, his eares with hearing the words of their execrable blaſphemy, his taſte with the myrrhe and gall that they gaue him in his drinke, his ſmell with the ſtinch and horror of the place wherein he was crucified, being a place of dead mens skuls.

a Mark. 14. 27

Laſtly, in his ſoule diſtreſſed with feares, and compaſſed about with ſorrowes beſetting him on euery ſide, and that euen vnto death: In ſo wofull ſort did he take on him our defects, and ſuffer our puniſhments. But, becauſe we may as well enlarge and amplifie Chriſts paſſions and ſufferings too much, as extenuate them too much, let vs ſee, if it be poſſible, the vttermoſt extent of that he ſuffered: For the clearing hereof [b] ſome ſay, that he ſuffered all thoſe puniſhments that were beſeeming him, or behoouefull for vs: that he ſuffered all thoſe puniſhments, that neither preiudice the plenitude of ſanctitie, nor ſcience. But, that we may the better informe our ſelues touching this point, we muſt obſerue, that the puniſhments of ſinne are of three ſorts: Firſt, *Culpa*; Secondly, *ex culpa, & ad culpam*. Thirdly, *ex culpa, ſed nec culpa, nec ad culpam*: that is, Firſt, ſinne; Secondly, ſomething proceeding from ſinne, and inducing to ſin. Thirdly, things proceeding from ſin, that neither are ſins, nor incline and induce to ſinne. Examples of the firſt, are Enuie, afflicting the minde of the proud man; grieuous diſorders, accompanying the drunkard, and a reprobate ſenſe, following the contempt of Gods worſhip and ſeruice. * Of the ſecond, naturall concupiſcence, proneneſſe to euill, difficulty to do good, contrariety in the faculties of the ſoule, and repugnance and reſiſtance of the meaner againſt the better. Examples of the third, which are things proceeding from ſinne, but neither ſinnes, nor inclinations to ſin, are hunger, thirſt, weakeneſſe, nakedneſſe, & death it ſelfe. The puniſhments of this laſt ſort onely Chriſt ſuffered, and neither of the former two: for neither was there ſinne in him, nor any thing inclining him to euill, or diſcouraging him from good. The puniſhments of this kinde are of two ſorts: Naturall, and Perſonall. Naturall, are ſuch as follow the whole nature of man, as hunger, thirſt, labour, wearineſſe, and death it ſelfe. Perſonall, are ſuch as grow out of ſome imperfection and defect in the vertue and faculty forming the body, diſorder in diet, or ſome violence offered; and theſe are found but in ſome particular men, and not in all men generally, as Leproſies, Agues, Gowts, and the like. All thoſe puniſhments, that are puniſhments only, that are from without, & that are common to the whole nature of Men, Chriſt ſuffered, that came to be a

b *Bonauent. in* 3. *Sent. Diſt.* 15. *queſt.* 2.

* The puniſhments of this ſecond ſort are ſins, though the Schoolemen do not eſteeme them to be ſo.

Redeemer

Redeemer of all without respect of persons: but such as flow from sinne dwelling within, or proceede from particular causes, or are proper to some, and not common to all, he suffered not.

The punishments that are punishments onely, and not sinne, and are common to the whole nature of man, are likewise of two sorts: for either they are suffered for sinne imputed, or sinne inherent. For one may be punished either for his owne fault, or the fault of another in some sort imputed to him. When a man is punished for his owne fault, he hath remorse of conscience, blaming and condemning him as hauing brought such euils vpon himselfe, by his owne folly. But when a man is punished for another mans fault, whereof hee hath bene no cause, by example, perswasion, helpe, or consent, he can haue no remorse of conscience.

Now our Sauiour Christ suffered the punishments of the sinnes of other men, not his owne, and therefore hee was free from remorse of conscience, though it be generally found in all men, and be neither sinne, nor inducement to sinne.

Lastly, the punishments that are punishments onely, and not sinne, that are common to the whole nature of Man, and suffered not for the faults of him that suffereth them, but for the sinnes of other, are of two sorts: for either they are the punishments of sinne eternally remaining in staine and guilt; or broken off, ceasing, and repented off.

The punishments of sinne eternally remaining, must according to the rules of diuine iustice, be eternall, and consequently ioyned with desperation, which alwaies is found, where there is an impossibility of any better estate for euer. But it is no way necessary, neither doth the iustice of God require, that the punishments of sinne repented of, ceasing, and forsaken, should bee euerlasting, or ioyned with despaire.

e *Picus Mirandula, in apologia quæstio. 6. & Scotus in 4. Sentent. dist. 46 qu. 4. in resp. ad argumēta principalia.*

For, as the Diuines do note, that there are three things to be considered in sinne; The auersion from an infinite, and incommutable good: the inordinate conuersion to a finite good; and the continuing in the same, or ceasing from it: so to these seuerall things in sinne, there are three seuerall things answearing in the punishment of it. For to the auersion, which is obiectiuely infinite, there answereth *pœna damni*, the losse of God, which is an infinite losse.

To the inordinate conuersion of the sinner to things transitory, there answereth *pœna sensus*, a sensible smart and griefe intensiuely finite, as the pleasure the sinner taketh in the transitory things he inordinately loueth, is finite.

To the eternity of sinne remaining euerlastingly in staine and guilt,

or the continuance of it but for a time, answereth the eternity of punishment, or the suffering of the same but for a time.

It is true, that euery sinner sinneth *in suo æterno*, as Saint [d] *Gregorie* speaketh, in that he would sinne euer if he might liue euer: and that euery sinner casteth himselfe, by sinning into an impossibility of euer ceasing to sinne of himselfe: as a man that casteth himselfe into a deepe pit, cannot euer of himselfe rise out of it againe: And therefore naturally eternity of punishment is due to sinne: but, if by force of diuine operation, men bee framed to cease from sinne, and to turne from it vnto GOD, the Iustice of GOD requireth not eternitie of punishment, but onely extremity answerable to the grieuousnesse of sinne.

[d] *Gregor. expos. moral. lib. 34 cap. 10. in 41. Caput Iob. in illa verba, Aestimabit Abyssum, &c.*

Wherefore, seeing our Saviour Christ suffered onely for those sinnes which he meant to breake off by framing the sinners to repentance, it was no way necessary for the satisfying of diuine Iustice, that he should endure eternall punishment.

If it be said, that all do not repent, nor cease from doing ill, we easily graunt it: but it is likewise to be knowne, that the satisfaction of Christ is not applyable to all sinners, not through any defect in it selfe, but through the incapacitie of them to whom it should be applyed.

So that as Christ dyed, and satisfied Gods wrath sufficiently for all, but effectually onely for the elect and chosen: so likewise he giueth grace to cease from sinne, if the fault were not in themselues, sufficiently to all.

But to the elect and chosen, whom he foreknew before the world was made, he giueth grace effectually, that his passion may be applyed vnto them, and they really and indeede made partakers of it.

They seeme therefore to be deceiued, who thinke, that the excellencie of the person of Christ, dispensed with the eternity of punishment, which otherwise, to satisfie diuine Iustice, he was to haue suffered; and thereupon inferre, that it might also dispense with the grieuousnesse and extremitie of punishment, that otherwise he was to haue endured.

For the worth and excellency of his person, was neither to dispense with the time, nor grieuousnesse of his punishments, but to make the passion of one auaileable for many.

Otherwise, if it might haue dispensed with one degree of extremitie of punishment due to sinne, it might also haue dispensed with two, and consequently with all, as [e] *Scotus* aptly noteth, though to another purpose.

[e] *Scotus in 4. sentent. dist. 46. qu. 4. de art. 4.*

These things being thus distinguished, it is easie to answer that question that hath troubled many: Whether Christ suffered all the punishmẽts of sinne

sinne or not. For we may safely pronounce, as I thinke, that Christ suffered the whole generall punishment of sinne, that onely excepted which is sinne, or consequent vpon the inherence, and eternity of sinne that is punished, as remorse of conscience and desperation. If any man shall go further, and aske, whether to satisfie Gods iustice, Christ suffered the paines of hell or not: it will be answered, that he suffered not the paines of hell in *specie* or *loco*, that is, either in kinde or place, but some thinke that he suffered paines and punishments conformable and answerable to them in extremity, that onely excepted which is sin, or consequent vpon the inherence, and eternity of the sinne of such as are punished in hell.

f *Cusanus Excitationum lib. 10. pag. 659.*

Concerning *pœna sensus*, that is, sensible smart and griefe, Cardinall *Cusanus* (a famous learned man) is clearely of opinion, that Christ suffered extremity of such paine, answerable to that sensible smart & griefe that is endured in hell: but the doubt is principally of the other kinde of

g *Scotus in 4. sent. dist. 46. quæst. 4.*

punishment, named *Pœna damni*, which is, the losse of God. For the clearing of which point, *Scotus* aptly obserueth diuers things. For first, he sheweth that punishment is the discernable want of some fitting good in an intellectuall nature, and the presence of some euill in the same. Secondly, that the good that is in an intellectuall nature is of two sorts; the one of vertue, the other, of sweete, ioyfull, and pleasing delight: and that, though both these concurre sometimes, as in the fruition of God in heauen, wherein the perfection of vertue, and the fulnesse of ioy and delight do meete together; yea, that though euery thing that is vertuous, be delightfull, yet it is not so much the height of vertue as of delight, that is to be iudged happinesse. Thirdly, he inferreth from hence, that there are two kindes of punishment consisting in the losse of God; whereof the one is, the want of that vertue whereby the soule is to be ioined and knit vnto God; the other, the want of that delight and pleasure that is to be found in God.

That the former is an euill of vnrighteousnesse and sin, and may be called an obstinacy in sinne, and is nothing else but sinne not remitted nor remoued, *Pœna derelicta non inflicta*, that is, no new euill brought in vpon the sinner, but that left in him that he wrought in himselfe. The other is more properly named *Pœna damni*, or *Damnum*, that is the punishment of losse, or a losse and damage. It were impious to thinke, that Christ suffered the former kinde; but that he suffered this later kinde of punishment of losse and damage, many great Diuines are of opinion. For though, as he was ioyned to God *affectione iustitiæ*, that is, by the affection of vertue or iustice, he could nor be diuided or separated from him, no not for a moment, because he could not but loue him, feare him, trust in him, and giue him the praise and glory that belongeth to him; yet, as he was to be ioyned to him, *affectione commodi*, that is, by that affection that seeketh

keth pleasing content in enioying those ineffable delights and pleasures that are found in him, he might be, and was for a time diuided from him. For as very great and graue Diuines do thinke, he was *destitutus omnisolatio*, that is, destitute and void of all that solace he was wont to finde in God, in that fearefull howre of darknesse, and of his dolesul passion. [h] As, saith *Melchior Canus*, Christ in the time of his life, miraculously restrained, and kept within the closet of his secret Spirit, the happinesse that he enioyed in seeing God, that it should not spread farther, and communicate it selfe to the inferior faculties of his soule, or impart the brightnesse of it to the body; so in the howre of his passion, his very Spirit was with-holden from any pleasure it might take in so pleasing an obiect, as is the Essence, Maiestie, and glory of God, which euen then he clearely beheld. So that Christ neuer wanted the vision of that obiect which naturally maketh all them happy, that behold it, and filleth them with such ioy, as no heart of mortall man can conceiue, or tongue expresse.

h *Canus Locor. Theol. lib. 12. cap. 13.*

But as it was strange, and yet most true, in the time of his life, that his soule enioyed heauen-happinesse, and that yet neither the inferior faculties thereof were admitted into any fellowship of the same, nor his body glorified, but subiect to misery and passion; so it fell out by the speciall dispensation of Almighty God, in the time of his death, and in that fearefull howre of darknesse, that his soule seeing God, the pleasure and delight that naturally commeth from so pleasing an obiect, staied, withheld, & communicated not it selfe vnto it; as a man in great distresse taketh no pleasure in those things that otherwise exceedingly affect him. This his conceipt, he saith, he communicated to very great and worthy Diuines, while he was yet but a young man, and that they were so farre from disliking it, that they approued it exceedingly. But some man will say, it is not possible in this life to feele extremity of paines, answerable to the paines of hell, more then on earth to enioy the happinesse of heauen; and that therefore it is absurd to grant, that Christ in the daies of his flesh suffered in this world extremity of paine answerable to the pains of hell. Hereunto it is answeted, that in ordinary course, it is impossible for any man liuing in this world, either to enioy the happinesse of heauen, or feele the paines of hell; but that, as Christ was at the same time, both *Viator* and *Comprehensor*, that is, a man like vnto vs that iourney here in this world towards heauen-happinesse, and yet happy with that happinesse that ordinarily is found no where but in heauen; so he might suffer that extremity of paine, and haue that apprehension of afflictiue euils, that ordinarily is no where to be found in this world, euen while he liued here on earth. [i] *Luther* saith truly, 'that if a man could perfectly see his owne euils, the sight thereof would be a very perfect hell vnto him: now it is certaine that Christ saw all the euils of punishment before expressed,

i *Luther. consolat. pro laborantibus c. 1. de spectro primo, tom. 2.*

pressed, to which he voluntarily subiected himselfe, to satisfie diuine iustice comming fierce and violently vpon him, with as cleare a sight, and as perfect an apprehension of them, as is to be had in the other world.

Chap. 18.

Of the nature and qualitie of the passion and suffering of Christ.

HItherto we haue spoken of the punishments that Christ sustained and suffered to satisfie the iustice, and pacifie the wrath of his Father. Now it remaineth, that we come to take a view of the nature and qualitie of his passion and suffering, consisting partly in his feare and agonie before, and partly in his bitter sorrow and distresse in the very act of that dolefull tragedy. Touching the first, the Scripture testifieth, that *he* [a] *feared exceedingly, and desired* [b] *the cuppe might passe from him.* Touching the second, that *he* [c] *was beset with sorrowes euen vnto the death*; and that in his extremitie *he cryed aloud*; [d] *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* But touching both these passions of feare, and sorrow, it is noted, [e] that, whereas there are three kindes of faults found in the passions of mens minds; the first, that they arise before reason be consulted, or giue direction; the second, that they proceed farther then they should, & stay not when they are required; & the third, that they transport reason & iudgemēt it selfe: Christ had these passions, but in a sort free from all these euils. For neither did they arise in him before reason gaue direction; whereupon hee is said to *haue* [f] *troubled or moued himselfe* in the case of *Lazarus*, for whom he greately sorrowed; neither did they proceede any farther, if once reason and iudgement commanded a stay, and retrait, whereupon they are called [g] *Propassions* rather then *Passions*; not because, (as [h] *Kellison* ignorantly supposeth) reason preuenteth them, and causeth them to arise, though it be true it doth so; but because they are but fore-runners to passions at liberty, and beginnings of passions to be staied at pleasure, rather then full and perfect passions; and therefore much lesse had they any power to transport iudgement and reason it selfe. From these generall considerations of the passions of Christ, let vs proceede to take a more particular view of the chiefe particulars of his passions, to wit, Feare, and Sorrow. Feare is described to be a retiring, or flying backe from a thing, if it be good, because it is too high and excellent aboue the reach, and without the extent of our condition and power; if it be euill, because it is hard to be escaped.

So that the proper and adequate obiect of feare, is not, as some suppose, future euill, but difficulty, greatnesse and excellency: which found in things good, makes vs know we cannot at all attaine them, or at least that

a Mark. 14. 33. Mat. 26. 37.
b Matth. 26. 39.
c Matth. 26. 38.
d Matth. 27. 46.
e *Bonauent. in 3. Sent. dist. 16. qu. 2.*
f Ioh. 11. 33.
g *Hieronym. in 26 Matthæi.*
h Survey. Book 3. chap. 10. pag. 177.

that we cannot attaine them but with too great difficulty and labour; in euill, that they wil not easily be ouermaistered or escaped. The difficulty, greatnesse, and excellency, found in thinges that are good, causeth feare of reuerence, which maketh vs steppe backe, and not to meddle at all with thinges that are too high and excellent for vs, nor with thinges hard, without good aduice: and causeth vs to giue place to those of better condition, and to acknowledge and professe by all significations of body and mind, the distance, and disproportion that we know to be betweene them and vs, together with our dependance of them, or subiection to them.

This kinde of feare causeth and produceth all acts of Reuerence and Adoration. It is found in the Angels, and spirits of iust and perfect men, and is more excellent then any other vertue. The greatnesse that is found in thinges that are euill, causeth a feare declining them as euill, which is of diuers sorts: For first, there is an *Humane* feare, which maketh men more decline the losse of their liues and good estates, then the losse of the fauour of God. Secondly, there is a *Mundane* feare, that causeth them to decline the dis-fauour of the world, more then the displeasure of Almighty God: and these two kindes of feare driue men from God; but there are other kinds which driue them vnto God.

The first whereof is a *Seruile* feare, that maketh men leaue the act of sinne, both inward and outward, to auoid punishment, though they retaine the loue and liking of it. The second is an *Initiall* feare, that maketh them cast from them, the very desire of sinning, not out of the loue of God, which they haue not yet attained vnto, but out of the consideration of the wofull consequence of it: and thirdly, there is a *Filiall* feare, proceeding from the loue of God, causing vs to decline the offending of him whom we so dearely loue, and of whom we are so dearely loued, more then any euill whatsoeuer.

The former kindes of feare that driue men from God, could not be found in Christ, who was not onely nearely ioyned vnto God, but God himselfe blessed for euermore: for neither did he prize life, nor the fauour of the world that knew him not, at any higher rate then was fit.

Of the later sorts of feare, neither *Seruile* nor *Initiall*, were in him that was free from all sin; and touching *Filiall* feare, being well assured of his owne power, in respect whereof it was impossible for him to bee drawen to the committing of any euill, though hee had that part of it, which standeth in declining the offence of GOD more then any euill in the world, yet not that other, that proceedeth from the consideration of the danger of being drawen thereunto: so that he could not feare lest he should fall into sinne. Besides all these kindes of feare, whereof some driue men from God, and some bring them

them to God, there is another which is the ground of them all, named *Naturall* feare, which is the declining of any thing that is hurtfull, or contrary to the desired good of him that feareth: This *Naturall* feare, as also the feare of *Reuerence*, and that part of *Filiall* feare, that is the declining of sinne, and the displeasing of God, was found in Christ, as all other sinlesse and harmelesse affections were. For in the nature of man, he reuerenced and adored the Maiesty of God his Father; and with a *Naturall* feare, declined death, and the bitternesse of that cuppe he was to drinke of, and with a *Filiall* feare declined the offending of God his Father, more then hell it selfe.

But (passing by the feare of *Reuerence*, and that part of *Filiall* feare that was found in Christ, concerning which there is no question among the Diuines) that we may the better discerne, both what his *Naturall* feare was, and in respect whereof; we must note, that [i] feare is, first, in respect of things which cannot be auoided, neither by resistance and encounter, nor by flying from them: which things though they may seeme rather to make an impression of sorrow then feare, because in respect of their certainty they are rather apprehended as present, then future; yet for that we know not experimentally, how we shall be afflicted with them, and in what sort we shall sustaine and beare them, we may rightly be said to feare them. Secondly, in respect of such things, as may be escaped or ouercome with a kinde of vncertaintie of euent, and danger of the issue. Thirdly, in respect of such as may be escaped or ouercome without any vncertaintie of the euent or issue, though not without great conflict and labour.

i *Caietan. in 3. part. Summe quæst. 15. art. 7.*

These kindes of *Naturall* feare thus distinguished, it is easie to see what Christ feared, and in what sort. For first he feared death, and the stroke of the iustice of God his Father, sitting on the Tribunall or Iudgement seate, to punish the sinnes of men, for whom he stood forth to answere that day: and secondly, he feared euerlasting destruction. The former of these he feared, as things impossible to be escaped, in respect of the resolution and purpose of God his Father, that by his satisfactory death and suffering, and no other way, man should be deliuered. The latter he feared, that is, declined as a thing he knew he should escape without all doubt or vncertainty of euent, though not without conflicting with the temptations of Sathan, and the enduring of many bitter and grieuous things; for it was no otherwise possible for him, hauing put himselfe into the communion of our nature, to escape the swallowing vp of that gulfe into which wicked sinners sinke downe, but by resisting the temptations of sinne, that it might not enter into him, by breaking off the same in others, and by suffering whatsoeuer it had deserued. But some man will say, [k] *Beza* teacheth that *Christus veritus est succumbere, & absorberi à morte*; that is, that Christ feared to sinke downe, and to be swallowed vp of death

k *Annotat. in 5. ad Hebræos, ver. 7*

death; and consequently, that he feared euerlasting destruction, with an vncertainty of his escape from the same.

It is true, that *Beza* saith, that Christ feared to sinke downe, and to be swallowed vp of death; yet doth not that follow, which is alledged as a consequent of his saying, nor any thing contrary to that hath bene said of vs. For whereas there is a double[l] apprehension of reason in Christ, the one, named Superior, that looketh into things with all circumstances; the other, Inferior, that presenteth to the minde of man some circumstances and not all; *Beza* teacheth, that Christ feared to sinke down, and to be swallowed vp of death, that is, that he so declined the swallowing gulfe of death, out of which he saw no escape within the view of Inferior reason, presenting vnto him this hideous and destroying euill, in it owne nature endlesse, without shewing the issue out of the same; that yet notwithstanding simply he feared it not, Superiour reason clearely shewing him the issue out of it.

l *Bonauent. in 3. sent. dist. 16. qu. 2. Scotus in 3. dist. 15. quæst. vnica.*

This will not seeme strange vnto vs, if we consider, that in Christ euery faculty, power, and part was suffered, notwithstanding the perfection found in some other, to do that which properly pertained to it; and from hence it is easie to discerne, how it came to passe, that Christ should desire & pray for that which he knew should neuer be granted, as namely, that the[m] cup of death might passe from him. For the sense of nature and Inferior reason presented death, & the ignomniie of the Crosse vnto him, as they are in themselues euill, without the consideration of any good to follow; and so caused a desire to decline them, expressed in the prayer he made: But Superiour reason considering them with all circumstances, and knowing Gods resolution to be such, that the world should thereby be saued, and by no other meanes, perswaded to a willing acceptance of them.

m Matth. 26. 39

Betweene these desires and resolutions, there was a diuersity, but no contrariety; a subordination, but no repugnance or resistance. There was no ontrariety because they were not in respect of the same circumstances: for Death, as Death, is to be auoided; neither did Superiour reason euer dislike this iudgement of the Inferiour faculties, but shewed farther and higher considerations, wherein it was to be accepted and embraced. There was no repugnance or resistance, because the one yeelded to the other. For euen as a man that is sicke, considering the potion prescribed to him by the Physition, to be bitter and vnpleasant, declineth it while he staieth within the bounds and confines of that consideration, but when casting his eies farther, he is shewed by the Physition, the happy operation of good that is in it, he willingly accepteth it, in that it is beneficiall and good: So Christ considering death as in it selfe euill, and contrary to nature, while he staied within the bounds and confines of that consideration, shunned and declined

ned it; and yet, as the meanes of mans ſaluation, ioyfully embraced it, accepting that hee refuſed, and refuſing that he accepted. [n] There is a thing (ſaith *Hugo de Sancto Victore*) that is *Bonum in ſe*, good in it ſelfe, and the good of euery other thing. There is a thing good in it ſelfe, and yet good but to certaine purpoſes onely. And there is a thing euill in it ſelfe, and yet good to ſome purpoſes.

n *Hugo de Sto. Victore. de Sacrament. fidei, lib. 1. part. 4. cap. 19.*

The two former ſorts of things may be deſired ſimply and abſolutely: the third cannot but only reſpectiuely to certaine ends: and of this kinde was the death of the Croſſe, with all the woefull tormentings concurring with the ſame, which ſimply Chriſt ſhunned and declined, but reſpectiuely to the ends aboue ſpecified, willingly embraced. The Papiſts [o] impute I know not what impiety to *Caluine*, for that hee ſaith Chriſt corrected the deſire and wiſh that ſuddenly came from him. But they might eaſily vnderſtand if they pleaſed, that hee is farre from thinking that any deſire, or expreſſing of deſire, was ſudden in Chriſt, as riſing in him without conſent of reaſon, or that hee was inconſiderate in any thing he did or ſpake: but his meaning is, that ſome deſires which hee expreſſed, proceeded from Inferior reaſon, that conſidereth not all circumſtances: and that he corrected, and reuoked the ſame, not as euil, but as not proceeding from the full and perfect conſideration of all things fit to be thought vpon, before a full reſolution be paſſed.

o *Bellarm. lib. 4. de animâ Chriſti. cap. 8.*

Thus hauing ſpoken of Chriſts feare and agony before his paſſion, it remaineth that we proceede to ſpeake of the ſorrowes that afflicted and diſtreſſed him in his paſſion.

These ſorrowes were ſuch, and ſo great, that being beſet and compaſſed about with them on euery ſide, he profeſſed [p] *his ſoule was heauy euen vnto the death:* Yea, ſuch was the bitterneſſe of his ſoule, that preſſed with the weight and burthen of grieuous and inſupportable euils, hee was forced to cry out aloud, [q] *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* These words of ſorrowfull paſſion, the Papiſts ſay, *Caluine* thought to be words of deſpaire, and that Chriſt deſpaired when he vttered them.

p Matth. 26. 38.

q Matth. 27. 46.

Surely this ſhameleſſe ſlander ſheweth that they that thus ſpeake they care not what, are deſperatly malicious, and maintaine a deſperate cauſe that cannot be vp-holden, but by falſhood, and lying. But *Caluine* is farre from any ſuch execrable and helliſh blaſphemy. For, hauing by occaſion of theſe words, amplified the ſorrowes and diſtreſſes of Chriſt in the time of his paſſion, [r] he ſaith, there were ſome that charged him that he ſaid, theſe words were words of deſperation, and that Chriſt deſpaired when he vttered them: but he accurſeth ſuch helliſh blaſphemy, & pronounceth that howſoeuer the fleſh apprehended deſtroying euils, and Inferiour reaſon ſhewed no iſſue out of the ſame, yet there

r *Comment. in 27. Matthæi.*

there was euer a moſt ſure reſolued perſwaſion reſting in his heart, that hee ſhould vndoubtedly preuaile againſt them, and ouercome them.

Wherefore paſſing ouer this wicked calumniation of our Aduerſaries, let vs ſee in what ſenſe Chriſt the Sonne of God complained of dereliction, and cryed aloud vnto his Father, *My God, my God, why haſt thou forſaken me?* For the clearing hereof the Diuines do note, that there are ſixe kindes of dereliction or forſaking, whereof Chriſt may be thought to haue complained.

The firſt whereof, is by diſunion of Perſon; the ſecond, by loſſe of Grace; the third, by diminution or weakning of grace; the fourth, by want of aſſurance of future deliuerance, and preſent ſupport; the fift, by denyall of protection; the ſixth, by withdrawing of ſolace, and deſtituting the forſaken of all comfort. It is impious once to thinke, that Chriſt was forſaken any of the foure firſt waies. For the vnitie of his Perſon was neuer diſſolued, his graces were neuer either taken away or diminiſhed; neither was it poſſible he ſhould want aſſurance of future deliuerance and preſent ſupport, that was eternall God, and Lord of life.

But the two laſt waies he may rightly be ſaid to haue bene forſaken; in that his Father denyed to protect and keepe him out of the handes of his cruell, bloudy, and mercileſſe enemies, no way reſtraining them, but ſuffering them to doe the vttermoſt of that their wicked hearts could imagine, and leſt him to endure the extremitie of their furie, and malice; and, that nothing might bee wanting to make his ſorrowes beyond meaſure ſorrowfull, withdrew from him that ſolace he was went to finde in God; and remoued farre from him all things, that might any way leſſen and aſſwage the extremity of his paine. So that Chriſt might rightly complaine that he was forſaken, though he were farre from deſpaire, and words of deſpaire.

Chap. 19.

Of the deſcending of Chriſt into Hell.

WITH the ſufferings of Chriſt, his Deſcenſion into Hell is connexed, both in the order of thinges, and in the Articles of the Creede, and therefore it remaineth, that in the next place, we ſpeake of that. [a] *Bellarmine* obſerueth, that the Article of Chriſts deſcending into Hell, was not in the Creede with all Churches from the beginning;

[a] *De anima Chriſti, lib. 4. c. 6.*

for that *Irenæus*, *Origen*, & *Tertullian* haue it not; & *Augustine* in his booke *de Fide & Symbolo*, and in his foure bookes *de Symbolo ad Catechumenos*, mentioneth it not, expounding the Creede fiue times; though [b] elsewhere he say, that none but an Infidell will deny the descension of Christ into Hell. *Ruffinus* expounderh it amongst the Articles of the Creede, but noteth, that it is not in the *Symbole* of the *Romane* Church, nor those of the East.

b Epist. 99.

The *Nicene* Creede hath it not, but that of *Athanasius* hath, and other of the Fathers reade it also. And at this day it is receiued in all the Churches of the world without contradiction; though there be some question touching the meaning of it. *Bellarmine* reckoneth three opinions of Protestants, differently vnderstanding the same; whereof the first is, that to descend into hell, is to be vtterly annihilated, and brought to nothing; the second, that it is to suffer the paines of hell; and the third, that it is nothing else but his buriall. Of these three opinions imputed by *Bellarmine* to the Protestants, the first is nothing but his owne fancie, neuer dreamed of by any Protestant. For who euer, professing himselfe a Christian, thought, that to go downe into hell, is to be vtterly extinct, and to be no more? But (saith he) [d] *Brentius* bringeth in Christ speaking in this sort: I will descend into hell, I will feele the paines of hell, and seeme vtterly to perish: therefore he is of that opinion, whatsoeuer o-thers are.

c De animâ Christi, lib. 4. cap. 7. 8. & 9.

d Comment. in 2. Actorum.

A strange thing it is, that men of learning, and iudgment, should so forget themselues, as this *Cardinall* often doth, saying hee knoweth not what. For doth he vtterly cease to be, that feeleth the paines of Hell? or do not the wicked perish, and is not their estate in holy Scripture described to be euerlasting perdition? hee knowethright well it is: and yet, I thinke, dareth not from thence inferre, that they are vtterly extinct, and haue no more being. If he do, we will not feare to brand him with the marke of impiety, and intollerable ignorance; for the wicked are said vtterly to perish, not by losing all being, but all good, desirable, and happy being.

If *Brentius* escape his hands, hee hath good hope to conuince *Calvine* of this errour, and so still to lay vpon vs the heauy imputation of so damnable an impietie. *Calvine* hath written a Booke called *Psychopannychia*, the drift whereof is, to proue, that the soules and spirits of men, sleepe not after death, but liue, either in paine, or rest; out of this booke the Cardinall presumeth, that he shall be able to proue, that the soules and spirits of wicked men are vtterly extinct, and haue no more being.

An ill chosen booke, in my opinion, for such a purpose, the whole drift thereof being to demonstrate the contrary of that he vndertaketh to proue out of it. Yet let vs see how he goeth about to conuince the

Author

Author of this booke of that errour, which throughout the same he laboureth to confute.

His first demonstration is this. *Caluine* proueth at large in that booke, that the wicked do liue for euer, though in paine and torment; therefore he thinketh that to go downe into hell, is to be vtterly extinct, and to haue no more being. A strange illation, and such as perhaps will not satisfie all: therefore let vs heare another, for he hath store of proofes.

Caluine in the same booke, laboureth to proue, that the Spirits of iust men are not extinguished, but that they liue and remaine for euer, because that Christs soule was not extinguished in his death, but remained still, and liued after death.

That Christs Soule was not extinguished in his death, he strongly demonstrateth, because it was so commended into the handes of his Father, that it could not perish so as the wicked doe, who are swallowed vp of hell and destruction, and yet still remaine and liue for euer.

If this demonstration satisfie vs not, what will? Christs soule was so kept by GOD the Father, to whom it was commended, that it could not perish at all, no not so as the wicked doe, who yet are not extinct, but liue for euer in bitter sense of woe and misery, much lesse be extinct, and vtterly cease to be: therefore Christs descension into hell, was an vtter extinction.

These must be the Cardinals proofes, if hee will bring any out of that booke to conuince *Caluine* of that errour, wherewith he chargeth him. But he knoweth right well, that neither these, nor any other that he doth or can produce out of the same, conclude any such thing as hee intendeth; and therefore let the Reader know that the Cardinall neuer perswaded himselfe, that either *Brentius*, or *Caluine*, or any other Protestant was of that opinion, with which hee chargeth them; but that hee sought onely to abuse his Reader: and therefore that which in vile hypocrisie hee saith of *Caluine* and *Brentius*, that [e] they bring in Atheisme, by these their impious and damnable assertions, may be verified of himselfe, and other his consorts, who by their shameless lying, and hellish slaundering, wrong both God and men, and bring all Religion into horrible contempt.

[e] *De animâ Christi, lib. 4. cap. 7.*

Wherefore leauing these Hellish and Diuellish slaunderers to Gods most righteous and fearefull Iudgements; touching the descending of Christ into hell, it is true that Saint *Augustine* saith, *None but an Infidell will deny it*: for it is one of the Articles of our Christian Faith. But how we are to vnderstand this his descending, it is not so certaine. Whereupon we shall finde, that there are presently three opinions in the Church concerning the same.

[f] *Epist. 99.*

For ſome vnderſtand by the anme of Hell, the place of dead bodies, and the dominion of death holding ſoule and body aſunder, and turning the body forſaken of the ſoule into rottennesſe, and corruption. Theſe do ſo interprete this Article, as that they vnderſtand nothing elſe, by Chriſts deſcending into Hell, but his going downe into the chambers of death, and his three daies continuance in the places of darkneſſe vnder the dominion thereof.

Others, vnderſtand by the name of Hell, the paines of Hell, and thinke, that Chriſts deſcending into Hell, was nothing elſe but the ſuffering of hellish paines in his ſoule, in the time of his Agonie in the Garden, and in the howre of his death vpon the Croſſe. A third ſort there are, that vnderſtand by the name of Hell, into which (in this Article) Chriſt is ſaid to haue deſcended, the receptacles and places appointed for the ſoules of men after this life ſequeſtered from the preſence of God, and not admitted into heauen.

Theſe places the *Romaniſts* imagine to be foure. Of which, the firſt is, the Hell of the damned, wherein wicked Caſt-awaies, and impenitent ſinners are puniſhed, not onely with the loſſe of the ſight of God, but with ſenſe alſo of ſmart and miſery, and that for euer. The ſecond, is by them named, *Limbus puerorum*, where infants dying vnbaptized, and in the ſtate of originall ſinne, are ſuppoſed to be holden for euer, exiled from the preſence of God and his holy ones, yet without all ſenſible ſmart or paine. The third (they imagine) is Purgatory, where they thinke the ſoules of good, but yet imperfect men, are puniſhed, till they haue ſatisfied the wrath of God for ſinnes committed in the time of their life, but not ſufficiently repented of, nor ſatisfied for, while they liued. The fourth place, imagined by them, is *Limbus patrum*, wherein the ſoules of *Abraham*, *Iſaacke*, and *Iacob*, and all the iuſt, were holden till the comming of Chriſt, and kept from the ſight and preſence of God, yet without all ſenſible ſmart or griefe.

Theſe being the different manſions of that place, wherein the ſoules of men are ſequeſtered from the preſence of God, comprehended all in a ſort, vnder the name of Hell, as our Aduerſaries fancie: the ordinary opinion of the Schoole-men heretofore was, g that Chriſts ſoule went locally onely into *Limbus patrum*, and not into any of the other manſions of hell, neither *Limbus puerorum*, Purgatory, nor the loweſt hell: but that he deſcended into theſe places vertually onely, in that he made it appeare to all that were in them, that the worke of redemption was now wrought, by force whereof, they in Purgatorie, after full ſatisfaction ſhould be receiued into Heauen: the reſt, as well in *Limbus puerorum*, as in the loweſt Hell, being excluded from all hope of bettering their eſtate, and left in endleſſe miſery with the Diuell and his Angels.

g *Thomas Summae part. 3. queſt. 52. art. 2.*

But

But [h] *Bellarmine* thinketh, hee went personally and locally into the place of the damned, euen into the lowest hell. These being the diuers and different opinions of men, touching the meaning of the Article of Christs descending into hell, let vs see what is to be resolued touching the same.

h *De animâ Christi lib. 4. cap. 16.*

It is true, according to the first and second opinion imputed by *Bellarmine* vnto the Protestants, that Christ dying, after a sort suffered the paines of hell, and being dead, was vnder the dominion of death three dayes: yet neither of these interpretations seemeth fitly to agree to the Article of our Faith: for that the hellish and bitter sufferings of Christ, are sufficiently expressed, in that he is said to haue suffered vnder *Pontius Pilate*, to haue beene crucified, and to haue dyed; and his being vnder the dominion of death, in that he is said to haue bene buried.

Wherefore the third opinion, which is, that he descended into the places of soules sequestered, and shut out from the presence of God, seemeth more truly to expresse the meaning of this Article; not vnderstanding that he went into Purgatory, *Limbus puerorum*, or *Limbus patrum*, but that hee descended into the lowest hell. For the three former imagined places are no where, and so no part of Hell into which Christ descended.

Of Purgatory, we finde nothing in the Scriptures, or in the writings of the most ancient Fathers, as I haue [i] elswhere shewed. Of *Limbus puerorum*, we reade in *Augustine*, [k] but confuted and reiected by him, as an erroneous conceipt of the *Pelagians*, who imagined a third place betweene Heauen and Hell, and a third or middle estate betweene heauen happinesse, and the miseries of the lowest Hell, wherein men dying in the state of Nature onely, shall continue for euer, depriued of the happinesse of seeing God, but no way subiected to sensible smart and griefe.

i Booke. 3. chap. 17.

k *August. in Hypognostico resp. 5. Lib. 1. de peccator. merit. & remis. cap. 28. & Serm. 14. de verbis Apostoli.*

Of this it is, that Saint *Augustine* saith, hee hath heard of the right hand, and the left; of *Come yee blessed*, and *Goe yee cursed*; of *Sheepe* and *Goates*; of the kingdome of heauen, and hell where the Diuell and his Angels are euerlastingly punished: But of a third estate, of a third sort of men, or of a third place, he hath neuer heard or read, and therefore is verily perswaded there is no such.

Touching *Limbus patrum*, it is true, that some amongst the Ancient seeme to speake of some such thing: but we cannot perswade our selues that there is any such place, nor that Christ is to be vnderstood to haue descended thither, when in the Article of the Creede, he is said to haue descended into hell.

First, because, as Saint [l] *Augustine* fitly noteth, wee doe not finde in the Scripture, that the word Hell is euer vsed to expresse any other

l *Epist. 99.*

other place, but a place of woe and misery: and therefore so direfull a word, vsed onely to note out vnto vs the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, cannot signifie that place where the soules of the iust did rest till the comming of Christ, named in the parable or history of the rich man and *Lazarus*, *Abrahams* bosome. Neither did *Augustine* euer learne any other lesson afterwards, as [m] some vntruly report that he did.

m *Andrad. defens. fidei Trident. lib. 2 fol. 175.*

Secondly, because we cannot conceiue what Christ did benefite the spirits of the iust, abiding in *Abrahams* bosome, when he went downe into Hell: *A quibus* (as Saint [n] *Augustine* rightly noteth) *secundum beatificam Diuinitatis præsentiam, nunquam recessit, sed quemadmodum apud Tartara semper fuit iudicante potentiâ, ita in paradiso, & sinu Abrahæ beatificante sapientiâ*; that is, from whom according to that presence of his Deity that maketh all them happy that do enioy it, he neuer departed, but as he was euer present in hell by his power iudging and fastning condemnation to the wofull inhabitants of that place of vtter darknesse; so he was alwaies in paradise, and in the bosome of *Abraham*, as that wisdome of God that filleth all with blessednesse, where it vouchsafeth to manifest it selfe. Christ therefore descended into Hell, according to the Article of the Creede; into the place of soules sequestered from the presence of GOD, into the place of damned soules, euen into the lowest Hell: for there are no soules or spirits of men sequestered from the presence of God, after the separation from the body, but the soules of wicked Cast-awaies; nor other place of soules so sequestered, but the prison of the lowest Hell.

n *Vbi Supra.*

The end of Christs going, and descending into the Hell of the damned, was not as [o] *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and some other did thinke, to preach vnto the damned spirits, and to deliuer from thence such as should there beleeue in him, either all or any. For we must constantly resolue, that none were deliuered out of hel by Christs descēding, nor none there conuerted by his preaching, but that his descending was onely to fasten condemnation to the Diuell and his Angels, to triumph ouer the principalities of darknesse, to secure vs from being surprized by them, and to preuent our comming thither, not to fetch backe any that were there already. The places that are brought to proue that Christ preached in Hel, & sought the deliuerance either of all, or at the least of some of them he found there, are specially two. The first is that of the Apostle S. *Peter*: where he saith: [p] *The Gospell was preached to the dead, that they might be iudged according to men in the flesh, but liue according to God in the Spirit.* Here we see the Apostle speaketh of preaching vnto the dead; but he is to be vnderstood to speake of preaching to the dead, [q] that is, to such as were dead when he wrote, but not when the Gospell was preached vnto them: as we say, Christ shall iudge the quicke and dead, not as if any should

o *Stromat. lib. 6.*

p 1 Pet. 4. 6.

q *Andrad. defens. fid. Trident. lib. 2. pag. 173.*

be

be iudged being dead, but because manie of them that shall be iudged, are then dead when we speake of them, though they shall not be, when they shal come into iudgement: Or otherwise, that he speaketh of such as were dead in sinne, as [r] some interprete his words. The second place is that of the same Apostle, where he saith, that [s] *Christ in spirit went, & preached to the spirits in prison, sometimes disobedient in the dayes of Noe.* But, as S. [t] *Augustine* fitly noteth, this preaching of Christ in spirit mentioned by the Apostle, was not after his death in his humane Soule, but in the daies of *Noe* in his eternall Spirit, and Deitie. And as [u] *Andradius* rightly obserueth, they that he preached vnto, are named *spirits in prison*, because they were spirits in prison, when *Peter* wrote of thē, not when Christ preached to them; though, if they should be vnderstood to be named Spirits in prison, as being such when Christ preached vnto them, yet we might rightly conceiue as S. *Augustine* doth, that he preached to the Soules and Spirits of Men shut vp in the prison-house of their sinfull bodies, and the darke dungeons of ignorance, and sinne, and not in the prison of Hell.

r *Lyra & Glossa ordinaria in hūc locum.*

s 1. Pet. 3. 19. 20

t *Epist. 99.*

u *Defens. fid. Trident. li. 2. pag 172*

Thus then our Diuines denie the descending of Christ into Purgatorie, *Limbus puerorum*, and *Limbus Patrum*, perswading themselues that there are no such places. But his descending into the Hell of the damned they all acknowledge, though not to deliuer men thence, yet to fasten condemnation to them that are there, to bind Sathan the Prince of darknesse, that he may not preuaile against them that beleeue in Christ: and to keepe them from sinking downe into that deuouring pit, into which he went, & out of which he so triumphantly returned. Onely this difference may seeme to be amongst them, that some of them thinke he went personally and locally; others onely vertually, in power and operation: Which diuersitie of opinions is likewise amongst the Papists; *Bellarmine*, and some other in our time teaching, that he went locally into the lowest Hell: and the Schoolemen, that he went not locally into the lowest Hell, but vertually onely in the manifestation of his vertue, and power, and into *Limbus Patrum* locally and personally: so that all the controuersie betweene them and vs, standeth in two points; The descending of Christ into *Limbus Patrum*, and the suffering of Hellish paines. For whereas Cardinall [x] *Bellarmine* laboureth to proue a locall Hell, he busieth himselfe in vaine, no man denying it: But, saith he, *Beza*, and others do say, the words vsed in the Hebrew and Greeke *Sheol*, and ᾅδης, do alwaies signifie the Graue in holie Scripture, and not Hell, whence it may seeme to follow, that there is no other Hell then the Graue: and so consequently, no locall Hell for damned soules.

x De animâ Christi lib. 4. cap. 10.

Surely this is a most vniust, and vntrue imputation. For *Beza*, and the other learned Diuines he speaketh of, do not affirme that *Sheol* and ᾅδης do precisely and alwayes in holy Scripture signifie the graue, but as [y] *Arias Montanus*

y De arcano sermone cap. 21.

z Defenſ. fidei Trident. lib. 2. fol. 174.

Montanus, z *Andradius*, and ſundry other excellently learned amongſt our Aduerſaries do, that *Sheol*, which the *Septuagint* tranſlate ᾅδης, doth not preciſely, and immediatly ſignifie the place of damned ſoules, but in an indifferencie, and generality of ſignification noteth out vnto vs the receptacles of the dead: And that, ſeeing there are two parts that are ſundered one from another in them that are dead, there are likewiſe two kinds of receptacles of death, or dwelling places for them on whom death hath her full force: the one prouided for their bodies putrifying, and rotting, and the other for their ſoules tormented euerlaſtingly. So that, when theſe words, thus indifferently ſignifying either of theſe receptacles of death, do note out vnto vs the one, or the other of theſe two places, either the graue for the body, or hell for the ſoule, cannot be gathered out of the words themſelues, but the circumſtances of thoſe places of Scripture where they are vſed.

In like ſort they ſay, that the word *Nepheſh* tranſlated ψυχὴ and *anima*, doth not alwayes ſignifie the ſpirituall ſubſtance of man that is immortall, but the whole perſon, the life, yea, and ſometimes that which hath bene aliue, though now dead, euen a dead carkaſſe: according as we reade in *Leuiticus*, where God pronounceth, that whoſoeuer toucheth a *Nepheſh*, that is, a dead corpes, ſhall be vncleane. And in this ſenſe it is, that b *Arias Montanus* tranſlateth not that place in the c *Pſalme*, *Non derelinques animam meam in inferno*, that is, *Thou ſhalt not leaue my ſoule in Hell*, but, *Non derelinques animam meam in ſepulchro*, that is, *Thou ſhalt not leaue my Soule, Life, or Perſon, or that Body that ſometimes was aliue, in the Graue.* For it cannot be vnderſtood that the reaſonable ſoule, or immortall Spirit of Chriſt was euer in the graue, either to be deliuered thence, or left there.

a Leuit. 21. 2. Numb. 19. 11.
b Verſion. Interlinear. in Biblijs Regijs.
c Pſal. 16, 11.

If it be ſayd, that the Greeke and Latine words vſed by the Tranſlators, ſignifie more preciſely Hell, and the reaſonable Soule or Spirit, then thoſe Hebrew words שאול and נפש doe: we anſwere, that whatſoeuer their vſe and ſignification be in prophane Authors, yet they muſt be enlarged in the Scripture, to ſignifie all that which the Hebrew words do, that ſo the tranſlation may be true and full. d *Bellarmine*, to confute this explication, and conſtruction of the Hebrew words made by *Beza*, and the reſt, vrgeth, that the *Septuagint* neuer tranſlateth שאול by τάφος, which properly ſignifie the Graue, but by ᾅδης: and that therefore שאול doth not properly ſignifie the Graue. Hereunto we anſwer, that the word of it ſelfe being indifferent to ſignifie any receptacles of the dead, whether of their bodies or ſoules, muſt not be tranſlated by a word preciſely noting the graue, as τάφος doth: and that therefore it is not to be marueiled at, that the *Septuagint* neuer tranſlate the Hebrew word by this Greek word of a narrower compaſſe, and ſtraiter ſignification. Secondly we ſay, that ſeeing שאול, when (by the circumſtances of the places where it is vſed) it is reſtrai-

d De anima Chriſti, lib. 4. cap. 10.

reſtrained to ſignifie only the place of dead bodies, yet doth not preciſely note that fitting receptacle prouided for them to be layd in, as in their beds of reſt, by the liuing, as τάφος doth, but any other receptacle whatſoeuer, euen of ſuch as want that honorable kind of buriall, whether they be deuoured by wild beaſts, ſwallowed vp of the ſea, or receiued into any other place of ſtay and abode, till the time of the generall reſurrection; the Tranſlators vſed not the word τάφος, of too narrow compaſſe and ſtraight ſignification, but the word ἅδης, enlarged by thē to expreſſe al that the Herew word importeth; & in this ſenſe [e] *Iacob* ſaid, he would go down mourning into שאול, or ἅδης to his ſon, not into a place of ſoules ſequeſtred from God, or into hell, for he neuer thought his ſonne to be gone thither; nor into the graue properly ſo named, for he thought his ſonne had bene deuoured of a wild beaſt; but into the receptacles of the dead, and into the chambers of death, wherein there are many, and very different manſions.

e Gen. 37. 35.

The words of this holy Patriarche, profeſſing that he would go downe mourning to his ſonne into שאול, or ἅδης, and the not obſeruing of this generality of ſignification of the word שאול, but reſtraining it to note onely the receptacles of damned ſpirits, gaue occaſion to ſome for to thinke, that the ſoules of the iuſt were in ſome part of hell, or at the leaſt in ſome inuiſible place farre from heauen, and within the confines of hell, till the reſurrection of Chriſt, if not till the generall reſurrection, and his returne, to iudge both the quicke and dead, as [f] *Irenæus*, & *Tertullian*, and others imagined. But howſoeuer the Greeke or Latine words may ſeeme to be reſtrained, to note onely the places of damned ſpirits, yet it is plaine and euident, that the Hebrew word שאול, ſignifieth any deuouring gulfe or pit, ſwallowing vp the dead, in that [h] *Kore*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, with their wiues, children, cattell, tents, and all that euer they had, went downe into שאול, which cannot be vnderſtood to be preciſely the place of damned ſpirits, vnleſſe we will imagine, that ſheepe, oxen, and tents may find any place amongſt damned ſpirits.

f *Contra hæreſes lib. 5. in fine.*
g *De anima, cap. 32.*
h Num. 16. 33.

The reaſon why our Diuines do ſo much vrge the generality of the ſignification of this word, and will not ſuffer it to be reſtrained to ſignifie onely the place of damned ſpirits, is, becauſe the proprietie of the word admitteth no reſtraint, and there are many things in Scripture ſayd to go downe into שאול, or to be in שאול, that cannot be vnderſtood to haue gone into hell, or to be in hell; and not for that they denie Chriſts deſcending into the hell of the damned: for there is no Proteſtant but confeſſeth that Chriſt did virtually deſcend into hell, and many thinke he deſcended locally, and perſonally; which difference of opinions is alſo amongſt the Papiſts. For [i] *Durandus* thinketh that Chriſt deſcended into no part of hell perſonally, or locally, but viitually onely: [k] The reſt of the Schoolemen, for the moſt part ſuppoſe, that he deſcended locally into that part of hell

i *In 3. Sent. diſt. 22. quæſt. 3.*
k *Thom. Summe 3. parte quæſt. 52. art. 2.*

Hell which they call *Limbus Patrum*, but into the Hell of the damned, and the other infernall mansions vertuallie onely. But [l] *Bellarmine* thinketh he went locallie into the lowest Hell, or Hell of the damned, moued so to thinke, as he saith, by the authoritie of the Fathers, that seeme to haue beene of that opinion. So that, as I said before, the onely difference betweene the *Romanists* and our Diuines about the descending of Christ into Hell, is, touching the suffering of Hellish paines, (whereof I haue spoken at large before, clearing the opinions of our Diuines in such sort, as I thinke our Aduersaries will not much resist against the same so vnderstood, as I haue shewed they must bee) and touching *Limbus Patrum*. Wherfore let vs proceed to take a view of the proofes they bring for confirmation of their *Limbus*.

l *De animâ Christi lib. 4. cap. 16.*

The first place that *Bellarmine* bringeth for confirmation thereof, is that in *Genesis*, where *Iacob* saith, [m] *I will descend or go downe mourning to my Sonne into* שאול. See, saith [n] *Bellarmine*, *Iacob* was a godlie man, and so was *Ioseph*, and yet neither of them went vp into heauen, but both descended into Hell. That they descended into שאול, that is, into the chambers of death, and receptacles of dead bodies, we make no question; but that they went into the Hell of the damned, or into anie region of darknesse neare vnto it, cannot be proued; howsoeuer some amongst the Ancient, deceiued by the Greeke and Latine words ἅιδης and *Infernus*, vsed by the Translatours to expresse the force of the Hebrew word שאול, haue so thought. The second proofe that he bringeth is this. *Abraham* in the Gospell telleth the rich man in Hel, that betweene them there is [o] χάσμα, which signifieth such a separation as is by the renting of the earth, and diuiding of one part thereof from another; therfore there is no solide thing betweene them, and consequently, they were all in the same deuouring gulfe or pit. But this surely is a strange kind of proofe: for his owne friends, and followers vnderstand by this χάσμα, the immoueable decree of God, who will neuer suffer the one to passe to the other, & not litterally such a void, emptie and gaping distance, as the word doth properly signifie. Yea [p] *Maldonatus* is so farre from being perswaded by the bare signification of this one word, that *Abraham* and *Lazarus* were in the same deuouring gulfe with the rich man, that he saith, the place *Abraham* speaketh of, betweene which and Hell there is so great a distance, is heauen.

m Gen. 37. 35.

n De animâ Christi, lib. 4. c. 11

o Luke 16. 26

p *In eum locum.*

Whereunto *Augustine* seemeth in part to consent, who [q] pronounceth that he could neuer find, that *Abrahams* bosome, wherein *Lazarus* rested, was anie part of Hell.

q *Epist. 99.*

Wherfore it is absurd to imagine vpon the bare and onely signification of the word χάσμα, that *Abraham*, and the rich man in Hell, were in the same pit, diuided onely by an emptie gulfe betweene them; seeing [r] *Tertullian* a verie Ancient writer, that knew

r *Aduersus Marcionem, lib. 4.*

knew the force of this word, as well as *Bellarmine*, affirmeth, notwithstanding any thing that may be inferred frō thence, that *Abrahams* bosome is on high, farre aboue those infernall dwellings of the damned. Whereunto that in the *Prouerbs* agreeth, [u] *The way of life is on high to the prudent, to auoide from Hell beneath.* u Pro. 15. 24.

The next place that the Iesuite bringeth to proue *Limbus*, is that of [x] *Samuell*, whom the *Pythoniſſe* raiſed, when *Saul* conſulted her, being deſtitute of other meanes of direction. But this place of all other maketh leaſt to the purpoſe, it being very doubtfull, whether it were true *Samuel* that appeared, or Sathan taking vnto him a body, and comming forth in the likeneſſe of *Samuel*. But let vs ſuppoſe it was true *Samuel:* could not his Soule returne from ſome other place as well as out of *Limbus?* No doubt it might: and that which *Bellarmine* hath, that the Soule of *Samuel* appearing vnto *Saul*, ſeemed to come out of the earth, and conſequently out of *Limbus*, is a very ſilly conceipt; for what eye could ſee and diſcerne *Samuels* Soule? But ſaith he, *Samuel* appearing told *Saul* a wicked & godleſſe man, that he ſhould be with him very ſhortly: therefore he was in ſome region of Hell, and not in Heauen, ſeeing this wicked King could not goe to him into Heauen. We need not ſeeke far for anſwere to this obiection; for the ordinarie [y] Gloſſe doth excellently anſwere it, ſaying, that if theſe were not the words of a lying Spirit, they may be vnderſtood in reſpect of the common condition of death, not in reſpect of the ſame place, there being ſo great a diſtance betweene them, and ſo ſurely ſettled and eſtabliſhed. x 1 Sam. 28. y *In hunc locum*

Touching this appearing *Samuel*, I find great difference of opinions amongſt Diuines: ſome thinking it was true *Samuel* the Man of God; others, a lying Spirit in his likeneſſe. *Lyra* in his annotations vpon the *firſt of Kings, Chapter twenty eighth*, putteth downe the reaſons brought on both ſides, and firſt, that it was the true *Samuel*, he ſheweth that theſe reaſons are commonly brought.

Firſt, becauſe the Scripture ſpeaketh of him, as of his very perſon, not of any counterfeit likeneſſe of him, calling him, not once, but often, by the name of *Samuel*.

Secondly, for that it had bene a great diſhonour and irreuerence offered to *Samuel*, if ſo often the Diuell ſhould haue bene called by his name in holy Scripture.

Laſtly, for that it is ſaid in *Eccleſiaſticus*, in the praiſe of *Samuel* the Prophet of God, that [z] he propheſied after his death, that he afterwards ſlept againe, and that he made knowne to King *Saul* his end, and the ouerthrow of his armies, which prediction is not to be imputed to a lying Spirit, ſeeing he ſo certainely foretold what was to come to paſſe. On the other ſide, he produceth theſe proofes. Firſt the Gloſſe vpon the twenty ninth of *Eſay* ſaith, the *Pythoniſſe* did not raiſe *Samuel*, but euocated & cal- z Ecclus. 46. 20

led

led out the Diuell in his likeneſſe.

Secondly, it is not likely, that God, who would not anſwere *Saul* by liuing Prophets, would ſend any from the dead to aduiſe or direct him.

Thirdly, he that appeared vnto *Saul* ſayd vnto him, *To morrow thou ſhalt be with me*; but *Saul* as a wicked man was to be in Hell the place of torments: therefore he that appeared was ſo.

Fourthly, he that appeared ſuffered *Saul* to worſhip him, which true *Samuel* would not haue done, ſeeing God onely is to be worſhipped.

Fifthly, if it were true *Samuel* that appeared; either he was raiſed by diuine power, or by the power of magicall incantations: if by diuine power, God ſhould very much haue fauoured magicall arts, if at the inuocation of this *Pythoniſſe* he had wrought ſuch a miracle: if by the power of Magicke, then was he raiſed by the Diuell: and that either with his conſent, and then he had done euill, which he could not do: or without his conſent, which could not be, ſeeing the Diuell hath no power to force the Saints of God after their death, and departure hence.

Laſtly, he alledgeth the authority of [a] *Auguſtine*, who bringing the reaſons on both ſides, in the end inclineth rather to this later opinion: and that in the [b] *Decrees, Cap. Nec mirum, &c.* adding, that if that decree taken out of *Auguſtine* be the decree of the Church, no man may thinke otherwiſe; but if it be not (as he thinketh it is not, becauſe *Auguſtine*, out of whom it was taken, diſputeth the matter doubtfully, and many of the Diuines ſince the compiling of that decree, are of another opinion, which they ought not to be, if it were the decree of the Church) he rather thinketh it was true *Samuel* that appeared, then any counterfeit in his likeneſſe. If any man deſire to ſee the different opinions of the Fathers touching this point, let him reade *Tertullian* in his booke *de Animâ*, the 33. Chapter, and the annotations vpon the ſame place of *Tertullian*. But howſoeuer, whether it were true *Samuel* that appeared vnto *Saul*, or a counterfeit in his likeneſſe, I hope it is cleare and euident out of that which hath bene ſayd, that this apparition no way proueth the imagined *Limbus* of the Papiſts. There remaine yet two other places of Scripture to be examined, that are brought for confirmation of the ſame, but yeelding as little proofe as this. The one is in the propheſies of *Zacharie*, the other in the Epiſtle of S. *Peter*. The words in the former place according to the Vulgar tranſlation are theſe: [c] *Thou in the bloud of thy teſtament, haſt deliuered thy priſoners, out of the Lake wherein there is no water.* But in the Originall the words are otherwiſe, and [d] *Arias Montanus* tranſlateth the place otherwiſe in this ſort, *And thou*, to wit, *Ieruſalem, in the bloud of thy teſtament*, that is, *ſprinkled with the bloud of thy teſtament, reioyce and be glad; I haue diſmiſſed thy priſoners, out of the lake wherein there is no water.* So that theſe words, *Thou in the bloud of thy teſtament*, are not appliable vnto Chriſt, but to *Hieruſalem*, and the other, touching the diſmiſſing of the

a *Ad Simplicianum.*

b *Part. 2. cauſa, 26. quæſt. 5. cap. Nec mirum.*

c Zach. 9. 11.

d *In verſione interlineari.*

the prisoners out of the lake wherein is no water, vnto God the Father, who speaketh in this place to *Hierusalem*, concerning Christ her King, and comforteth her, saying: *Reioyce, ô Daughter of Sion: be glad, ô Daughter of Hierusalem; for behold, thy King commeth vnto thee meeke, and riding on an Asse vsed to the yoke, and the fole of an Asse. I will destroy the Charriot from Ephraim, & the Horse from Hierusalem: He shall destroy the bowes of the fighters; and the multitude: and publish peace to the nations. He shall rule from Sea to Sea, and from the riuer to the end of the Land; And thou,* to wit, *Hierusalem, in the bloud of thy testament*, that is, *sprinkled with the bloud of thy testament, reioyce and be glad. I haue dismissed thy Prisoners out of the Lake, wherein there is noe water.*

Thus we see this place according to the Originall veritie and the translation of *Arias Montanus*, maketh nothing for the confirmation of that for proofe whereof it is brought. Yea, though we should follow the Vulgar Translation, and take the words to be spoken by Almightie God to Christ his Sonne, yet could not our Aduersaries proue *Limbus* out of this place.

For the Author of the Glosse, and manie other, following the Vulgar Translation, vnderstand these words of the deliuerance of the people of God, out of the captiuitie of *Babylon*, which was as a deepe pit, hauing in it no water, but mire, wherein their feet stucke fast. And [e] *Hierome* himselfe, though he vnderstand the words of Christs descending into Hell, yet mentioneth the other interpretation also in the same place, not much disliking it.

[e] *In eam locum.*

Neither doth his interpretation of Christs descending into Hell proue *Limbus*. For he speaketh of the prison of Hell, where is no mercie, and calleth it a cruell, or fearefull Hell; and not of *Limbus Patrum*, or *Abrahams* bosome. *Bellarmine*, cunningly after his manner, to discredit our interpretation of deliuerance out of *Babylonicall* captiuitie, maketh, as if *Caluine* onlie had expounded the words of the holie Prophet in that sort; whereas yet manie excellent Diuines, long before *Caluine* was borne, interpreted them in the verie same sort, as we doe. But if the challenge of noueltie faile, he betaketh himselfe to another of absurditie, and improbabilitie, pronouncing that our interpretation hath no probabilitie: first, because in the words immediately going before, there is a propheſie concerning Christ, vttered vnto *Hierusalem* in these words: *Reioyce, ô Daughter of Sion: for behold thy King commeth &c.* Which the Euangelists expound of Christs comming into *Hierusalem*: and then secondlie, an Apostrophe to Christ in the words questioned. But first heerein he is deceiued: for the speech of Almightie God to his Church, begunne in the former words, is still continued in these, shewing, what fauours for Christs sake he had, and still meant to bestowe on her: whereas according to the Translation they follow, there is first a speech directed to the

Church

Church concerning Christ, then an Apostrophe to Christ, and then thirdly a returne vnto the Church againe. Secondly, if that were graunted, which he vrgeth touching the supposed Apostrophe, it would not proue that there is no probabilitie in our interpretation. For this consequence will neuer be made good in the Schooles: Christ is propheſied of in the words immediatly going before, and in theſe words God ſpeaketh vnto him by way of Apoſtrophe; therfore they cannot be vnderſtood of deliuerance out of *Babylonicall* captiuitie; ſeing it is certaine, that Christ deliuered the *Iſraelites* out of all the miſeries, out of which they eſcaped. But, ſaith *Bellarmine*, if we admit this interpretation, in what bloud of the couenant may we vnderſtand the *Iewes* to haue bene deliuered out of *Babylonicall* captiuitie? Surelie, this queſtion is ſoone anſwered. For their deliuerance out of the hands of their enemies, and all other benefits, were beſtowed on them by vertue of the couenant betweene God and them, which was to be eſtabliſhed in the bloud of Christ; in figure whereof, all holie things among the *Iewes* were ſprinkled with bloud, as the Booke of the couenant, the Altar, the Sanctuarie, & People. Wherfore ſeeing this place maketh nothing for the confirmation of the Popiſh errour, touching *Limbus*, let vs come to the laſt place brought for proofe thereof, which is that of S. *Peter* concerning [f] Christs going in ſpirit, and preaching to the ſpirits in priſon: and ſee, whether from thence it may be proued anie better. [g] S. *Auguſtine* vnderſtandeth the words of the Apoſtle, as I noted before, of Christs preaching in the daies of Noe, in his eternall Spirit of Deitie, and not of preaching in Hell, in his humane Soule after death: but this interpretation of S. *Auguſtine*, firſt *Bellarmine* reiecteth as contrarie to the Fathers; and ſecondly indeauoureth to improue it by weakening the reaſons brought to confirme it, and by oppoſing certaine reaſons againſt it. The firſt of the Fathers that he alledgeth, is [h] *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who indeed vnderſtandeth the words of S. *Peter*, not as S. *Auguſtine* doth, but of Christ preaching in Hell after his death in his humane Soule; but, not conceiuing to what purpoſe preaching ſhould ſerue in Hell, if there were not intended a conuerſion and ſauing of ſome there, he runneth into a moſt groſſe and dangerous errour, condemned and reiected as well by *Bellarmine*, and his companions, as by vs: ſo that his authoritie, as contrarie to *Auguſtines* interpretation, needed not to haue beene alledged, nor would not haue bene, if *Bellarmine* had meant ſincerely. For *Clemens Alexandrinus* affirmeth, as he well knoweth, that ſo manie Infidels as beleeued in Christ, and liſtened to the words of his preaching when he came into Hell, were deliuered thence, and made partakers of euerlaſting ſaluation: againſt which errour, himſelfe being iudge, S. *Auguſtine* not without good cauſe diſputeth in his epiſtle to *Euodius*. The ſecond ancient writer that he produceth for proofe of Christs preaching in Hell after

f 1. Pet. 1. 19. 20.

g *Epiſt. 99.*

h *Stromat. lib. 6.*

after his death, is [i] *Athanasius*, who indeed doth expound the words of *Peter*, of Christs going in Soule to preach in Hell after his death; but no way expresseth in what sort, to whom, to what purpose, or with what successe he preached. [k] *Epiphanius*, whom he produceth in the third place, doth not so interprete the words of *Peter* himselfe; but onely vpon another occasion citeth the epistle of *Athanasius* to *Epictetus*, wherein he doth so interprete them. So that the authoritie of *Epiphanius* might haue bene spared.

i *Epist. ad Epictetum.*

k *Hæres.* 77.

Ruffinus in his explicatiõ of the Creed, interpreteth the words of *Peter*, as *Athanasius* doth. [l] *Cyrill* in the place cited by *Bellarmine*, speaketh of Christs preaching to the spirits in Hell, but saith nothing in particular of this place of *Peter*. [m] S. *Ambrose* doth not speake of this place, but that other of preaching the Gospell to the dead.

l *Lib. de recta fide ad Theodosiũ. & lib. 12. in Ioannem cap. 36.*

m *In cap. 10. ad Romanos.*

So that there are no moe Ancient writers cited by *Bellarmine*, that doe precisely interprete this place of *Peter*, of Christs preaching in Hell in his humane soule after death, but onely *Clemens*, *Athanasius*, *Ruffinus*, and *Oecumenius*. On the other side we haue S. *Augustine*, *Beda*, the authors of the Ordinarie and Interlineall Glosses, *Lyra*, *Hugo Cardinalis*, and other, interpreting the words as we doe: so that our Aduersaries haue no great aduantage in respect of the number of Interpreters: and yet if they had, it would not helpe them for confirmation of their supposed *Limbus*, seeing some of the Fathers cited by him, as namelie *Clemens Alexandrinus*, speake directly of preaching in the lowest Hell, for the conuersion of Infidels; which they dislike as much as we. Wherefore let vs proceed to examine the reasons that are brought either of the one side or the other, to confirme their seuerall interpretations of these words; and let vs see how *Bellarmine* weakneth the reasons brought by S. *Augustine*, and improueth his interpretation by reasons brought against it. The first reason whereby S. *Augustine* confirmeth his interpretation, is, for that mortification in the flesh, and viuification in the Spirit mentioned by the Apostle, cannot be vnderstood of the bodie and Soule of Christ, as they that follow the other interpretation do vnderstand them, seeing Christ neuer dying in soule, could not be said to be quickned in it.

Besides that, the verie phrase of the Scripture opposing flesh and Spirit in Christ, doth euer import the infirmitie of his humane nature, and the power of his Deitie: and in other men, that part that is renued by the sanctification of the Spirit, and that which is not yet so renued. Against the former part of this reason of S. *Augustine*, *Bellarmine* opposeth himselfe, saying that it is not good: seeing a thing may be said to be quickned that was neuer dead, if it be preserued from dying, & kept aliue. But he should know, that onelie those things may be said to be quickned, in that they were preserued from dying, which otherwise, if they had not bene so preserued, might haue bene killed, or died of themselues. Which cannot

be verified of the Soule of Christ, that could neither die of it selfe, nor be killed by anie other; and therefore the Soule of Christ cannot be said to be quickned in this sense.

The place in the seauenth of the *Acts*, brought by *Bellarmine* to proue, that those things may be said to be quickned, that were neuer dead, besides that it is nothing to the purpose, is strangely wrested. For S. *Stephen* in that place speaketh nothing of viuification or quickening in that sense we now speake of it, but of multiplying, and increasing; saying that [n] *After the death of Ioseph, there rose vp another King in Egypt, that knew not Ioseph, who euill intreated our Fathers, & made them cast out their infants, and new borne children*, ποιεῖν ζωογονεῖσθαι; that is, that they should not increase, and multiplie: and therefore *Bellarmine* should not in reason so haue presled the Latine word of viuification vsed by the Vulgar translatour, seeing the Originall importeth no such thing as he indeauoureth to proue. But to take away all doubt touching the words of *Peter*; there is a decree of the [o] *Tridentine* Councell, that the *Dominists* in all their disputations, readings, & sermons shall vse the Vulgar translation, and no way dare to refuse the authoritie of it vnder anie pretence whatsoeuer. Now in the ordinarie readings of the Vulgar Translation, the words of the Apostle do lie in this sort; *Christ died for sinners, the iust for the vniust, that he might offer vs to God, mortified in the flesh, but quickened in the Spirit: in which Spirit he went and preached, &c.* So that according to this reading, the Apostle speaketh not of Christs quickening, but of our quickning in the Spirit, which cannot be vnderstood of the humane Soule of Christ, but of the Spirit of sanctificatiō: whence it followeth, that Christ going to preach in that Spirit, by the force whereof we are quickened, & made aliue from the death of sin, went in his eternal spirit of Deity, & not in his humane Soule.

But, saith *Bellarmine*, it cannot be said properly, but Metaphorically onely, that Christ did goe in his eternall Spirit of Deitie to preach to the old world. Suppose it to be so: Is it so strange a thing, that such locall motions should be Metaphoricallie attributed vnto God, that we should therevppon denie the going of Christ to preach, to haue bene in his eternall Spirit of Deitie? Do we not often reade in Scripture of Gods comming downe to see what things are done on earth? But it is hard to vnderstand by Spirits in prison, the soules of men shut vp in the prisons of their bodies, and in the darke dungeons of ignorance and impietie, as *Augustine* doth, and therefore we must not follow his interpretation. Surelie, it is true that it is something hard to vnderstand these words of the Apostle, as S. *Augustine* doth, and therefore we rather follow the interpretation of [p] *Andradius* before mentioned, who expoundeth the words of the Apostle so as *Augustine* doth, saue that he thinketh that they to whom Christ preached in his eternall Spirit in the daies of *Noe*, are named spirits in prison, not for that they were so when he preached to them

n Act. 7. 18.

o *Sess. 4. Decret. de editione & v. su sacrorum Librorum.*

p *Defens. fidei Trident. lib. 2. fo. 172.*

them, but when *Peter* wrote of them. Thus we see, the Cardinall hath not yet greatlie weakned anie of *Augustines* reasons.

One reason more S. *Augustine* hath, so forcible and strong, to confirme the interpretation he followeth, that I thinke the Iesuite will hardlie be able to say much against it: If the Apostle (saith S. *Augustine*) had meant to describe the descending of Christ in his humane soule to deliuer the Patriarches, he would not haue expressed his meaning by saying, *He went & preached to the spirits in prison sometimes disobedient in the daies of Noe:* for, to say, as *Bellarmine* doth, that Christ went and preached only to the good spirits in *Limbus*, but that the Apostle describing the same, nameth the disobedient in the daies of *Noe*, lest it might be thought that they all perished, is friuolous; seeing there was no reason, why the Apostle in describing the descending of Christ into *Limbus*, should be so carefull to let all men know, that they did not all perish that contemned the preaching of *Noe:* and besides, if the Apostle had meant anie such thing, he would haue added, that howsoeuer these men were disobedient for a time, yet they did afterwards repent, obeying the voice of God speaking by the mouth of *Noe*. If anie man shall aske, as *Bellarmine* doth, why *Peter* should mention Christs preaching in his eternal Spirit to them in the daies of *Noe*, more then to them in the daies of *Abraham*, or *Moses*: the answere is easie: for therefore doth he mention them, rather then anie other, because they that liued before the floud, were men of another world, and are named the old world, and it was the greatest mutation of the world that euer was before or since, that followed vpon the refusall of Christs preaching by the mouth of *Noe*, who was the same then, that he is now: the same yesterday, and to day, and for euer.

That which the Cardinall hath in the conclusion, that the Fathers generally beleeued that Christ descended into Hell, we thinke to be most true: but that the soules of all the iust were in Hell, till the resurrection of Christ, and then deliuered thence, is not the opinion of the Fathers. For q *Augustine* clearly denieth that the spirits of the iust, dying before Christ were in Hell, till the comming of Christ; and touching the rest of them, some thought, that the Spirits of the iust are and shall bee in a place of sequestration, separate from the presence of God, till the generall resurrection: so that according to their opinion, Christ by descending into Hell did not deliuer them from thence: of which opinion we find *Irenaus*, *Tertullian*, and some others to haue bene. Some there were that thought, that Christ deliuered out of the lowest Hell, such as beleeued in him when he came thither: & some, that he went not to Hell to deliuer anie from thence, but to preserue and keepe such from going thither, as otherwise should haue gone thither, if by vertue of his descending they had not bene preserued from falling into that hideous and deuouring gulfe. So that, though it were euer most certainely resolued, that Christ descended

q *Loco citato.*

ſcended into Hell, to triumph ouer the Prince of darkneſſe, to faſten condemnation to the Diuell and his Angels, and to preſerue all beleeuers, and faithfull ones from falling into the pitte of deſtruction; yet, as it appeareth by *Auguſtines* epiſtle to *Euodius*, there was noe certaine reſolution amongſt the Ancient, whether Chriſt deliuered anie, or all; or whom he deliuered, if anie, when he went into Hell.

Chap. 20.

Of the Merit of Chriſt: & of his not meriting for himſelfe, and his meriting for vs.

HAVING ſpoken ſufficiently of the ſufferings of Chriſt, and his deſcending into Hell, it remaineth that in the next place we come to ſpeake of his merit; where we muſt obſerue three things. Firſt, whether he might or did merit. Secõdlie, whether he merited for himſelfe. Thirdlie, how, and in what ſort he merited for vs.

The firſt of theſe queſtions is moued, becauſe Chriſt being *in termino*, and *comprehenſor*, that is, in poſſeſſion of all deſired bleſſednes, and ſeeing God face to face, euen while he liued heere, may ſeeme to haue bene *extra ſtatum merendi*, that is, in ſuch a ſtate and condition, wherein there is no place for merit, and ſo not to haue merited: to merit being proper to them, that are *viatores*, that is, men iourneying towards the poſſeſſion of Heauen-happines not yet attained.

a Scõtus in 3. Sent. diſt. 18. queſt. vnica.

Wherfore, for the clearing of this point the Diuines do note, [a] that Chriſt in his humane nature, in the daies of his fleſh, was both *Viator* and *Comprehenſor*; *in termino*, and *extra terminum*: that is, both a man iourneying towards heauen-happineſſe, and one that had alreadie attained it: being alreadie come to the vttermoſt bound of all his deſires, and yet in a ſort not being come vnto it, becauſe, howſoeuer he was perfectlie ioyned with God *affectione iuſtitiæ*, that is, with that affection that yeeldeth vnto God the praiſe, honour, and loue that is due vnto him, and ſaw him face to face with cleare & perfect viſion: yet he was not ſo fullie ioyned to him, as he is to be enioyed *affectione commodi*, that is, with that affection that ſeeketh after pleaſing delight: but that he ſuffred manie bitter, grieuous, and vnpleaſant things, faſting, watching, weeping and wearying himſelfe; in all which reſpects being *extra terminum*, that is, not yet come to the vttermoſt extent and bound of that is deſired, he was in ſtate of meriting. But, becauſe the enduring of theſe bitter, grieuous, and afflictiue euils may ſeeme rather to pertaine to the nature of ſatisfaction, then merit, therefore they adde, that howſoeuer in reſpect of the perfection of his Diuine and Heauenlie vertues, he were

were *in termino*, that is, come to the vttermoſt bound, and extent thereof, yet in the expreſſing of the actions of them, he fitte himſelfe to the condition of men heere below, as appeared in the actions of his loue and obedience, in that he gaue himſelfe for the pacifying of his Fathers wrath, the ſatisfying of his iuſtice, and the promeriting of our good: and beſides, he had the actions of manie vertues that are proper to the conuerſation of this world; and whereof there is no vſe in heauen, or in heauen-happineſſe, but in the way and iourney towards heauen: as Temperance, Sobrietie, Fortitude, Patience, and the Obſeruation of the ceremoniall, and iudiciall law; in which reſpect he may verie properlie be ſaid to haue bene in a ſtate of meriting, and to haue merited.

Wherefore preſuppoſing that Chriſt might and did merit, let vs ſee whether he merited anie thing for himſelfe. The [b] Papiſts impute, I know not wat impietie to *Caluine*, becauſe he ſaith, Chriſt merited not for himſelfe, but for vs onely; and vrge againſt him that ſaying of the Apoſtle, when he ſaith, that [c] *Chriſt humbled himſelfe, and was made obedient vnto death, euen the death of the Croſſe, and that therfore God exalted him, and gaue him a name aboue euerie name.*

b *Bellarmin. de Chriſto Mediatore li. 5. cap. 9.*

c *Philip. 2. 8.*

Wherfore let vs take a view of that they teach touching this point, that ſo we may the better diſcerne, whether *Caluine* be iuſtly blamed by them, or not. The Shoolemen generallie agree, that Chriſt neither did, nor could merit the grace of perſonall vnion, the habituall perfections of his humane Soule, or the viſion of God, becauſe he poſſeſſed all theſe from the beginning, and it would haue bene a matter of more imperfection to haue wanted anie of them at the firſt, then of perfection to haue gotten them by merit afterwards: Yet the [d] *Maſter* of *Sentences*, and others reſolue, that he did procure vnto himſelfe by his merit the impaſſibilitie, and glorification of his bodie. But [e] *Scotus* verie acutely and wittily obiecteth againſt them that ſo thinke, that Chriſt cannot be ſaid to haue merited the impaſſibilitie and glorification of his bodie, becauſe they would haue beene found in it from the verie firſt inſtant of the vnion of the Natures of God and Man in him by vertue of that vnion, before anie act of his, had not the naturall conſequence and flowing of them from that vnion beene ſtaied and hindered by ſpeciall diſpenſation, for the working of our ſaluation: and therfore he ſaith, that if we will defend the *Maſter* of *Sentences* from errour in this point, we muſt ſo conſtrue his words, as that Chriſt did not directly merit glorification and impaſſibilitie, but onely the remouing of that miraculous ſtay of the naturall redundance of glorie from his Soule, filled with the happie viſion of his Deitie, into his bodie.

d *Lib. 3. diſt. 18.*

e *Scotus in 3. diſt. 18.*

But ſurely this fauourable conſtruction will not helpe the matter: for ſeeing the miraculous ſtay of the redundance of glorie from the Soule of Chriſt into his bodie, was of it ſelfe to ceaſe, when that ſhould be per-

fourmed, for the effecting whereof ſuch ſtay was made, he could no more merit ſuch remoue of ſtay then the glorie it ſelfe, that in reſpect of the grace of perſonall vnion, would as naturallie haue bene communicated to his bodie, as it was in his Soule, had not God for ſpeciall purpoſe ſtaied and hindered ſuch redundance.

So that we ſhall find, that howſoeuer the Papiſts do preſſe certaine teſtimonies of Scripture, as if they would proue out of them, that Chriſt merited the name aboue all names, and the fulneſſe of all power both in heauen and in earth, which he could no more merit then to be God; yet in the end they are forced to confeſſe, (ſo great is the trueth which will euer preuaile) that he neither merited the perſonall vnion of his two natures, the perfection of his habituall graces, the viſion of God, nor the glorification of his bodie, but onely the remouing of that ſtay and impediment, that hindered the flowing of glorie from his ſoule into his bodie; and finding, that this ſtay or hinderance was to ceaſe of it ſelfe, ſo ſoone as the worke of our Redemption ſhould be wrought, and conſequently, that he could not merit it, they flie for helpe to a diſtinction of merits, which they make to be of three ſorts,

[f] *Bonauent. in Sent. lib. 3. diſt. 18. queſt. 2.*

For [f] there is, as they ſay, one kind of merite, that maketh a thing due that was not due before; another, that maketh a thing more due then it was before; and a third, that maketh a thing more waies due then at firſt it was. The two firſt kinds of merit, they confeſſe, did not agree to Chriſt, there being nothing that was not due vnto him in as high degree in the beginning, as euer it was afterwards.

But they ſay, that he merited in the third ſort or kind, in that he made thoſe things that were due vnto him as conſequents of the perſonall vnion of his two natures, to be due vnto him as a reward of his paſſion.

This truely is a verie ſily euaſion; ſeeing that cannot be a reward of a mans labours, that was due to him in as high degree before, as after his worke is done. He that laboureth in the field or vineyard of another man, and ſhe that nouriſheth a child that is not her owne, trauaile both in hope of reward, but that reward muſt of neceſſitie be ſome thing that was not due to them before ſuch trauaile: yea, he that dreſſeth his owne vine, and ſhe that nouriſheth her owne children, looke to the recompenſe of reward; but that reward is no other thing, but the proſperitie and increaſe of their fields and vineyards, and the grouth of their children, like the Olive braunches round about their table; which, without ſuch paines and trauaile, they could not looke for. In like ſort, a Man may ſay to his child; this land ſhall be the reward of thy dutyfull behauiour; if he haue power to put it from him, if his behauiour be not dutiefull: but if he haue not, it is ridiculous to promiſe it as a reward, ſeeing a reward is euer ſome good to be gained by our weldoing or patient ſuffering, counterpailing the difficultie in doing, and bitterneſſe in ſuffering.

It is

It is therefore moſt abſurd, that anie thing which is a mans owne, in as ample ſort before he begin his worke as after he hath done it, ſhould be the reward of his worke.

But ſome man perhaps will ſay, that a thing that was due in reſpect of the habit reſting in the mind, may become due in reſpect of the Act done: & conſequently, that that which was due one way, may become more waies due. Surelie we make no queſtion but it may, becauſe it was due to the Habit as to the Roote of ſuch action, when occaſion ſhould be offered, and opportunitie ſerue, and not otherwiſe. But ſeeing in Chriſt, the glorificatiõ and impaſſibilitie of his bodie was due vnto him as a conſequent of perſonall vnion, and not of anie habituall qualitie, or habit inclining and fitting vnto action, therefore that could not become due to anie action of Chriſt, that was due vnto him in reſpect of ſome former thing, as that may be due to the action of a Man, that was formelie due to the habit that is the roote of ſuch action.

The places of Scripture that are brought to proue, that Chriſt merited for himſelfe, are ſpecially two: for though there be a third, as pregnant as anie of the other, in the firſt to the *Hebrues*, where it is ſaid of Chriſt, g *Thou haſt loued righteouſnes, and hated iniquitie: therfore God, euen thy God hath annointed thee with the oyle of Gladneſſe aboue thy fellowes:* yet do they not much ſtand vpon it, becauſe, if it proue anie thing, it proueth that Chriſt merited the grace of vnction, which they denie, who teach that Chriſt merited for himſelfe. g Heb. 1.9.

The firſt of the two places alleaged to proue that Chriſt merited for himſelfe, is in the ſecond to the *Hebrues*: where the Apoſtle ſaith, h *We ſee Ieſus for the paſſion of death, crowned with glorie and honour.* But the words, as ſome thinke, are not ſo to be read, but to be placed in this ſort: *We ſee Ieſus, who was for a little while made lower then the Angels, for the paſſion of death*, that is, that he might ſuffer death, *crowned with glorie and honour*; ſo expreſſing the finall cauſe of his humiliation, and not the meritorious cauſe of his exaltation. This conie cture is made exceeding probable by thoſe words added by the Apoſtle, *that he might taſte of death*: which otherwiſe haue no coherence with anie part of his ſpeech. The ſecond place that they bring, is that of the ſecond to the *Philippians*: The words are theſe: i *Chriſt humbled himſelfe, and became obedient vnto the death, euen the death of the croſſe: Wherefore God hath alſo highly exalted him, and giuen him a name aboue euerie name, &c.* This place, as k *Hugo de S. Victore* hath fitly noted, importeth, that the humiliation of the Sonne of God becõming Man, was the cauſe of the exaltatiõ of the nature of Man: for when he perſonally aſſumed the nature of Man, & became Man, Man became God almightie, hauing all power, and a name aboue all names: according to that of *Leo*, l *Diuinæ maieſtatis exinanitio, ſeruilis formæ in ſummâ prouectio eſt*; that is, The abaſing of the Diuine Maieſtie, and Perſon of the h Hebr. 2.9. i Philip. 2.8.9. k *Hugo de S. Victore de Sacram. fidei, lib. 2. part. 1. cap. 6.* l Leo Serm. 12.

Sonne of God, is the high aduancing and exaltation of the forme of a Seruant: and therefore he addeth, that *Ex quo Deus cœpit esse homo, & homo cœpit esse Deus; Deus cœpit esse homo subiectus, & homo cœpit esse Deus perfectus. Si Deus humiliatus est quantum potuit in homine, homo sublimatus non est quantum potuit in Deo?* that is, When God began to be Man, and Man began to be God; God began to be a Man in subiection and humilitie, and Man to be God in the heighth of perfection: For if God were humbled, as much as he might be, in that he became Man; was not Man exalted, as much as he might be, in that he became God? God was humbled, when first he became Man, *In quantum homo, dignitate; in quantum bonus, voluntate*: that is, in that a Man, in condition and state, in that a good man, in will and mind: but manifested the same more specially in his passion: Likewise the Man Christ was exalted, when he was borne the Sonne of God, but manifested the same more specially after his resurrection then before.

For we must not thinke, that the Man Christ did then first receiue the full, and perfect power of Deitie, when he sayd, [m] *All power is giuen me in heauen and in earth*: seeing before the vttering of those words, he commanded the Diuels, had the Angels to do him seruice, and made the very elements of the world to bow and bend at his pleasure.

m Matth. 28. 18.

Wherefore this place is vnaduisedly brought by our Aduersaries, to proue that Christ merited for himselfe, it being most cleare and euident, that the name aboue all names mentioned in this place, which is the name of God Almightie, was giuen to the Sonne of God *donatione naturali*, that is, by naturall communication, when he was begotten of his Father before all eternitie, and to the Man Christ *donatione gratuitâ*, that is, by free gift, when God was made Man, and Man became God, as the ordinarie Glosse vpon these words fitly obserueth: and so could no more be merited by the passion of Christ, then it was possible for him to do any thing whereby to merit to be God.

And hereupon [n] *Caluine* rightly asketh (which all the Papists in the world are not able to answere) *Quibus meritis assequi potuit homo vt iudex esset mundi, caput Angelorum, atque vt potiretur summo Dei imperio?* that is, by what merites could man attaine to be Iudge of the world, Head of Angels, and to haue the highest authoritie and power of God?

n *Caluin. Instit. lib. 2. cap. 17.*

But some man will say, that Christ pronounceth, [o] *it was necessarie that he should suffer, and so enter into his glorie*; and that therefore it seemeth, he could not haue entered into it, vnlesse he had suffered. *Quomodo ergo suam (* sayth *Hugo) si oportuit? & quomodo oportuit, si suam? Si gloria eius fuit, quomodo vt ad illam intraret, pati oportuit? Sed suam propter se; oportuit propter nos*: that is, Howe then was it his glorie, if he could not enter into it, vnlesse he suffered? and how was it necessary that he should suffer to enter into it, if it were his?

o Luke 24. 26.

Surely,

Surely it was his in respect of himselfe; and it was necessary he should enter into it by suffering, onely in respect of vs. For Christ truly, if he had pleased, might haue entred into his glory some other way, and haue receiued it in what sort he would, euen as he needed neuer to haue wanted it, vnlesse he had pleased: but he would for our sakes by punishment enter into his glory, that dying he might take away the feare of death, and rising againe he might restore vnto vs the hope of glorification: he would not go any other way, because we could not go any other way; we would, but could not; he could, but would not: *Quia, si aliter iniſſet, peruenisſet, ſed non ſubueniſſet*: that is, because if he had gone any other way, he might haue entred in himselfe, but could not haue brought vs in with him.

There is nothing therefore that Christ gained to himselfe by his passion, but that he was made an example of suffering to all that beleeue in him, and a cause of glorification to all them that suffer with him, that they may be glorified with him: but what did this profite him? He went before, and we all follow him: whose good is this? I finde men out of the way, I go before them to shew them the way, and all follow me; what doth it profite me? I knew the way, and could haue gone it by my selfe alone: *Sed non eſſet cauſa pergendi, niſi compaſſio eſſet ſubuenendi*: that is, but there were no cause of my going, if the compassionate consideration of such as know not the way, did not moue me by going before them to be a guide vnto them.

Thus then we say, that Christ merited nothing for himselfe; not because we would detract any thing from him, for he did things worthy of most ample rewards, if there had bene any thing he had not already, that might haue bene giuen & added to him, or that he had not already a iust claime vnto; but because we admire his perfection, which was so great from the beginning, that nothing could be after added vnto it; and praise his goodnesse, that came into this world for our sakes onely, and not for his owne good. Wherefore let vs proceede to see how, and in what sort he merited for vs. In the merite of Christ, two things are to be considered: The worth of those actions and workes of vertue, which he performed: and the dignity of his Diuine and infinite Person performing them.

Touching the former, though the actions of the best men that euer were, done in the state of grace, and proceeding from the working of Gods Spirit, be not worthy of the glory that shall be reuealed; yet wee constantly affirme and teach, that the actions of Christ, done in his humane nature, were worthy of that glory; and therefore dare not deny, that Christ merited for vs *ex condigno*, as some of the Schoole-men doe. But for the better clearing of this point, touching the merite of Christ, we must obserue, that to Merite, simply, absolutely, and properly so named,

named, foure things concurre. For first, he that will merite or deserue any thing at another mans hand, must doe something that the other had no former claime vnto. Secondly, he must doe something that may bee beneficiall and good vnto him, of whom he desireth to deserue something. Thirdly, he must do something that may be beneficiall in as high a degree vnto him, as he looketh to be benefited by him againe. And fourthly, he must not hurt and wrong him, as much one way, as he benefiteth him another: for if he do so, he loseth all merite of reward.

These being the things required to the nature of Merite, strictly so named, no creature can in this sort merite any thing at Gods hand, seeing there is nothing that any creature can do which God may not iustly claime & challenge as due, in respect of good already done to it; or whereby it may any way benefite or profite him, according to that in *Iob*, that [p] *Our righteousnesse reacheth not vnto God*: Yet such is the goodnesse of Almighty God towards his poore creatures, that, as if he had no claime to their weldoings, in respect of benefites already bestowed on them, and, as if they were as good and beneficiall to him, as they are good in themselues, seeking in all his workes to communicate, and not to receiue any good, in the day he made them, he couenanted with them to giue them rewards answerable to the worth of their actions: which gracious condescending of Almighty God to the condition of his creatures presupposed, *Adam* in the state of his innocency, and before hee fell, might haue merited and deserued good at Gods hand; but the best men in the world since his fall, are excluded from all possibility of meriting any thing, especially heauen-happinesse, properly of him: first, because they haue lost all that power of weldoing, which originally in the state of their creation they had, and can performe nothing that is good, vnlesse it be giuen vnto them by a new free gift, for which they shall rather be indebted to God, thē any way bind him vnto them. Secondly, because they offend him as much one way, as they please him another. And thirdly, because there is no equality betweene the good actions of vertue which they performe and do, and the rewards that are laid vp in heauen, neither in total, perpetual, & constant doing of that they do, nor in the maner, quality, and measure thereof, the height of heauen-happinesse incomparably exceeding all our knowledge and desire, according to that of the Apostle: [q] *The eye hath not seene, the eare hath not heard, neither hath it entred into the heart of Man, what things God hath prepared for them that loue him.* But none of these things exclude Christ from meriting in the nature of Man, which he assumed: for he brought the fulnesse of grace with him into the world, and it was Naturall vnto him: He no way offended or displeased God his Father: and there was a perfect equality betweene his actions and the rewardes of Heauen, in that he loued GOD with that kinde, degree, and measure of loue, wherewith men loue him in heauen; ardently

p Iob. 35.7

q 1 Cor. 2. 9.

dently, without defect; entirely, and totally without distraction; perpetually without intermission; and constantly, without possibility of euer ceasing so to do.

Wherefore let vs passe from the worth and value of those workes of vertue that Christ performed, to the consideration of the dignity of his diuine, and infinite Person performing them. Which dignity and infinitie of the Person of Christ, to which nothing could be added, made the things he did to promerite, and procure good to others, and to infinite other. [r] *Christus* (saith a learned Schoole-man) *meruit omnibus quantum fuit ex sufficientiâ sui, pro eo quod in ipso fuit gratia; non sicut in singulari homine, sed sicut in capite totius Ecclesiæ; propter quòd fructus passionis eius redundare potuit in omnia Ecclesiæ membra; & quia, vt dicit Damascenus, ratione vnitatis Diuinitatis cum humanitate, Christus operatur ea quæ sunt hominis, supra hominem, operatio eius extendebat se ad totam naturam, quod non potest operatio puri hominis. Huius diuersitatis ratio reducenda est non in habitualem aliquam gratiam creatam, sed increatam; quòd pro multis sufficit finita gratia, hæc sufficientia est ex gratiâ infinitâ & increatâ*; That is, Christ merited for all sufficiently on his part, in that grace was found in him, not as in a particular man, but as in the Head of the whole Church: for which cause the fruite of his passion might redound to all the members of the same Church; and because, (as *Damascene* saith) by reason of the vnion of the natures of God and Man in his Person, hee doth the workes of a man in a more excellent sort, then any meere man can doe, the benefite, and force of his working and operation extended to the whole nature of Man, which the action of a meere man cannot doe. The reason of which difference is not to be attributed to any habituall, created grace, but to that which is increate; for, that the finite grace that is in Christ, (that is, his vertue, and worke of vertue) is auaileable for the good of many, it is from his infinite, and increate Grace.

[r] *Paludanus in 3 sent. dist. 18.*

Chap. 21.

Of the Benefites which we receiue from Christ.

HAVING spoken of the Satisfaction, and Merit of Christ, it remaineth, that we speake of the Benefites which we receiue from him: which are almost fully expressed by the name of redemption, which is the freeing of vs from that miserable bondage & captiuity, wherein we were formerly holden by reason of *Adams* sin. This bondage was twofold; first, in respect of sinne: and secondly, in respect of punishment. In respect of sinne, we were

bondmen to Sathan, whose will we did, according to that of the Apostle,
a Rom.6,16. a *His seruants yee are, to whom yee obey.* In respect of punishment, we were become bondmen to Almighty God the righteous Iudge of the world, who vseth Sathan as an instrument of his wrath, and an Executioner of his dreadfull Iudgements against such as do offend him and prouoke him to wrath.

These being the kindes of captiuity and bondage wherein we were holden, it will not be hard to see how we are freed and redeemed frō the same. There is no redemption, as the Diuines do note, but either by exchange of prisoners, by force and strong hand, or by paying of a price. Redemption by exchange of prisoners is then, when we set free those whom we hold as captiues taken from our Enemies, that they may make free such as they hold of ours: and this kinde of redemption hath no place in the deliuerance of sinfull men from sinne and misery: but their deliuerance is onely wrought by strong hand, and paying of a price. For Christ redeemed vs from the bondage of sin, in that by the force, and working of his grace, making vs dislike it, hate it, repent of it, and leaue it, he violently tooke vs out of Sathans hands, who tyrannically, and vniustly, had taken possession of vs: but from the bondage of punishmēt, in respect whereof we were become Bondmen vnto Almighty God, he redeemed vs not by force and strong hand, but by paying a price, satisfying his Iustice, and suffering what our sinnes had deserued, that so being pacified towards vs, he might cease to punish vs, & discharge Sathan, who was but the Executioner of his wrath, from afflicting vs any longer. In this sort do we conceiue of the worke of our redemption, wrought for vs by Christ; and therefore it is absurdly and vntruly said by b *Matthew Kelliſon,* in his late published Surucy of the supposed new religion, that we make Christ an absurd Redeemer, for we speake no otherwise of Christ the Redeemer, then we haue learned in the Church and House of God.

b Surucy, Booke 3. chap. 2.

But for the satisfaction of the Reader, let vs see how he goeth about to conuince vs of such absurdity as he chargeth vs with. The Protestants, saith he, do teach (then which nothing can be more absurd) that Christs passion was our Iustice, Merite, and Satisfaction, that there is no Iustice but Christs, no good works but his works, no merite but his merite, no satisfaction but his satisfaction; that there is no iustice or sanctitie inherent in man, nor none necessary; that no Lawes can binde vs, because Christs death was the ransome that freed vs from all Lawes Diuine and Humane: that no sinnes nor euill workes can hurt vs, because Christs Iustice being ours, no sinnes can make vs sinners: that no Hell or Iudgement remaineth for vs what soeuer we do, because Christs Iustice being ours, sins can neither be imputed to vs in this life, nor punished in the next, and that herein consisteth Christian liberty.

A more ſhameleſſe ſlanderer, and trifling ſmatterer, I thinke was neuer heard of. For ſome of theſe aſſertions are vndoubted truths, againſt which no man may oppoſe himſelfe, vnleſſe he will be branded with the marke of impiety and blaſphemy: as that Chriſts paſſion is our Iuſtice, merite, and ſatisfaction: that there is no merite properly ſo named, but Chriſts merite; no propitiatorie, and expiatorie ſatisfaction but Chriſts ſatisfaction: and the other are nothing elſe but ſhameleſſe and helliſh ſlanders, and meere deuices, and fancies of his idle braine, without all ground of truth; as that there is no iuſtice nor ſanctitie inherent in Man, nor none neceſſary: that good workes are not neceſſary: that no lawes can bind vs: that no ſinnes nor euill workes can hurt vs: & that no hell nor iudgement remaineth for vs whatſoeuer we do. For we moſt conſtantly affirme & teach, that there is both iuſtice and ſanctity inherent in Man, though not ſo perfect, as that he may ſafely truſt vnto it, and deſire to be iudged according to the perfection of it in the day of Tryall. Likewiſe we teach, that good workes are in ſuch ſort neceſſary to ſaluation, that without Holineſſe, & a deſire at the leaſt to performe the workes of ſanctification, no man ſhall euer ſee God. Neither do we ſay, that no lawes can bind vs, as he ſlanderouſly miſreporteth, vs, but we conſtantly teach, that not to do the things contained and preſcribed in the law of God, is damnable & damning ſinne, if God vpon our repentance forgiue it not. And therfore [c] *Bellarmine*, though he wrongeth vs in like ſort as *Kelliſon* doth, yet in the end like an honeſt man, he confeſſeth ingenuouſly that he doth wrong vs, and ſheweth at large, that *Luther* in his booke *de votis Monaſticis*, defineth the liberty of a Chriſtian to conſiſt, not in being freed from the duty of doing the things preſcribed in the law of God, as if at his pleaſure he might do them, or leaue them vndone; but in that there are no workes forbidden in the law, that may ſtand with Faith, ſo euil, that they can condemne vs; nor none there preſcribed, performed by vs, ſo good, as to cleare, defend, & iuſtifie vs: So making vs free *non ab operibus faciẽdis, ſed defẽdentibus & accuſãtibus*: that is, not from the neceſſitie of doing the things that are cõmanded as good, but from ſeeking iuſtification in works, or fearing condemnation for ſuch euill workes as we conſent not fully vnto, but diſlike, reſiſt againſt, and ſeeke remiſſion of. Whereunto *Caluin* agreeth, teaching, that Chriſtian liberty freeth not from the duty of doing the things which the Law requireth, but from doing them ſo, as to haue them examined and tried ſtrictly, according to the Law, and rule of iuſtice: God in mercy accepting our workes though imperfect, if they proceed from a good conſcience, and faith vnfeined. But, ſaith [d] *Kelliſon*, the Proteſtants teach, that Chriſt came to be a Redeemer only, and not a Law-giuer: and therefore it ſeemeth they thinke men free from the duty of following the preſcription of any Law.

[c] *Lib. 4 de Iuſtificat. cap. 5.*

[d] *Booke 3. chap. 5.*

This ſurely is a very bad and weake inference. Chriſtian men haue nothing

thing to do with *Moſes* & his law, & may at their pleaſure either breake it or keepe it, becauſe Chriſt came to be a Redeemer, and not a Law-giuer. For though it be true, that Chriſt came not to giue a new, or more perfect law of morall duties, or to vrge it more ſtrictly then *Moſes* did, as ſome imagine, in which ſenſe our Diuines rightly deny him to haue come as a Lawgiuer, yet he came to fulfill the Law formerly giuen by the miniſtery of *Moſes*: which thing he performed, firſt, by clearing the meaning of it, and making it to bee rightly vnderſtood, where it was miſtaken. Secondly, by meriting remiſſion of the precedent breaches and tranſgreſſions of it. And thirdly, by giuing grace that men may in ſome ſort do the things it requireth. Wherefore if any man aske of vs, whether it may be truly ſaid, that Chriſt was a Law-giuer to his Church, we anſwer, that our Diuines did neuer ſimply deny Chriſt to be a Law-giuer, but onely in ſort before expreſſed. For they confeſſe that he may truly be ſo named; firſt, becauſe he writeth thoſe Lawes in our hearts, which *Moſes* deliuered written in Tables of ſtone; and ſecondly, becauſe hee gaue certaine poſitiue Lawes to Chriſtian men, touching Sacraments, Miniſtery, and outward meanes of ſaluation, that were not of force before.

Wherefore to conclude this point, we do not thinke (as *Kelliſon* ſlanderouſly againſt his owne conſcience reporteth of vs) that no ſinnes can hurt vs, that no Hell nor Iudgement remaineth for vs whatſoeuer we do; but we conſtantly teach, that they, who commit ſin with full conſent, and perſiſt therein, ſhall vndoubtedly periſh euerlaſtingly. So that this is all that we ſay, that no ſins, how grieuous ſoeuer, reſiſted, diſliked, repented of, & forſaken, can hurt vs: & that no Hell, nor Iudgement remaineth for them, whom the working of diuine grace freeth from the dominion of ſinne, and the ſatisfaction of Chriſt from the condemnation of it: Againſt which doctrine, or any part of it, neither *Kelliſon*, nor any Papiſt in the world, is able to take any iuſt exception.

Chap. 22.

Of the Miniſtery of them to whom Chriſt committed the publiſhing of the reconciliation betweene God and Men, procured by him,

THVS haue we ſeene, firſt, the excellencie of Chriſt our Sauiour, whom God ſent into the world, in the fulneſſe of time to bee the great Sheepheard of his Sheepe, the guide of his people, the light of the Gentiles, the glory of Iſrael, and a King to ſit vpon the throne of *Dauid* for euer, hauing all power both in Heauen and in Earth. Secondly, what great things he did and ſuffered for vs to reconcile vs vnto God. Thirdly, what the benefits are which he procured

procured for vs & beſtowed on vs. Now it remaineth that we ſee to whom he cõmitted the publiſhing of the ioyful reconciliation betweene God & Man, the conuerſion of the world vnto himſelfe, & the gouernment of ſuch as ſhould by beleeuing, become his people, when hauing finiſhed the great worke he came to performe, he was to returne backe to that God his Father that ſent him. The Apoſtle Saint *Paul* telleth vs, that [a] *Chriſt hauing triumphed ouer principalities and powers, and made a ſhew of them openly *vpon his Croſſe, led captiuity captiue, and gaue gifts, vnto men: * that hee gaue ſome to be Apoſtles, ſome Prophets, ſome Euangeliſts, and ſome Paſtours and Teachers, for the gathering together of the Saints, the worke of the Miniſtery, & the edifying of the body of Chriſt, vntill we all meete in the vnitie of Faith, and knowledge of the Sonne of God into a perfect Man, euen into the meaſure of the Age of the fulneſſe of Chriſt.* Amongſt all thoſe Meſſengers of glad tidings, and Miniſters of Chriſt appointed by him for the gathering together of the Saints, the Apoſtles were chiefe, and principall; Euangeliſts were aſſiſtants, which they vſed for the better ſettling and perfecting of thinges happily begun by them, & the writing of the Euangelicall hiſtories, concerning Chriſt: The Prophets were ſuch as foretold future thinges, that knew all ſecrets, and opened the hidden myſteries of God, ſpeaking to the conſciences of Men in a ſtrange and admirable manner; ſo that, as the Apoſtle telleth vs, [b] *They that heard them proſtrated themſelues at their feete, acknowledging that God was in them.* Theſe were temporary, and to cõtinue but for a time. In the Apoſtles, two ſorts of things are to be conſidered, and diſtinguiſhed by vs: firſt, ſuch as were proper to them, as fitting to thoſe firſt beginnings of Chriſtianity; and ſecondly, ſuch as are of perpetual vſe and neceſſity, and ſo to be paſſed ouer to other, and continued to the end of the world.

a Coloſſ. 2. 15.

* Or in himſelfe.

* Epheſ. 4. 8. &c.

b 1. Cor. 14. 25.

The Diuines do note, that there were foure things proper & peculiar to the Apoſtles, & not communicable to any other of the Miniſters of Chriſt appointed by him for the gathering together of his Saints. The firſt was, Immediate vocation; the ſecond, Infallibility of Iudgement: the third, generality of Commiſſion, to do all things perraining to the miniſtery of Saluation, in all places, and towards all Perſons: the fourth, the ſpeaking in all the tongues and languages of the world, the knowledge of all ſecrets, and power to confirme their Doctrine by ſignes and miracles, and by the impoſition of their hands to giue the like miraculous gifts of the Spirite to others.

Theſe iointly were not cõmunicable to any other in thoſe times, neither Euangeliſts, nor Prophets, as either not being called immediatly, but appointed by the Apoſtles; or not infallibly led into all truth: Generall commiſſion they had not, but were taken into the fellowſhip of the Apoſtles labours to aſſiſt their preſence, & ſupply their abſence, to build vpon their foundation, and to perfect that they began.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, though the hauing of miraculous gifts, and the power of working miracles ſimply, were not proper to the Apoſtles, yet the hauing of them in ſuch ſort, as by the impoſition of their hands to giue the Spirit, enabling to worke miracles, and to do miraculous things, was peculiar and proper to them; and therefore we reade, that [c] *Philip* baptized, but that the [d] Apoſtles went to confirme them by impoſition of hands that were baptized by him, that ſo they might receiue the miraculous gifts of the holy Ghoſt.

c Acts.8.12.
d ver.17.

And as theſe things were reſerued as proper and peculiar vnto the Apoſtles, and not communicated to any other in their time, ſo are they not paſſed ouer to their after-commers by ſucceſſion; but in ſteed of immediate calling we haue now ſucceſſion; in ſteed of infallibility of iudgement, the direction of their writings, guiding vs to the finding out of the truth: in ſteede of Generall commiſſion, particular Aſſignation of ſeuerall Churches to rule, and parts of Chriſts flocke to feede: in ſteed of miraculous gifts, and the Apoſtles power to conferre them, a ſetled courſe of Schooles and Vniuerſities fitting men for the worke of the Miniſtery: in ſteed of their Miracles wherwith they confirmed their doctrine, the Faith already receiued, and by ſo many generations recommended vnto vs, as confirmed by the Apoſtles Miracles at the firſt.

Neither was it fit, as [e] Saint *Auguſtine* noteth, that theſe miraculous courſes ſhould ſtill haue continued: For euen as a man that neuer had ſeene the ſeede caſt into the earth, and there rotting; and the trees dead in Winter, after reuiuing, and flouriſhing againe in their appointed time, would wonder no leſſe at it, then if he ſhould ſee a blinde man receiue ſight, or a dead man life: but now that theſe things are ordinary, we little eſteeme them: ſo if thoſe miraculous things appearing in the Apoſtles, and firſt Miniſters of Chriſt, which with their newneſſe and ſtrangeneſſe moued much at the firſt, ſhould haue bene continued ſtill, they would haue growen into contempt, and not haue bene regarded at all. All that which hath bene ſaid touching the dignitie Apoſtolicall, and the things properly pertaining to it, is ſo cleare and euident, that wiſe and iudicious men, make no queſtion of any part thereof. Yet are there ſome that ſeeme to doubt, whether the Apoſtles generally had immediate calling, or vniuerſality of commiſſion, ſuppoſing that *Peter* onely was immediatly deſigned by Chriſt, & the reſt by him: that he only had an illimited commiſſion, without all reſtraint, and the reſt an inferiour commiſſion to that of *Peter*, bounded and ſtinted.

e *Auguſt. de vtilitate credendi. cap.16.*

Touching the firſt of theſe doubts, [f] *Bellarmine* (whoſe manner is not to conceale the diuiſions and differences that are or haue bene amongſt the Friends and Louers of the Church of *Rome*, but to write them in the forehead of euery controuerſie) ſheweth, that there are three opinions amongſt the Diuines of the *Romiſh* Church touching this point. The firſt, that

f *Bell. de Pontif. lib.4.cap.22.*

that as well the Apoſtles, as ſucceeding Biſhops receiued their power, & Iuriſdiction from *Peter*, and his ſuppoſed ſucceſſour the Biſhop of *Rome*. The ſecond, that both Apoſtles and Biſhops receiued their Eccleſiaſticall power and Iuriſdiction immediatly from Chriſt, and not from *Peter* nor his Succeſſours. The third, that Biſhops receiue their Iuriſdiction from the Pope, but that the Apoſtles receiued all their power and Iuriſdiction immediatly from Chriſt, and not from *Peter*.

The ſecond of theſe opinions is wholly true, and I will in due place confirme the ſame. The third, in part true, and in part falſe, which *Bellarmine* followeth: and the firſt wholly falſe, which he largely and ſubſtantially confuteth; prouing firſt, [g] that the Apoſtles receiued all their Iuriſdiction and power immediatly from Chriſt, and not from *Peter*, as well out of the words of our Sauiour, when he ſaith: [h] *As my Father ſent me, ſo ſend I you*: as out of the election of [i] *Matthias*, who was not choſen by *Peter*, or the other Apoſtles, but deſigned immediatly by God himſelfe, ſhewing by direction of the *Lot falling on Matthias*, that it was he whom he would haue to ſucceed into the void roome of *Iudas* the Traytour: adding, that the Apoſtles gaue him no authority; and that *Paul* profeſſeth the ſame touching himſelfe, [k] proteſting that he receiued all his power and Iuriſdiction immediatly from Chriſt, and thereby prouing himſelfe to be an Apoſtle.

g *Ibid. cap. 23.*

h Ioh. 20. 21.

i Acts. 1. 26.

k Gal. 1. & 2.

Secondly, hee proueth that the fulneſſe of all Eccleſiaſticall power was committed to all the Apoſtles in as large & ample ſort, as vnto *Peter*, by the teſtimonies of *Chryſoſtome*, and *Theophylact*; and that Chriſt by thoſe words, *As my Father ſent me, ſo ſend I you*, made all the Apoſtles his Vicars or Vicegerents, yea, gaue them his owne office and authority; and out of *Cyrill*, that by theſe words he made them Apoſtles and Doctours of the whole world: and that to let them know, that in Apoſtolique power he gaue them all Eccleſiaſticall power, he ſaid vnto them, *As my Father ſent me, ſo ſend I you*: it being certaine that the Father ſent the Sonne with al fulneſſe of power. Farther he addeth out of [l] *Cyprian*, that the ſame fulneſſe of power was giuen vnto the reſt of the Apoſtles by thoſe words, *As my Father ſent me, ſo ſend I you*, that was promiſed to *Peter* by thoſe, *I will giue thee the keyes of the kingdome of Heauen*; and performed by thoſe other, *Feed my Sheep, feed my Lambs*. Now, ſaith he, it is certain that by thoſe words, *I will giue thee the keyes of the kingdome of Heauen*, and by thoſe other, *Feede my Sheepe, &c.* is vnderſtood all fulneſſe of Iuriſdiction both inward and outward: therefore the fulneſſe of Eccleſiaſticall power and Iuriſdiction, was giuen to euery one of the Apoſtles.

l *Cyprian. de vnitate Eccleſ.*

Thus then the Cardinall confeſſeth, firſt, that all the Apoſtles were immediatly taught of God, without learning any thing of *Peter*, or needing in any thing to be confirmed by him.

Secondly, that their commiſſion was generall; ſo that there was not any act of Eccleſiaſtical Miniſtery to which their commiſſion did not extend, nor any places in which, nor perſons towards whom, they might not performe the acts of their Miniſtery. Thirdly, that they receiued all this authority and power immediatly from Chriſt, and not from *Peter*, and that therfore they could neither be limited, nor wholly reſtrained by him in the vſe, and exerciſe of the ſame.

Thus doth he ouerthrow the whole frame and fabrique of their building, who ground the pretended ſupremacy of the Pope vpon Chriſts words ſpoken to *Peter*: For to what purpoſe doe they vrge, that to *Peter* onely Chriſt ſaid, *Feede my Sheepe, &c?* that to him onely *hee gaue the keyes of the kingdome of Heauen*, and vpon him onely promiſed *to build his Church?* ſeeing they are forced to confeſſe, that the commiſſion of feeding Chriſts ſheepe, was giuen in as ample ſort to the reſt as to *Peter*; that they all receiued the whole power of the keyes; that the Church was builded vpon the reſt as well as vpon *Peter*, and equally founded vpon them all.

If the Cardinall ſhal ſhrinke from this his confeſſion, we can eaſily force him to it againe, & make him acknowledge that whatſoeuer Chriſt promiſed, intended, or performed by any of his ſpeeches directed vnto *Peter*, he performed to all. Chriſt ſaid ſpecially to *Peter*, *Feede my ſheepe*: yet had the reſt (our Aduerſaries being iudges) the ſame commiſſion. He promiſed to him *the keyes of the kingdome of Heauen*, ſo that *what he ſhould binde on earth, ſhould be bound in Heauen*; he named him *Peter*, and promiſed *vpon that Rocke to build his Church*: yet all receiued the ſame keyes as well as he, the ſame power of binding and looſing; and the Church was equally builded on them all.

Theſe thinges I will particularly confirme and proue; and firſt, that all the Apoſtles had the ſame commiſſion of feeding the flocke of Chriſt that *Peter* had, it is euident. For whereas there are but foure kindes of feeding; [m] *Vitâ exemplari, ſubſidio corporali, doctrinâ ſalutari, & diſciplinâ regulari*; that is, By exemplary cõuerſation, by miniſtring things neceſſary for the entertainment of this preſent life, by wholſome doctrine, and by regular diſcipline and gouernment; all theſe waies, the reſt of the Apoſtles ſtood bound to feede the flocke of Chriſt, as well as *Peter*. For they were all the [n] *Lights of the world*, and their [o] *Light was ſo to ſhine before men, that they ſeeing their good workes, might glorifie their Father in Heauen*: they were all to take care of the poore & needy; they had all power to preach & miniſter Sacraments by Chriſts owne warrant, ſaying vnto them all, [p] *Goe, teach all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghoſt*; and to gouerne and guide the Church and people of God, as well as *Peter*; Chriſt ſending them as his Father ſent him, and aſſuring them that whoſe ſinnes they

m *Ockam. dialog. lib. 5. 1. part. tit. cap. 15. & lib. 4. 1. tractatus. 3. partis, cap. 10.*

n Matth. 5. 14.

o Verſe 16.

p Matth. 28. 19.

they remit, they are remitted, and whoſe ſinnes they retaine, they are retained.

Neither can this be doubted of, ſeeing *Bellarmine* himſelfe confeſſeth in the place before alledged, that in the Apoſtolique power, all power and Iuriſdiction Eccleſiaſticall, as well inward as outward, was contained: ſo that, that which *Bellarmine* and other Papiſts inſiſt vpon, [q] that Chriſt cõmended al his ſheep vnto *Peters* care & charge, in that he ſaid vnto him, *Feede my Sheepe*, without any limitation or diſtinction, as if in this reſpect they would ſhew vs ſome ſingular thing in *Peters* feeding of the flocke of Chriſt, not found in others, is too ſilly. For who knoweth not, that euery Apoſtle had generall commiſſion, and that howſoeuer for the better diſpatch of the worke they had in hand, they diuided amongſt them the ſeuerall prouinces of the world; yet this was, as *Bellarmine* himſelfe confeſſeth, [r] *Prouinciarum, non iuriſdictionis diuiſio*; that is, a diuiſion of prouinces, not of Iuriſdiction: for there was not any of them, but had power to preach, miniſter Sacraments, and exerciſe diſcipline whereſoeuer they would, one of them no way hindering the employment of another, but all with ioynt care ſeeking to ſet forward the worke they had in hand. Yea this is ſo cleare, that the Cardinall ingenuouſly confeſſeth it to be ſo, ſaying in expreſſe words, that [ſ] *the reſt of the Apoſtles were heads, Rulers, and Paſtours of the vniuerſall Church.* Touching the *power of the Keyes* promiſed to *Peter*, & the *power of binding and looſing*, it will eaſily appeare, that no ſingular thing was either promiſed or giuen vnto him, but that which was cõmon to him with the reſt. [t] *Thomas Aquinas* fitly obſerueth, that in corporall things the Key is an inſtrument that openeth the doore, and giueth entrance to him that formerly was excluded: Now the doore of the kingdome of heauen is ſhut againſt vs by ſin, both in reſpect of the ſtaine of it, and the guilt of puniſhment: whence it commeth, as hee aptly noteth, that the power, by which this ſtoppe and impediment is taken away; is named the Key. This power is in the diuine Trinity principally, & by way of authority, in that God only taketh away ſin, *dimittendo, quæ facta ſunt; adiuuando, ne fiant; & perducendo ad vitam, vbi omnino fieri non poſſunt*; that is, By forgiuing the ſin that is paſt; by helping the ſinner, that he doth not the like againe; and by bringing him to that life, where he can ſin no more. And therefore the bleſſed Trinity is ſaid to haue the Key of Authoritie. Chriſt had power to remoue this ſtoppe and hinderance by the merite of his paſſion, by inſtituting Sacraments, and making them effectuall inſtruments of the communication, of his grace, for the taking away of ſinne, and therefore he is ſaid to haue the Key of Excellencie. In men there is a miniſteriall Power to remoue the impediment of ſinne, that hindereth from entring into Heauen, and therefore they are rightly ſaid to haue a key of Miniſtery, which is twofold; of Science, and of Iuriſdiction: Of Science, *remouendo ignorantiam*,

[q] *Bellarm. de Pont. lib. 1. cap. 14.*

[r] *Ibid. cap. 16.*

[ſ] *Ibid. cap. 11.*

[t] *In addit. ad 3. part. Summæ. queſt. 17. art. 1.*

& inducendo ad conuersionem; that is, by remouing the blindnesse of heart that is found in men, and inducing them to conuert and turne to God: Of Iurisdiction, in receiuing men into the society of holy ones, and in admitting those that they thinke meete and worthy to the participation of the holy Sacraments, in which the efficacy of Christs passion communicateth it selfe; as also in reiecting the vnholy and vncleane.

The Iurisdiction of the Church is rightly signified Metaphorically by the name of a Key, because the chiefe command in a house or Citty, is in him to whom the keyes of that house or Citty are committed; and he that hath the keyes, hath thereby power to admit and receiue into the house or Citty whom he will, and to exclude and shut out whom he pleaseth.

And therfore when Princes enter into their Citties and Townes, the Citizens are wont to offer vnto them the keies thereof, thereby acknowledging that the chiefe power & command of those places doth rest in them. Whereupon when the Lord promised to *Eliacim*, sonne of *Hilkiah*, seruant of King *Hezekiah*, chiefe authority in the kings Court, and in the Citty of *Ierusalem*, he said by his Prophet; u *I will giue the keye of the house of Dauid vpon his shoulders. He shall open and no man shall shut: he shall shut, and no man shall open.* In which sense also it is said in the *Reuelation* of Christ: that x *He hath the key of Dauid; that he openeth and no man shutteth, that hee shutteth and no man openeth*; that is, hath all fulnesse of power in his Fathers house and kingdome.

u Esay. 22. 22.

x Reuel. 3. 7.

Thus then the key of Ministery being onely the power of teaching, instructing, admonishing, comforting, gouerning, and yeelding sacramental assurances of Gods mercy and grace by dispensing the Sacraments Christ hath instituted; and this power being the same in *Peter*, and the rest; it is cleare that *the keyes of the kingdome of Heauen* were equally committed vnto them all. The force of these keyes is not only expressed by the acts of opening and shutting, but of *binding and loosing* also, thereby to shew, that they are no materiall keyes, but Metaphorically vnderstood, & spiritual; and that heauen is then opened vnto men that they may enter into it, when they are loosed from their sins that hindered them from entring in thither: and hereupon it is, that Christ hauing promised the keyes of the kingdome of heauen to blessed *Peter*, telleth him likewise, that *what hee shall binde on earth, shall bee bound in heauen, and what he shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heauen.* The bonds wherewith men are bound on earth, are of foure sorts. First of Lawes, obliging, and tying them to the performance of certaine duties. Secondly, of sinnes. Thirdly of punishments to be inflicted by Almighty God; and Fourthly, of punishments to be inflicted by men.

The bond of Lawes is of two sorts. For there are diuine lawes, & there are humane

humane Lawes. God bindeth men to the doing of what he pleaſeth, and Men that are in authority, either Ciuill or Eccleſiaſticall, to ſuch things as they thinke fit. Touching theſe bonds, none haue power to looſe, but they that haue power to binde: ſo that what God by precept bindeth vs to do, none but God can free vs from the neceſſity and duty of doing it: and what the Church or Magiſtrate binde vs to, no inferiour power can looſe vs or free vs from. *Looſing* in this ſenſe oppoſed to binding by law and precept, is in two ſorts; By Reuocation, and by Diſpenſation. Reuocation, is an abſolute Abrogation of a Law in reſpect of all places, times, perſons, and conditions, and that either by expreſſe and direct Repeale, or by generall neglect, and long continued diſuſe. Diſpenſation is in reſpect of certaine perſons, times, places and conditions of Men and thinges: ſo that a diſpenſation permitting the Law to retaine her wonted authority, onely freeth ſome particular perſon or perſons, at ſome times, in ſome places, and in ſome condition of thinges, from the neceſſity of doing, or leauing vndone that, which, vnleſſe it be in conſideration of ſuch particular circumſtances, the Law-giuer meant ſhould be obſerued, but in ſuch caſes not ſo.

Heere the queſtion is moued by occaſion of that kinde of looſing, which is by reuerſing Lawes formerly in force, whether God the giuer of the moral Law, may reuoke the ſame, and diſpenſe with men for the not doing of things there preſcribed, or the doing of things there forbidden.

The anſwer is, [y] that theſe Lawes are impoſed vpon men by the very condition of their nature and creation: as the very condition and nature of a man, created by GOD, requireth that he ſhould honour, loue, feare, and reuerence him that made him: and therefore touching the precepts of the firſt Table (that concerning the Sabaoth excepted) it is cleare and euident, that they cannot be altered, nor Man by God himſelfe diſcharged from the duty of honouring, louing, and fearing God ſo long as he hath any being.

[y] *Paludanus in Sent. lib. 3. diſt. 40. quæſt. 2. & 3.*

Touching the precepts of the ſecond Table, it is reſolued, that GOD cannot diſpenſe with man, or giue him leaue to do the thinges therein forbidden, as to ſteale, murther, or lye. For all theſe imply, and inuolue in them that which is ſimply euill, and to bee diſliked: but by ſome alteration in the doer, or matter of action, hee may make that not to bee euill, that otherwiſe would bee euill: and conſequently not forbidden; as namely, that to bee no theft, or murther, which otherwiſe would be: as when hee commanded the *Iſraëlites* to ſpoyle the *Ægyptians*, they did not commit the act of robbery: for robbery is the taking away of a thing from the owner againſt his will: but theſe thinges which the *Iſraelites tooke* away, were the

Egyptians no longer, after God the supreme Lord, had spoyled them of the title they had thereunto, and assigned the same to the *Israelites*. So likewise for one man to take away the life of another, having no authority so to do, is murther, and no man can be dispensed with lawfully to do any such act; but for a Magistrate to take away the life of an offender, is a lawfull act, and no act of murther; and so, if *Abraham* had slaine his sonne *Isaac*, it had not bene murther, being authorized so to do by God, who hath supreme authority in the world, and may iustly, as a Iudge, for sinne found in men, take away the liues of whom hee pleaseth, and as supreme and absolute Lord, bring all to nothing that for his wils sake he made of nothing, though there were no sinne nor fault at all.

But touching Ceremoniall, Iudiciall, and Positiue Lawes of God concerning Sacraments and obseruations of what kinde soeuer, seeing they are impосed after and vpon the being of nature, we thinke that God may alter them at his pleasure, so that at one time it may be lawfull to doe that was forbidden at another. The Gouernors that God hath set ouer his Church and people by commission from him, may interprete what is doubtfull in these Lawes of God, or in those of the other sort; but yet according to the Law; but they may not abrogate or dispense with any Law of God, either naturall & moral, or positiue established concerning the vse of Sacraments, and things pertaining to Gods worship and seruice. But concerning those lawes that were made by the Apostles and Primitiue Fathers touching matters of outward obseruation, the succeeding Guides of the Church may either dispense with them, or reuerse them vpon the due consideration of the difference of times, Men, and things. And so we see to whom it pertaineth to binde men with their lawes, and to loose them from the bondes thereof. The bond of sinne, which is the second kinde of those bonds I mentioned, is two-fold; for there is [z] *Vinculum captiuitatis*, and *Vinculum seruitutis*; that is, a man that is a sinner, is so bound that he can neither returne to do good, nor leaue off to do euill.: for sinne holdeth him in a bond of captiuity, that he shall not returne to do good; and with a bond of seruitude, that he shall not cease to do euill. And though God hath so ordered the nature of Man, that hee who will do euill, shall thus be entangled; yet it is man that thus entangleth, wrappeth, and bindeth himselfe, and not God.

[z] *Rich. de S. Victore. tract. de potest. ligandi. & soluendi. cap. 2.*

But for the bond of eternall condemnation, & the punishments following euill doers, which is the third kinde of those bondes wherewith I shewed that men are tyed and bound, it is of God. From these bondes of sin, and punishment inflicted by God, none but hee alone can free men by his fauour and the worke of his grace, as the supreme and highest cause; none but Christ, by Merite and Satisfaction.

The Ministers of the Church, by the Ministery of the Word & Sacraments

ments, may conuert Men to God instrumentally, making them partakers of his graces, and bringing them into such an estate, wherein they shall be sure for Christs sake to finde mercy with God, for the remission and taking away of their sinnes. They may pray for them, and out of the knowledge of their estate, assure them of remission: But other power to vnloose and vntye these direfull and horrible bonds of sinne and punishment, they haue none: onely the punishments which they haue power to inflict, they haue authority to diminish, lessen, or take away: so that whom they binde with the bonds of Ecclesiasticall censures, and punishments, those by the same authority they may vnloose. For as the Guides of Gods Church may prescribe, enioyne, and impose certaine actions of Mortification, and penitentiall conuersion vnto God; so when they see cause, they may release from the same: as by excommunication, they may restraine from vse of Sacraments, society of Beleeuers, and benefite of the Churches praiers; so by Absolution, they may free from all these bonds againe.

Neither is this kinde of binding and loosing lightly to bee esteemed of, or little regarded: for hee that for his contempt and disobedience, is debarred from the vse of the Sacraments, from enioying the society of the beleeuers, and partaking in the benefite of the Churches prayers, is vndoubtedly excluded from all accesse to the Throne of grace in Heauen, and all acceptation there, and so consequently, no lesse bound in Heauen then in Earth: and hee that is vnlooſed from these bonds on Earth, is vnlooſed and set free in Heauen, that without all restraint, hee *may* [a] *goe boldly to the Throne of Grace, to seeke helpe in the time of neede*. a Heb. 4. 16.

Thus wee see the diuers kindes of binding and loosing, and that the Guides of Gods Church haue power and authority by Lawes and precepts, censures, and punishments, to binde those that are committed to their care and trust, and when they see cause, by reuersing such Lawes and precepts, wholly or in part, and by diminishing, releasing, and taking away such censures and punishments, to vnty them, and set them free againe.

The bond of Diuine Lawes, they may no otherwise meddle with, then by letting them know who are so bound, how straightly they are tyed.

The bondes of sinne, and punishments by Diuine iustice to be inflicted, they haue no power and authority to vnloose, but they concurre as helpers to the vnlooſing of them by the Ministery of the Word, winning and perswading men to conuert vnto God, to cast their sinnes from them, and by the Sacraments instrumentally communicating vnto them, the grace of repentant conuersion, and the assurance of remission and pardon.

In all these kindes of binding and loosing, the Apostles were equall: seeing (our Aduersaries themselues confessing) they had the same power of Order and Iurisdiction in like extent, within the compasse whereof all these kindes of binding and loosing are confined. Wherefore let vs proceede to speake of the power of remitting and retaining sins, giuen to the Apostles by Christ our Sauiour.

To remit sinne, properly is nothing else but to resolue not to punish sinne, and therefore hee onely may properly be said to remit sinne, that hath power to punish it. Now as sinne is committed against the prescript of God, our Conscience, and Men in authority: so God, the conscience of the Sinner, and the Magistrate, and Minister, haue power to punish sinne: God, with punishments temporall and eternall, of this life, and that which is to come: the Conscience, with remorse: the Magistrate, with death, banishment, Confiscation of goods, imprisonment, and the like: and the guides of the Church, with suspension, excommunication, degradation, and such other censures. Hence it followeth, that GOD onely is said properly to remit the punishments that his iustice doth inflict: that the conscience onely vpon repentance, can take away that bitter and afflictiue punishment of remorse, wherwith she is wont to torment and disquiet the minde of the offendour: and that the Magistrate and Minister onely haue power to take away those punishments that in their seuerall courses, they may and do inflict.

Notwithstanding, the Minister by the Word, perswading men to repentance, procuring remission, and out of his prudent obseruation of the parties conuersion vnto God, assuring him that it will goe well with him, as also by the Sacrament instrumentally communicating to him as well the grace of repentant conuersion, as of free remission (that so he may heare the very sound and voyce of God in mercy, saying to the heart and spirit of the repentant Sinner, *I am thy Saluation*) may bee said in a sort to remitte sinne, euen in that it is an offence against GOD, not by way of authority and power, but by winning and perswading the sinner to that conuersion which obtaineth remission from God, and by the Sacrament instrumentally making him partaker as well of the grace of remission of sinne from God, as of conuersion from sinne to God.

There are but foure thinges in the hand of the Minister, the Word, Prayer, Sacraments, and Discipline. By the word of Doctrine hee frameth, winneth, and perswadeth the sinner to repentant conuersion, seeking, and procuring remission from GOD. By Prayer, hee seeketh and obtaineth it for the Sinner. By Sacraments, hee instrumentally maketh him partaker, as well of the grace of remission, as conuersion: And by the power of Discipline, he doth by

by way of authoritie puniſh euill doings, and remit or diminiſh the puniſhments he inflicteth, according as the condition of the partie may ſeeme to require.

By that which hath bene ſaid, it appeareth, that to bind and looſe, to remit and to retaine Sinnes, are equiualent and the ſame; ſaue that to bind and looſe, is of more ample and large extent, in that it implieth in it the binding by precepts and lawes, & the looſing which is by reuerſing or diſpenſing with the ſame. And therefore hauing ſhewed that the Apoſtles were equall in the power of binding and looſing, we need adde no farther proofe that they were equall in the power of remitting and retaining Sinnes.

Wherefore let vs proceed to the promiſe of Chriſt made to *Peter*, that vpon the *Rocke* mentioned by him, he *would build his Church*, & let vs ſee, whether anie peculiar thing were promiſed vnto *Peter* in that behalfe.

The Church of God, we know, is compared in Scripture to a Cittie, an Houſe, and a Temple; and therefore the beginning, proceeding and increaſing of the ſame is rightly compared to building. Now in building there muſt be a foũdation vpon which al may reſt, & ſtay, that is put into the ſame building: & the foundatiõ muſt be ſure, firme, and immoueable; for otherwiſe it will faile, and ſo all other parts of the building, wanting their ſtay, will fall to the ground. Now nothing is ſo firme, ſure and immoueable, as a Rocke: and conſequently no building ſo ſtrong as that which is raiſed vpon a rockie foundatiõ: whereupõ our Sauiour ſheweth [b] that a *Houſe builded on the ſand is eaſilie ruinated*, and ſoone ſhaken to pieces, but that an *Houſe builded vpon a Rocke ſtandeth firme*, notwithſtanding the furie and violence of the flouds, winds, and tempeſts: and compareth a Man rightly grounded, and eſtabliſhed in his perſwaſion and reſolution, to an houſe ſo built. By a Rocke therefore in this place is meant a ſure foundation, that will not faile, nor be moued or ſhaken, how great a weight ſo euer be laid vpon it. In a foundation there are three things required. The firſt is, that it be the firſt thing in the building: the ſecond, that it beare vp all the other parts of the building; and the third, that it be firme and immoueable.

b Matth. 7. 24. &c.

For as Chriſt ſaith; [c] *If the eye that is the light of the bodie, be darkneſſe, how great is that Darkneſſe?* So, if that which is to ſupport and beare vp all, do faile & ſhrinke, all muſt needs be ſhaken, and fall a ſunder. Theſe being the things required in a foundation; ſimply and abſolutely, in reſpect of all times, perſons, and things, Chriſt onely is that foundation, vpon which the ſpirituall building of the Church is raiſed, becauſe he onely is that beginning whence all ſpirituall good originally floweth, and commeth, vpon whom all the perſwaſion of the truth of things reueiled ſtaieth it ſelfe, as being the *Angel of the great Couenant*, and that e-

c Matth. 6. 23.

ternall

ternall *Word*, that *was with God in the beginning*, vpon whom all our hope, confidence, and expectation of anie good groundeth it selfe: *all the promises of God being in him* [d] *yea and Amen.*

d 2. Cor. 1. 20.

And in this sense the Apostle S. *Paul* saith, [e] *Other Foundation can no man lay, then that which is laid, which is Iesus Christ.* And [f] S. *Augustine*, and other of the Fathers vnderstand by that rocke vpon which our Sauiour promised *Peter* to build his Church, the rocke that *Peter* confessed, which rocke was Christ, vpon which foundation euen *Peter* himselfe was builded, for that *other Foundation can no man lay, then that which is laid, which is Iesus Christ.*

e 1. Cor. 3. 11.

f *Aug. tract. 1. in Ioannem. Serm. 13. de verb. Dom. Retract. li. 1. cap. 21.*

But in respect of some particular times, persons, and things, and in some particular and speciall considerations there are other things that may rightly be named foundations also in respect of the spirituall building of the Church. So in respect of the frame and fabrique of vertue and weldoing raised in this building, the first vertue, namely Faith, vpon which all other vertues do stay themselues, and from which they take the first direction that anie vertue can giue, is rightly named a foundation. In respect of the forme of Christian doctrine, the first principles of heauenlie knowledge are rightly named a foundation, [g] *Not laying againe*, saith the Apostle, *the foundation of faith, and of repentance from dead workes, of the doctrine of Baptismes, and of the imposition of hands, of the resurrection of the dead, and of eternall iudgement, let vs be lead forward vnto perfection.*

g Hebr. 6. 1.

These first principles of heauenly knowledge are named a foundation, because they are the first things that are knowen, before which nothing can be knowen; and because vpon the knowledge of these things, all others parts of heauenlie knowledge do depend. In respect of the confession of the true faith concerning Christ, the first cleare, expresse, and perfect forme of confession that euer was made concerning the same, may rightly be named a foūdation, and in this sence *Peters* faith and confession is by diuers of the [h] Fathers named the Churches foundation. But they vnderstand not by the faith and confession of *Peter*, either the vertue and qualitie of faith abiding in his heart and mind, or the outward act of confessing, but the forme of confession made by him when he said, [i] *Thou art the Christ, the Sonne of the liuing God:* vpon which forme, as being the rule of all right beleeuing, the Church of God is builded. In respect of the supernaturall knowledge of God in Christ, the first and immediate reuelation made to the Apostles from whom all other were to learne, and by whose Ministerie accompanied with all things that might winne credit they were to be gained vnto God, may verie rightlie and iustly be named a foundation, vpon which the faith of all after-commers is to stay it selfe, and from which in all doubts they must seeke resolution. And in this sort [k] *Bellarmine* saith truelie, that the Apostles may be named *Foundations* of the Church: according to that descriptiō, in the *Reuelation*

h *Leo in anniuers. Assumpt. Serm. 2.*

i Matth. 16. 16.

k *De Pont. Rom. lib. 1. cap. 11.*

of S.

of S. *Iohn*, of the wall of the citie of God, that *had* [l] 12. *foundation-ſtones vpon which it was raiſed, and in them written the names of the lambes twelue Apoſtles:* and that of S. *Paul*, that [m] *we are builded vpon the foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets, Chriſt Ieſus being the Head corner-ſtone*: And this in three reſpects.

l Reuel. 21. 14.

m Epheſ. 2. 20.

Firſt, becauſe the Apoſtles were the firſt that founded Churches, and conuerted vnbeleeuers to the faith.

Secondly, becauſe their doctrine, which they receiued immediatly from God by moſt vndoubted reuelation, without mixture of errour, or danger of being deceiued, is the rule of the faith of all after-commers, and that ſure, immoueable and rockie foundation, vpon which the perſwaſion of all ſucceeding generations, & poſterities, may and doth moſt ſecurely ſtay and ground it ſelfe.

Thirdly, becauſe they were Heads, Guides and Paſtors of the whole vniuerſall Church, hauing not onely ſupreme, but prime and originall gouernment of the ſame, out of whoſe moſt large and ample commiſſion all Eccleſiaſticall power and authoritie of aftercommers was in an inferiour degree and ſort to be deriued, and taken.

In all theſe reſpects, all the Apoſtles were that ſtrong rocke, and thoſe ſtrong rockie foundation-ſtones on which the Church is builded; though in a peculiar ſence Chriſt alone be the Rocke: and in all theſe reſpects, as S. *Hierome* ſaith, [n] *Super omnes ex æquo Eccleſiæ fortitudo ſolidatur*: that is, the ſtrength and firmeneſſe of the Church doth equally and indifferently ſtay it ſelfe vpon them all: and conſequently, no more vpon *Peter* then anie of the reſt. Hitherto we find nothing peculiar to *Peter*, and not common to all the Apoſtles; ſo that all the allegations of our Aduerſaries touching the feeding of the ſheepe of Chriſt commited to *Peter*, the power of the keyes, of binding and looſing, of remitting & retaining ſinnes, and the promiſe that on him as on a rockie foundation-ſtone elect and precious, Chriſt would build his Church, are to no purpoſe, ſeeing they are forced to confeſſe, that all theſe things were likewiſe either by direct words [o] or by intendment beſtowed on all the reſt. Wherefore let vs ſee how notwithſtanding this their confeſſion they can make good, that there was a primacie of power in *Peter*, & how they goe about to confirme the ſame.

n *Hierony. lib. 1. contra Iouinian.*

o *Cuſanus de Concordantiâ Cathol. li. 2. ca. 13*

CHAP.

Chap. 23.

Of the Primacie of Power imagined by our Aduersaries to haue bene in Peter, *and their defence of the same.*

FOr the auoiding of the cleare euidence of the truth of all that which hath bene sayd touching the equalitie of the Apostles of Christ amongst themselues (which our Aduersaries cannot but see, and acknowledge) they haue two shifts; The first, [a] that the Apostles were equall towards the people, but not amongst themselues. The second, [b] that they were equall in the Apostolique power, but that *Peter* had that amplitude of power (which the rest had as Apostles by speciall fauour, and onely in and for their owne persons) as an ordinary Pastour, and in such sort that he might leaue the same to his Successors

a Stapleton. Relect controuer. 3. quæst. 1. art. 1.
b Caietan. Opus. tom. 1. tract. 1. c. 3.

These their silly shifts and euasions we will examine, that so the truth of that which hath bene sayd may be more fully cleared, and that all men may see and perceiue that nothing can be substantially obiected against it, nor no euasion found to auoide it.

Touching the first thing that they say, it is an Axiome, as I thinke, that may not be doubted of, that *whatsoeuer things are equall in respect of a third thing, are in the same sort, and so farre forth, equall amongst themselues*. So that if the Apostles were equall in the respect they had to the people, and as gouernours of the same, they were so farre forth, and in that respect, equall amongst themselues.

But they will say perhaps, that the Apostles were indeed equall amongst themselues in the power and office of teaching, directing, guiding, and gouerning the Christian world, but that yet amongst themselues there was an inequality, and one was superiour and had power ouer the rest, not in respect of the acts of their office of teaching and gouerning the world, but in respect of their personall actions.

This surely is one of the strangest paradoxes that euer was heard of. For who can imagine, that God would trust the Apostles, with the managing of the weightiest affaires of his Church, and the gouernement of the whole world, without being any way accountant, in respect thereof, vnto any one amongst them as superiour, and that he would appoint an head and chiefe, and subiect them to his censure in their personall actions? Nay this is impossible, and cannot be. For if in their office of teaching, and gouerning the rest of the Church they were equall, and could not therein be limited or restrained one by another, then was there none amongst them that could put any of the rest from his office, dignitie, and emploiment.

Now

Now it is moſt cleare and certaine, that he who hath not power to ſuſpend another from the execution of his office in the Church, hath no power to ſuſpend him from the Sacraments, or to excommunicate him, whatſoeuer his perſonall miſdemeanours bee.

For as to be a Miniſter of the Church preſuppoſeth to be a member of it: ſo to be put from being a member of the Church, implieth and preſuppoſeth a putting from all office & dignitie in the Church: ſo that there neither was, nor could be anie amongſt the Apoſtles, that had power to put anie of the reſt out of the Church, or to ſuſpend them from the vſe of the Sacraments, ſeeing there was none found amongſt them that had authoritie to limit, reſtraine or debarre anie of the reſt from the execution of his office; and therefore all that anie one of them could do in reſpect of another, was but to admoniſh him, and vpon his reiecting of ſuch admonitions to refuſe to communicate with him; which thing anie one may doe in an abſolute equalitie, as well as when one is ſuperiour to another; as we ſee by the example of *Paul* [c] reprouing *Peter*, and reſiſting him to his face; and likewiſe by that of *Paul* and *Barnabas*, [d] parting the one from the other vpon ſuch diſlikes and differences as grew betweene them.

[c] Galat. 2. 11.
[d] Act. 15. 39.

Wherfore I ſuppoſe our Aduerſaries will not much inſiſt vpon this their firſt ſhift and euaſion. Let vs ſee therefore if their ſecond be anie better. It is true (ſay they) that all power Eccleſiaſticall, and all degrees of the ſame are included and implied in the Apoſtolique office and dignitie; that the Apoſtles, as Apoſtles, were all equall; and cõſequently, that there was no one amongſt the Apoſtles, but in his time had as much to doe in the gouerning of the Church as *Peter*, without receiuing anie thing from him, or being anie way ſubiect to his controule, and to be reſtrained, limited, or directed by him: But this amplitude of power which all the Apoſtles had in common, the reſt had onelie for themſelues, and as a perſonall priuiledge that was to end with them, but *Peter* had the ſame in ſuch ſort, that he might leaue it to his Succeſſours. So that that power which in the reſt was Apoſtolique and tẽporarie, and to end with them, was ordinarie, Paſtorall and perpetuall in *Peter*, and to be deriued from him to his Succeſſours and after-commers.

Surely this ſecond euaſion will be found much worſe then the firſt: for it is abſurd to ſay, that *Peter* left all the dignitie and Eccleſiaſticall power he had in common with the reſt of the Apoſtles, to his Succeſſours: for then all Popes ſhould be immediately choſen by God, not by the Cardinals; then ſhould they all be conſecrated and ordained immediatly by Chriſt not by Biſhops: then ſhould they all ſee Chriſt in the fleſh: then ſhould they all haue power to write bookes of Canonicall Scripture, and be free from danger of erring whẽſoeuer they either preach or write: for ſo the Apoſtles were: yea then ſhould they confirme their doctrine by miracles, and giue the Holie Ghoſt by impoſition of their Hands.

Whereas

Whereas yet no Pope dareth challenge anie one of these preëminences. If they say, that all the dignitie and power that was in the Apostles was not ordinarie, Pastorall, and perpetuall in *Peter*, and so to be passed ouer to his Successours, but some part of it onely, it is iust nothing they say. For then this is all they affirme, that some part of that dignitie and power that was in *Peter*, is in *Peters* Successours, and so there is in the silliest Priest in the world.

But they will say, immediate vocation, the seeing of Christ in the flesh, infallibilitie of iudgment, power to write Canonicall bookes of Scripture, and the confirmation of doctrine by miracles, togither with the giuing of the holie Ghost by imposition of hands, were fitting to the first beginnings of Christianitie, and not of perpetuall necessitie and vse, and therefore to cease after things were established; but that vniuersalitie of Iurisdiction, and a kind of Infallibilitie of iudgment, are perpetually necessarie, and therefore these were to passe from *Peter* to others, though the rest of the Apostolique preëminences were not.

Thus then first they amplifie the excellent dignities of *Peter*, as if the rest had not had the like; but being conuinced, that he had nothing the rest had not, they make shew as if they would proue, that the Apostle S. *Peter* had all those things in such sort that he might leaue them to his Successours, which the rest had as personall priuiledges onely; because he is described to be a Pastour of the Church, in that Christ saith vnto him, [e] *Feed my sheepe*, and the office of a Pastour is of perpetuall necessitie. But being vrged, that there are manie excellent dignities found in *Peter* and the rest, that are not communicable to anie other, as immediate vocation, seeing of Christ in the flesh, absolute infallibilitie in word and writing, speaking in diuers tongues, power to worke miracles, and power to giue the visible giftes of the holie Ghost by the imposition of hands, they cõfesse, that precisely *Peters* being a Pastour of the Christiã Church, will not proue, that anie dignitie of his mentioned in the Scripture is perpetuall, pastorall, and to continue for euer, vnlesse the necessitie of the perpetuitie of it be made to appeare otherwise.

[e] Ioh. 21. 16.

Whence it will follow, that they cannot proue that anie speciall preëminences in *Peter* which he had in common with the rest, as namely, infallibilitie of iudgment, and vniuersalitie of Iurisdiction, were Pastorall and perpetuall in him, and to be passed from him to his after-commers, and thereby entitle the Pope vnto them. For *Peters* being a Pastor, which is the onelie thing they can alleage to proue, that what he had was pastorall and perpetuall, proueth it not: and the proofe of the necessitie of the continuance of anie preëminence found in *Peter* and the rest of the Apostles, sheweth that such a preeminence must continue, but not in what person or persons it must continue.

But let vs see whether infallibilitie of iudgment, and vniuersalitie of Iurisdiction

Iuriſdiction, be amongſt the things that were proper to the beginnings of Chriſtianitie, or amongſt thoſe that are perpetually neceſſarie.

Surely, touching the firſt, [f] *Bellarmine* ſeemeth to confeſſe, that the being taught immediately of God, & the being abſolutely free from errour, ſo that their writings and ſayings were Canonicall, were temporarie in the Apoſtles, as neceſſarie onely in thoſe firſt beginnings of Chriſtianitie; and whether he confeſſe it or not, it is moſt vndoubtedly true, that that abſolute infallibilitie that was in *Peter*, for whoſe faith Chriſt praied that it might not fayle, was temporarie, and not to be communicated to anie after-commers: for he was ſo lead into all trueth, that he could not erre in anie of his writings and preachings; whereas all confeſſe, that euen Popes may erre in both theſe, and that they are free from errour onely when they determine thoſe things, wherein the whole Church ſeeketh their reſolution.

f De Pont. Rom. lib. 2. cap. 12.

Touching the ſecond, which is vniuerſalitie of Iuriſdiction, the ſame Cardinall hath theſe words. [g] *Fuit in illis Eccleſiæ primordijs neceſſarium ad fidem in toto orbe terrarum diſſeminandam, vt primis prædicatoribus & Eccleſiarum fundatoribus ſumma poteſtas & libertas concederetur*: That is, in thoſe firſt beginnings of the Church it was neceſſarie for the quicke diſperſing of the Faith throughout the whole world, that the firſt Preachers, and founders of Churches ſhould haue a moſt ample power, and free commiſſion, without that ſtreightning and limitation of the ſame that is in their after-commers, that ſo euerie one of them might truely vſe thoſe words of the Apoſtle, [h] *Inſtantia mea quotidiana ſollicitudo omnũ Eccleſiarũ*, that is, my dayly inſtance is the careſulneſſe of all Churches: or as ſome other trãſlate it: I am cumbred dayly, and haue the care of all Churches.

g De Pont. Rom. lib. 1. cap. 9.

h 2. Cor. 11. 28.

And therefore howſoeuer the Apoſtles diuided amongſt themſelues the ſeuerall parts of the world, to which each one of them ſhould more ſpeciallie preach the word of the Lord; yet did they not ſhut vp and incloſe their cares within the bounds and compaſſe of anie one prouince, but euerie one of them did ſo take care of the whole Church, as if that care had pertained vnto him alone. Thus farre *Bellarmine*, clearely confeſſing, that the illimited commiſſion of the Apoſtles was fitted to thoſe firſt beginnings of Chriſtianitie, & the condition of thoſe firſt times: ſo that the ſame reaſon that excludeth the other dignities and preeminences of the Apoſtles, as namely their being fitted to the firſt beginnings, excludeth both theſe from being perpetuall likewiſe. But let vs let this aduantage goe, and take a view of thoſe prooſes which they bring of the power of *Peters* Succeſſours aboue other Biſhops, whereas *Peter* himſelfe had no power more then anie of the reſt. It is true (ſay they) that *Peter* had no power which the reſt had not, but he had that amplitude of Eccleſiaſticall power as an ordinarie Paſtour, which they had onelie as Apoſtles and Delegates by ſpeciall

fauour

fauour, and perſonall priuiledge.

Againſt this diſtinction few of our Diuines ſay anie thing, manie of them confeſſing they vnderſtand it not; ſo deepe is the learning of our Aduerſaries, that euerie Man cannot be ſo happie as to vnderſtand what they write. Which is the leſſe to be meruailed at, ſeeing manie of them ſcarce vnderſtand themſelues, and yet contemne vs, as if we were ſillie Idiots. But if without offence we may coniecture what the meaning of this their riddle is, ſurely vnder correction I thinke this it is.

The reſt of the Apoſtles had as great authoritie and power, and as large a commiſſion as *Peter* had: but they had it onely for terme of life, and could leaue none to ſucced them in the ſame: He had it for himſelfe, and ſuch as he would leaue it vnto. Beſides, he was firſt inueſted with all the plenitude of Eccleſiaſticall power and iuriſdiction, ſo that none could haue anie thing to doe in this buſineſſe, but ſuch as ſhould receiue commiſſion from him, ſaue onely that Chriſt reſerued power to himſelfe to giue commiſſion to ſuch as by ſpeciall fauour he ſhould be pleaſed to honour, as were the Apoſtles ſeparated to the worke of the Miniſterie by his owne immediate deſignemẽt without receiuing anie thing from *Peter*; but afterwards all were either to receiue of him, or of them to whom he ſhould leaue his office and charge.

This their conceipt they illuſtrate by a ſimilitude. A Biſhop, ſay they, hath authoritie to preach in his Dioceſe, as Paſtour of the place; and whoſoeuer ſucceedeth him in his Biſhoplie office, ſucceedeth in the ſame power likewiſe. A Fryer by ſpeciall fauour from the Pope may preach in the ſame Dioceſe whereſoeuer the Biſhop may, and cannot be ſilenced or reſtrained by him, becauſe he receiued nothing from him, but his ſuperiour the Pope; but another deſiring to ſucceed the Frier, not ſo fauoured and priuiledged by the Pope, muſt fetch his commiſſion and allowance from the Biſhop, and be ſubiect to him in the performance and execution thereof.

So heere, *Peter* was firſt conſtituted Paſtor of all the world; the Apoſtles were by ſpeciall fauour authorized immediately by Chriſt to preach in *Peters* charge, and to gouerne the Church whereof he was Biſhop, as well as he; but yet ſo, that all they that were to follow after, were to deriue their commiſſion from *Peter* or his Succeſſour, if they would meddle in the Church which was his charge. Manie things are ſaid by *Caietane*, *Bellarmine*, *Stapleton*, and others to this purpoſe; but this is the ſubſtance of all: Wherefore let vs ſee how they proue that they ſay.

Touching the firſt of theſe two points, thus they proue it. *Peter* was a Paſtour, and had that amplitude of illimited commiſſion before deſcribed, as a Paſtour: but the office of a Paſtour is of perpetuall neceſſitie, and vſe: therefore this his illimited power and commiſſion was to be perpetually continued. That *Peter* was a Paſtour they proue, becauſe Chriſt

ſaid

ſayd vnto him expreſſely, *Feede my Sheepe: Feede my Lambes*. This is the frame of their whole building, which may very eaſily be throwne to the ground, if any man will put his hand vnto it. Firſt, becauſe it is certaine the other Apoſtles were Paſtours alſo: ſo that if *Peters* being a Paſtor proue the neceſſitie of the continuance of thoſe ample preëminences he had, and that he might leaue them to whom he pleaſed, it would follow, that the reſt of the Apoſtles alſo had their preëminences, which were equall with thoſe of *Peter*, not as things temporarie, but perpetuall, and ſuch as they might leaue to whom they pleaſed.

That the other Apoſtles were Paſtors, [i] firſt the Hymne of the Church wherein they are expreſſely ſayd to haue bene conſtituted Paſtours by Chriſt, proueth. Secondly, the confeſſion of [k] *Bellarmine* acknowledging that what was giuen vnto *Peter* by thoſe words, *feede my ſheepe*, was giuen vnto all by thoſe other words, *As my Father ſent me, ſo ſend I you*, confirmeth the ſame. And thirdly, the enumeration of the ſeuerall kinds of feeding, euery of which the Diuines do ſhew to agree to the reſt as well as to *Peter*, demonſtrateth that they were all Paſtors. Secondly, whereas they ſay, that the office of a Paſtour is a thing of perpetuall vſe and neceſſitie, and conſequently perpetuall, and that the amplitude of power which was in *Peter* agreed vnto him in that he was a Paſtor, and as a Paſtor, they bewray notable ignorance and folly. For it is true indeed that the office of a Paſtor is of perpetuall vſe and neceſſitie, and ſo to continue for euer: but the amplitude of power and iuriſdiction, and the great preëminences, that were in *Peter* did not agree vnto him as to a Paſtor, or in that he was a Paſtor: For if they had, then muſt they agree to euery Paſtor, and ſo euerie Biſhop muſt haue the ſame, and not the Pope onely.

i *Ockam. Dial. lib. 4. primi tract. tat. 3. partis, ca. 3.*
k *Bellar. de Pont. lib. 4. cap. 23.*

For as whatſoeuer agreeth to a man in that he is a man, agreeth to euery man, ſo whatſoeuer agreeth to a Paſtor in that he is a Paſtour, agreeth to euery one that is a Paſtor. If they ſhall ſay, that the great and ample preëminences that were in *Peter*, did not agree vnto him as a Paſtor, but in ſome other reſpect, then his being a Paſtor, which is an office of perpetuall neceſſitie, vſe, and continuance, will not proue the ſame perpetuall, no more then other things which this Paſtour had in that he was an Apoſtle.

If they ſhall ſay, theſe things agreed vnto him, not in that he was a Paſtor, but in that he was ſuch a Paſtor as was to feed the flocke of Chriſt and people of God, by deliuering vnto them the doctrine of truth without all mixture of any the leaſt errour, to confirme the ſame by miracles following, and to giue the viſible gifts of the holy Spirit by the onely impoſition of his hands; it is true that they ſay; but ſuch a Paſtour they confeſſe is neceſſary onely in the beginnings of the Chriſtian Church, and not afterwards; and therefore from hence it cannot be concluded that the ample preëminences, that were in *Peter*, as his infallibilitie of

iudgement, and illimited Commission, were to be passed ouer from him to his Successors and after-commers. Their second conceipt is more fond then the first: For if *Peter* were by Christ constituted sole supreme Pastour and Bishop of the whole vniuersall world, and yet his meaning was, that others should likewise receiue immediatly from himselfe power to do as much in the gouerning of the Church as *Peter*; he meant to giue him something, and presently to take it from him againe. For as if the Pope shall make a man Bishop of such a city, or countrey, and thereby giue vnto him that supreme direction that nothing shall be done within that compasse without his authoritie and consent, and shall presently send another with full authoritie to do any thing that the former may do, and no way to be subiect to his controule, or restraint in the performance thereof, or accomptant for it; he reuoketh, and maketh voyde his first graunt: so here, if Christ make *Peter* supreme Bishop, and Pastour of the whole Christian world, and presently constitute eleuen other Apostles with power and commission to do any thing that *Peter* may do in all parts of the world, and towards all persons (which as they haue not from him so he cannot take it from them, or limit them in the vse of it) he absolutely voideth his first graunt made to *Peter*.

But they will say perhaps, that Christ meant little fauour to *Peter* more then to one of the rest of the Apostles, but that all his care was for the good of the Pope, whom he meant to make a great man in the world: and that therefore he constituted the other Apostles immediatly as well as *Peter*, put them into equall commission with him, and would not haue them beholding to him for any honor or power they had, but appointed that all other Bishops should receiue their mission, calling, commission, and authoritie from *Peter* during the short time of his life, and after his departure in all succeeding ages to the end of the world, from his Successours the Bishops of Rome.

This truly is well sayd in fauour of the Pope, if it were as truly sayd as it is kindly meant; but we shall find, that there is no truth in that they say: For it is cleare and euident, that each Apostle by his commission he had from Christ without being any way beholding to *Peter* for it, had authoritie to preach the Gospell to such as neuer heard of it before, to plant Churches, and ordaine and constitute in them Pastours and Bishops, and out of his more large and ample commission to make other, though somewhat more restrained and limited; whence it will followe that they whom any of the other Apostles ordained and constituted Pastours and Bishops, which were innumerable in all parts of the world, receiued nothing from *Peter* nor his pretended Successour.

Now they whom the Apostles thus constituted, and ordained might constitute and ordaine other by vertue of their office and calling they had from the Apostles, and those other againe to succeed them, so that

none

none of these to the end of the world, one succeeding another, should euer receiue any thing from *Peter* or his pretended Successor.

And therefore it is absurd that [l] *Bellarmine* saith, that the Apostles receiued all their Iurisdiction immediately from Christ, and that yet notwithstanding all Bishops receiue the same from the Pope. And those Papists are better aduised that say, that the Bishops of other churches receiue not their Iurisdiction from the Pope, but from Christ by those Apostles that constituted their churches, and planted their predecessours in the same, setting them the bounds of their Bishop-like charge: whence it will follow (as *Bellarmine* wisely foresaw, and therefore declined this opinion) that the Pope cannot either take away or diminish their authoritie, vnlesse any man can shew where Christ gaue him power to limite, restraine, or take away that power from men which they haue from himselfe by the hands of the other Apostles, and their after-commers, without being any way beholding to *Peter* for the same.

l *De Pont. Rom. lib. 4. cap. 23. 24. & 25.*

Wherefore they haue yet one more strange conceipt behind to helpe the matter, then any of those we haue hitherto heard; which is, that *Peter* being not onely an Apostle, but supreme Pastour and Bishop of the whole world constituted by Christ, made the other Apostles Bishops and Pastours; and that they ordained Bishops not by vertue of their Apostolique power (which they receiued immediatly from Christ without being beholding to *Peter* for it, or inferiour to him in it) but by vertue of their Bishoply authoritie and office which they receiued from *Peter*. [m] *Alioqui enim*, saith *Bellarmine*, *cum omnes Apostoli plurimos Episcopos in varijs locis constituerint, si Apostoli ipsi non sint facti Episcopi à Petro, certè maxima pars Episcoporum, non deducit originem suam à Petro*; that is, For otherwise, seeing all the Apostles constituted exceeding many Bishops in diuerse places, if the Apostles themselues were not made Bishops by *Peter*, certainely the greatest part of Bishops will not fetch their originall from *Peter*. This his fancie of *Peters* making the other Apostles Bishops, immediatly after, as his maner is, like an honest man he contradicteth, confessing, that the Apostles were all Bishops, and the first Bishops of the church in that they were Apostles, without any such ordination, [n] *Omnes Apostoli*, saith he, *fuerunt Episcopi, immo etiam primi Episcopi Ecclesiæ, tametsi non sunt ordinati*; that is, All the Apostles were Bishops, nay, which more is, the first Bishops of the Church, without any other or new ordination besides their Apostolique mission and calling. And in another place he pronounceth peremptorily, that by vertue of these words, *As my Father sent me, so send I you*, the Apostles were made Vicars of Christ, nay that they receiued the very office, and authoritie of Christ, and that in the Apostolique power all Ecclesiastical power is contained; and though in the former place he said expressely, *Non eo ipso quòd aliquis est Apostolus, est Episcopus*; that is, A man is not therfore a Bishop, because an Apostle:

m *De Pont. Rom. lib. 1. c. 23.*

n *Ibidem. P. Lib. 4. cap. 23.*

for the twelue were Apoſtles before they were either Biſhops or Prieſts: yet in the later place he ſaith, it is not to be maruailed at, that they were Apoſtles before the paſſion of Chriſt, and yet neither Prieſts nor Biſhops; for that the Lord at diuerſe times gaue the Apoſtles diuerſe kinds and degrees of power: but eſpecially in the 20 of *Iohn*, perfected that he began before his paſſion. So that an Apoſtle perfectly conſtituted and authoriſed, hath both prieſtly and Epiſcopall dignitie and power, though in the beginning, when the Apoſtles were rather deſigned then fully conſtituted, not hauing receiued their full Commiſſion, they were neither Prieſts nor Biſhops. But to leaue *Bellarmine* loſt in theſe mazes, it is moſt eaſie demonſtratiuely to proue, that the Apoſtles in that they were Apoſtles perfectly and fully conſtituted, had both Prieſtly and Biſhoply dignitie and power in moſt eminent ſort.

For did not Chriſt giue the Apoſtles power to do any Eccleſiaſticall act that a Biſhop can do? Did he not giue them power to preach and baptize, when he ſayd vnto them, [q] *Go teach all Nations, baptizing them, &c.* to miniſter the holy Euchariſt, when he ſayd, [r] *Do this, as oft as ye ſhall do it, in remembrance of me?* Did he not giue them the power of the Keyes, of binding and looſing, of remitting and retaining ſinnes, and conſequently all that commeth within the compaſſe of Eccleſiaſticall office and Miniſterie? doubtleſſe he did: Neither is there any that dareth to denie any part of that which hath bene ſayd. And therefore it is an idle fanſie that *Peter* made the reſt of his fellowes Biſhops, the Apoſtolique power implying in it eminently the Epiſcopall, as the greater the leſſer.

q Matth. 28. 19.

r Luke 22. 19.

But they will ſay, *Peter* made *Iames* the leſſer Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*. Indeed [s] *Baronius* falſifieth *Chryſoſtome*, and maketh him ſay, that the Doctor of the world made *Iames* Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, whereas he ſaith no ſuch thing; but asking the queſtion why *Peter*, whom Chriſt ſo much fauored, was not preferred to be Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, anſwereth, that Chriſt made him Doctor of the world, which was a greater honor then to haue bin faſtned to the Church of *Hieruſalem*, and to haue bene ſet in the Epiſcopall throne there. But it is cleare by the teſtimonies of Antiquity, that *Peter*, *Iames* the greater, and *Iohn* ordained *Iames* Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*. So ſaith *Anacletus* in his ſecond Epiſtle, if any credit bee to be giuen vnto it, where he hath theſe words: A Biſhop muſt bee ordained of three Biſhops, as *Peter*, *Iames* the greater, and *Iohn*, ordained *Iames* the leſſer Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, [t] *Clement Alexandrinus* alſo, as we reade in *Euſebius*, ſaith the very ſame; and [u] *Hierome de viris illuſtribus*, attributeth the ordaining of *Iames* not to *Peter* alone, but to the Apoſtles.

s *Baronius Annal. anno Chriſti. 34. 291. Chryſoſt. in Ioan. homilia 87.*

t *Clem. Alexand. apud Euſebium, lib. 2. cap. 2.*

u *Hieron. de viris illuſtrib. in Iacobo.*

His words are: *Iacobus, ſtatim poſt paſſionem Domini, ab Apoſtolis Hieroſolymorum Epiſcopus ordinatur*; that is, *Iames* preſently after the paſſion of the Lord, is ordained Biſhop of *Hieruſalem* by the Apoſtles. If any

man

man aske how the Apoſtles did ordaine or make *Iames* being an Apoſtle a Biſhop, if the Apoſtolique office implie in it the office and dignitie of a Biſhop, as the greater the leſſer: we anſwere, that a Biſhop differing from an Apoſtle, as in other things, ſo in this, that he is fixed to ſome certaine place whereof ſpecially he taketh the care, whereas the care and employment of an Apoſtle is more at large; When the Apoſtles after the conuerſion of Nations and people began to retire themſelues to certaine places there to reſt, and ſpecially to take care thereof, they were in that reſpect rather Biſhops then Apoſtles; and in this ſort *Iames* the leſſer being appointed by the Apoſtles to make his principal abode at Hieruſalem a chiefe cittie of the world, whence the faith ſpred it ſelfe into all other parts, and more ſpecially to take care thereof, is rightly ſaid to haue bene conſtituted Biſhop of that place by them, not as if they had giuen him anie new power and authoritie, that he had not before, or not in ſo perfect ſort, but that they limited, and reſtrained him more ſpecially to one certaine place where he ſhould vſe the ſame.

The place in the [x] Acts maketh nothing for the confirmation of the Popiſh errour: for *Paul* and *Barnabas* formerly deſigned by Chriſt to be Apoſtles, were againe by the miniſterie of Prophets reuealing the will and pleaſure of Almightie God, ſeparated more ſpecially to be Apoſtles of the Gentiles, and put forth into that employment with faſting, praier, and impoſition of hands: not thereby receiuing anie new power, but a ſpeciall limitation and aſſignation of thoſe parts of the world wherein principally they ſhould be employed. Beſides, theſe were not Apoſtles but Prophets, ſuch as *Agabus* was, that are mentioned in this place, inferiour in degree to Apoſtles, and ſuch as might not make an Apoſtle to be a Biſhop; but did onely ſignifie and reueale what the will of God was, and whither he meant to ſend theſe worthie Apoſtles, and ſo with prayer and faſting commended them to the grace of God; and therefore this place maketh nothing for proofe of *Peters* ordaining and appointing the reſt of the Apoſtles to be Biſhops. x Act 13.2.3.

Chap. 24.

Of the preëminence that Peter *had amongſt the Apoſtles, & the reaſon why Chriſt directed his ſpeeches ſpecially to him.*

THat there was no more power and authoritie in *Peter* then in anie of the reſt, I hope it appeareth by that which hath bene ſaid: and therefore it remaineth that now we examine what was the reaſon why ſo manie things were ſpecially ſpoken to him, why ſo manie waies he may ſeeme to haue bene preferred before the reſt, and what in trueth and in deed

his preëminence, and primacie was. Touching the ſpeeches of Chriſt for the moſt part ſpecially directed to *Peter*, it is moſt certaine by that which hath bene ſayd, that they did giue no ſingular and ſpeciall power to *Peter* that was not giuen to euerie of the reſt.

a *Ockam. Dialo. lib. 4. primi tract. 3 part. cap. 3.*

And therefore [a] the Diuines do obſerue the difference of the ſpeeches of Chriſt, and note that Chriſt ſometimes directed his ſpeech to particular men preciſely in their owne perſons, as in the remiſſion of ſinnes, healing the ſicke, and raiſing the dead: ſometimes in the perſon of all, or many other, as when he ſaith, [b] *Go and ſinne no more*, which he is intended to haue done ſo often as there is the ſame reaſon of ſpeaking a thing to one and to others; as when a man is induced to do or not to do a thing, to beleeue or not to beleeue a thing, which other in like ſort are bound to do or not to do, to beleeue or not to beleeue as well as he.

b Ioh. 5. 14.

c Mark. 13 37.

So it being as neceſſary for one to watch as another, Chriſt ſaith, [c] *That I ſay vnto you I ſay vnto all, Watch.* And ſo here, ſeeing it is confeſſed and proued by our Aduerſaries themſelues, that there was nothing promiſed or performed to *Peter* that was not in like ſort intended vnto, and beſtowed on euerie of the reſt, it muſt be graunted, that what he ſpake to him, he meant to all, and would haue his words ſo vnderſtood and taken. [d] The reaſon why more ſpecially, notwithſtanding this his generall intendment, he directed his ſpeech to *Peter*, then to any of the reſt, was either becauſe he was more ancient, and more ardent in charitie then the reſt, thereby to ſignifie what manner of men they ſhould be that ſhould be choſen Paſtours of the Church, namely men of ripe age and confirmed iudgement, and full of charitie; or leſt he might ſeeme to be deſpiſed for his deniall of Chriſt, which the Gloſſe ſeemeth to import when he ſaith, *Trinæ negationi redditur trina confeſſio, ne minus amori lingua ſeruiat, quàm timori*; that is, Therefore he was induced by Chriſt thrice ſolemnly to proteſt and profeſſe his loue vnto him, as he had thrice denied him, that his tongue might ſhew it ſelfe no leſſe ſeruiceable vnto loue that reſted in him, then it had done vnto feare: or elſe becauſe he firſt confeſſed Chriſt to be the Sonne of the liuing God conſubſtantiall with his Father, becauſe he was much conuerſant with Chriſt, and acquainted with his ſecrets and counſels; or laſtly, becauſe Chriſt meant there ſhould be a certaine order amongſt the guides of his Church, and ſome to whom the reſt in all places ſhould reſort in all matters of importance, as to ſuch as are more honorable then other of the ſame ranke and degree who are firſt to be conſulted, from whom all actions muſt take their beginning, therfore he ſo ſpecially ſpake to *Peter*, whom he meant in this ſort to ſet before the reſt. Thus then, there is a primacie of power when one hath power to do that act of miniſterie another hath not, or not without his conſent; and when one may by himſelfe limite, reſtraine or hinder another in the performance of the acts of miniſterie; and ſuch primacie we haue ſhewed not to haue bene in *Peter*. But there is another of

d *Ockam. vbi ſuprà.*

order

order and honor, which he had, whereby he had the first place, the first & best emploiment, the calling together of the rest in cases where a concurrence of many was required (as for the better sorting out of the worke they had in hand, the ioynt decreeing of things to be euery where alike beleeued, and practised) and in these assemblies thus called, the sitting & speaking first, the moderation and direction of each mans speaking, and the publishing and pronouncing of the conclusion agreed vpon, if so he pleased. In this sense *Cyprian* saith, [e] *Erant vtique & cæteri Apostoli quod fuit & Petrus, pari consortio præditi & honoris & potestatis, sed exordium ab vnitate proficiscitur*; that is, The other Apostles doubtlesse were that which *Peter* was, hauing the same fellowship both of power & honor, but the beginning proceedeth from vnitie, that the Church may be shewed to be one. And in the same sense *Hierome* saith against *Iouinian*, [f] Thou wilt say, the Church is founded vpon *Peter*: it is true it is so, & yet in another place the same frame of the Church is raised vpon all the Apostles: and all receiue the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, and the firmenesse of the Church stayeth it selfe equally vpon them all: but therfore doth Christ more specially promise to build his Church vpon *Peter*, that he being constituted & appointed head & chiefe amongst them, all occasion of Schisme might be taken away. To the same purpose it is that *Leo* writeth to *Anastasius*, where he saith, [g] *Inter beatissimos Apostolos in similitudine honoris fuit quædam discretio potestatis, & cum omnium par esset electio, vni tamen datum est, vt cæteris præemineret*; that is, Amongst the most blessed Apostles like in honor, there was a certain difference of power; & when all were equally elected, yet it was giuē to one to haue a preëminēce amōg the rest. In which saying of *Leo*, that it be not cōtrary to that of *Cyprian*, who saith, that the Apostles were cōpanions, & cōsorts equal both in honor & power, we must not vnderstād that one Apostle had more power thē another, or that power another had not; but that in the same power one was so before the rest, that he was the partie to whom they were to resort, & without consulting whom first & before all other, they might attempt nothing generally concerning the state of the whole Church, by vertue of this power. In which sense he saith in another place: [h] *Petro præ cæteris soluendi & ligandi tradita est potestas*; that is, The power of binding & loosing was so giuen to *Peter*, that therein he was before the rest; and againe, [i] *Siquid cum eo commune cæteris Christus voluit esse principibus, nunquam nisi per ipsum Petrum dedit quicquid aliis non negauit*: that is: If Christ would haue any thing to be common to the rest of the Princes, that is, Apostles, with *Peter*, he neuer gaue that which he vouchsafed vnto thē any otherwise then as by *Peter*; which words must not so be vnderstood, as if *Peter* had first receiued the fulnes of power, & others frō him; for all the Apostles receiued their power & cōmission immediatly frō Christ & not frō *Peter*, as I haue largely proued, & al cōfesse; but that what he gaue to others, it did so passe vnto thē, as that in the first place it was giuē to *Peter*, & he therby set in order & honor before the rest

e *Cyprian. de vnitate Ecclesiæ.*

f *Hieron. lib. 1. contra Iouinian.*

g *Leo. epist. 84.*

h *Leo. epist. 89.*

i *Leo in anniuers. assumpt. Serm. 3.*

put in the same commission with him; so that *Peter* receiued not a different or more large commission from Christ then the other Apostles, but onely a kind of honourable precedence, preeminence, and prioritie, such as the Duke of *Venice* hath amongst the great Lords of that state, to whō all Embassies and messages are directed from forreine Princes, and in whose name all letters, warrants, and mandates are sent out, as representing the whole State: yet can he do nothing without the rest, nor crosse the consenting resolution of those noble Senators.

k *Aug. tract. 11. in Ioannem.*

And in this sense it is that k *Augustine* saith of *Peter*, that he was by nature one particular man, by grace a christian man, by more ample and abundant grace a chiefe Apostle; but that when hee receiued the Keyes, he represented the whole vniuersall Church, not as a legate that representeth the person of his Prince, and receiueth honours, dignities and titles for him and not for himselfe, but as chiefe of the companie of the Apostles receiuing for himselfe in the first place that which in him and together with him was intended to them all. This primacie of honor and order found in blessed *Peter*, who is thereupon named by the Fathers Prince and head of the Apostles, is the originall of all that superioritie that Metropolitanes haue ouer the Bishops of their prouinces; and Primates and Patriarches ouer Metropolitanes, and in a word of all that order that is in the Church, and amongst her guides whereby vnitie is preserued.

l *Leo epist. 84.*

Chap. 25.

Of the distinction of them to whom the Apostles dying left the managing of Church affaires: and particularly of them that are to performe the meaner seruices in the Church.

HAVING spoken of the Apostles power and office, & the largenesse of that cōmission, it remaineth that we come to speake of them to whom they recommended the managing of Church affaires, and the ministerie of holie things when they left the world. They to whom they recommended the care of these things, when hauing finished their course they were called hence to receiue the crowne laid vp for thē in heauen, were of two sorts: first such as they trusted with the ministerie of the word & sacraments, & gouernment of Gods people; & secondly, such other as they appointed to be assistant to them, & to performe the meaner seruices, though necessarie also.

The former sort are all comprehended vnder one common name of Presbyters, that is, fatherlie guides of Gods Church and people; the later are Deacons, and such other inferiour Ministers, as attend the necessities of the Saints, and assist the principall guides of the Church. In the ordination of a Presbyter, saith a *Durandus*, there is a certaine power conferred on him

a *In 4. Sent. dist. 24. qu. 2.*

on him, and assigning of him to an employment whereby after his ordination hee may do something which hee could not haue done before, *etiam quoad genus facti*, no not in the kinde and nature of the thing it selfe; as he that is ordained a Presbyter, may consecrate the Lords body, and absolue in the Court of Penitencie; neither of which thinges without such ordination can be done: but to them that are in the inferiour orders there is no power giuen, neither haue they any assignement to do any thing which they could not do before, & without such ordination, but to do such things as they could not lawfully do; nay in many of them there is no designement of them that are so ordained to the performance of any thing, but that which according to the vse of the vniuersall Church, men without such ordination may lawfully do. So that the ordination of men to the performance of such things, and the execution of such offices seemeth to haue proceeded from the institution of the Church, for the greater solemnitie of Diuine worship and seruice: and therefore such inferiour orders are neither simply orders (order being a sacred signe or character, by vertue whereof a power is giuen to the ordained, not only to do that he could not otherwise lawfully do, but to do that which otherwise he could not doe at all) neither are they Sacraments, but Sacramental solemnities onely, seeing the Church can institute no Sacraments. Hitherto *Durandus*. These being the sorts of them to whom the Apostles recommended the managing of Church affaires, & this the difference of their orders, I will first speake of the diuers orders and degrees of them that performe the meaner seruices in the Church, and then come to speake of them that haue the gouernment of the Church.

[b] The *maister of Sentences* saith, that the order of Subdeacons, and other minor orders below the degree of Deacons, as Acoluthes, Exorcists, Lectors, and Ostiaries, were brought in by the Church, and that they were not in the Apostles times; and * *Thomas Aquinas*, and other, are of the same minde. Notwithstanding there is no question but these minor orders and degrees were very ancient. For [c] *Cyprian* maketh mention of one *Mettius* a Subdeacon, & *Nicephorus* an Acoluthe. In another place he writeth, that he had ordained [d] *Aurelius* and *Celerinus* Lectors: and in a third place hee mentioneth [e] Exorcists and Lectors. *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome* in his Epistle recorded by [f] *Eusebius*, describing the clergie of the *Romane* Church in his time, sheweth that there were in the same 46. Presbyters, 7. Deacons, 7. Subdeacons, 42. Acoluthes. 52. Exorcists; Lectors & Ostiaries, Widowes with distressed people, more then 1500. *Ignatius* in his Epistle to the *Antiochians*, omitting Acoluthes, reckoneth the rest, as Subdeacons, Lectors, Ostiaries, and Exorcists, adding to them *Cantores*, and *Laborantes*, or *Copiatæ*, whose employment was to bury the dead; of whom also [g] *Epiphanius* speaketh. Whereupon Bishop [h] *Lindan* saith, that howsoeuer in these times they make or account

b *Lib. 4. dist. 24.*

* *Addit. ad 3. part. Summæ. quæst 37. art. 2.*

c *Cyprian. lib. 2. Epist. 10.*

d *Idem lib. 2. Epist. 5. & li. 4. Epist 5.*

e *Lib. 5. cap. 14.*

f *Euseb. hist. Eccles. lib. 6. cap. 42.*

g *Epiphan. in epitome doctr. Catholicæ.*

h *Lindan. Panopl. lib. 4. cap. 77.*

account but seuen orders, yet in the primitiue Church there were more now scarce knowen. But let vs see what the office, employment and manner of the admissiō of these men was in former times. Touching Ostiaries, the Councel of *Carthage* ordaineth thus: [i] *Let the Ostiary after he hath bene instructed by the Arch-deacon how to behaue himselfe in the house of God, at the suggestion of the Arch-deacon be ordained, and let the Bishop take the Keyes from the altar, and giue them to him saying; So demeane thy selfe as being to giue an account to God for the things that these Keyes locke vp.*

i Concil. Carthag. 4.

The Lectors were to reade in the Church whatsoeuer was to be read out of the old or new Testament; whereupon *Cyprian* hauing ordained *Aurelius* the confessour, a Lector, giueth a reason why he had so done: [k] *Quia nihil magis congruit voci, quæ Dominum glorioſa prædicatione confeſſa eſt, quàm celebrandis diuinis Lectionibus perſonare*: that is, Because nothing doth more fit or better beseeme the voice that by a glorious publique testimony hath confessed the Lord, then to giue a sound in the Church, in reading the diuine Scriptures of the Lord.

k Cyprian. lib. 2. Epiſt. 5.

The Exorcists were such as to oke care of the *Energumenes*, or men vexed with the Diuell, who in ancient times came to the Churches in great companies, and were there prouided for, and kept vnder rules and disciplinary gouernment. These Exorcists receiued of the hands of the Bishop the booke wherein the Exorcismes were written, which they were to commit to memory, that so by earnest inuocation of the name of Christ, who is to returne to iudge the quicke and the dead, and to iudge the world in fire, they might obtaine of him the repressing of Sathans furies, and the ease, and deliuerance of such as were disquieted and vexed by him.

These had power to impose hands on them that were disquieted with Diuels, whether baptized or not; and in solemne manner to commend them vnto God, who only hath power to rebuke Sathan. Acoluthes were so named, for that they were to follow and attend the Bishop whithersoeuer hee went, that so they might not onely be witnesses of his blameleſse conuersation, but do vnto him such seruice as he should require and stand in neede of; whereupon in later times, for that they were to go before the Bishop in the Churches, bearing waxe lights in the night watches, and other meetings for diuine seruice in the night time, they were named *Ceroferarij*, that is, *Taper-bearers*. Subdeacons were to assist the Deacons in all things pertaining to them.

The order of Subdeacons in ancient time was not accounted a sacred order, [l] so that they might not touch the sacred vessels, nor none might be chosen a Bishop out of their ranke: but the later Bishops of *Rome* decreed, that the order of Subdeacons should be reputed a sacred order.

l Concil. Laodic. can 31. Decret. part. 1 dist. 23. c. 26. & dist. 60. ca. 4.

These were the inferiour orders of ministery in the Church in ancient times, to which were added * Widowes, or holy women, which being

* Cōcil. carthag. 4. can. 12.

being aged and destitute of friendes, were maintained by the Church; and being of good report, were chosen and appointed to minister to the women that were to be baptized, to teach and direct them how to answer the Baptizer, and how to liue afterwards, as also to take care of them that were sicke.

All these, as well Ostiaries, Lectors, Exorcists, and Acoluthes, as Subdeacons, in ancient times serued for a certaine space in these degrees: and therefore the solemne designing of them thereunto was not to be disliked; but now, when they execute the office of Ostiaries, who are no Ostiaries; of Lectors, who are no Lectors; of Psalmists, who are worthy to bee driuen not onely out of the Quire, but out of the Church also, as Bishop [m] *Lindan* rightly noteth; when none of these performe the duties their names import, and euery man almost is made a Presbyter the first day, as if none might be made the next, it is but for shew and fashion onely that men are ordained to the performance of these offices, and in truth and indeede, nothing else but a meere mockery, as the same Bishop *Lindan* ingenuously confesseth. With whom *Duarenus* agreeth: His words are: [n] *Hodie nec Diaconis nec alijs inferioribus Clericis vllus locus est in Ecclesiâ, vllumue ministerium aut munus quod exequantur; sed quia priscis canonibus statutum est vt nemo Presbyter ordinetur, nisi per omnes gradus inferiores ascenderit, ideo dicis causa, vt ita dicam, gradatim ordinari solent, idque certo quodam solenniqueritu, vt ad honorem Presbyterij aut quemuis alium sublimiorem capescendum idonei reddantur, potest que dici imaginaria hæc ordinatio*: that is, At this day neither is there any place for Deacons, nor other inferiour Clergie-men in the Church, nor any ministery or function for them to execute; but because it is ordained in the ancient Canons, that no man be ordained a Presbyter, vnlesse hee ascend and climbe vp by all inferiour degrees: therefore for names sake they are wont to bee ordained to euery of these degrees in order, and that with a certaine solemne rite, that they may be made capable of Priestly honour, or any other higher dignitie. And this ordination may rightly bee tearmed an Imaginarie ordination, or in imagination onely. And therefore our Aduersaries cannot iustly blame vs, who omitting the other inferiour ordinations giue no lower order then that of a Deacon.

m *Lindan. Panoplia. lib. 4. cap. 78. & 79.*

n *Duaren. de sacr. Eccles. minist. & Benef. lib. 1. cap. 16.*

All these both Ostiaries, Lectors, Acoluthes and Subdeacons, in former times, were sanctified and set apart to serue God in these meaner emploiments, that they might bee trained vp thereby to performe the duties of higher orders: For in those times, men were not promoted to the highest roomes but by degrees, being found to haue demeaned themselues well in the lower: and therefore they were vnder a stricter kinde of gouernmēt then they of the Laity: & both in their conuersation, habite, and all things beseeming modesty and grauity, they were more precisely

tyed

tyed to the keeping of order then other men.

n Concil. Carthag. 4. can. 44.

* Hereupon they were not suffered to weare their haire long like wantons, vnciuill men, or men of warre; but were commanded to polle their whole heads, leauing onely a circular crowne in the lower parts thereof. And here truly we cannot but condemne the absurd custome of the *Romane* Church, violating old Canons, degenerating from ancient vse, and exposing her Priests and Leuites to the skorne and contempt of the world by those triabolar shauen crownes, which dayly she setteth before our eies. For first, whereas the o Councell of *Toledo* in *Spaine* prouideth, that all cleargie men, Lectors, Deacons, and Priests, polling the whole head aboue, shall leaue onely a circular crowne below, and not as the Lectors hitherto had done in the parts of *Galicia* (who wearing their haire long as Lay-men, were polled in a little round compasse in the tops of their heads onely) for that this had bene the custome of certaine Heretiques in *Spaine*, the Church of *Rome* abandoneth the forme of polling prescribed by the Councell, and alloweth the obseruation of those ancient Heretiques the Councell condemned:

o Concil. Toletan. 4. can. 40.

p Panoplie. lib. 4. cap. 77.

Here we see, saith Bishop p *Lindan*, whence these triabolar crownes in the toppes of cleargie mens heads did come, namely from certaine ancient Heretiques in *Spaine*. But these lesser things might easily be reformed, if the vnspeakable scandals, shames, and dishonours of the Church, were first remoued and taken away. This is the censure of that learned Bishop.

Secondly, whereas rasure was not vsed in ancient times, but condemned by the Fathers, as most vnseemely; they of the Church of *Rome* haue left tonsure, and brought in rasure in steed thereof. That rasure was not vsed in ancient times, it appeareth by q *Clemens Alexandrinus*, where he saith, that the haires are to be cut off not with the rasour, but with the Barbours sheares; and by r *Optatus* Bishop of *Mileuis*, where hee reprehendeth the *Donatists* that tooke certaine Catholike Priests, and by force did shaue their heads. Shew vs (saith he) where you are commanded to shaue the heads of Priests, when as on the contrary side, there are so many examples proposed that it ought not so to be done. With *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Optatus*, *Hierome* agreeth, who vpon the 44. of *Ezekiel* saith in expresse words, that Priests must neither nourish their haire, nor be shaued, but so polled, that their skinne may still remaine hid and couered; and s *Bellarmine* himselfe confesseth, that *Dionysius*, *Epiphanius*, *Hierome*, *Athanasius*, *Palladius*, *Augustine*, *Isidore*, *Bede*, and the Councels of *Carthage* and *Toledo*, do speake of tonsure onely, and neuer mention rasure, and that the Epistle of *Anicetus* the Pope alledged for rasure, is not indubitate.

q Lib. 1. Pædagog. cap. 12.

r Lib. 2. contra Parmenian.

s Bell. lib. 2. de Monach. cap. 40.

What then will the Cardinall bring for defence of the contrary custome now preuailing in the Church of *Rome*? and what will hee answer

to

to these authorities of the ancient? We reprehend not, saith hee, the customes of those times, neither do they of those times condemne our obseruation. For howsoeuer tonsure, and not rasure, was anciently vsed, yet were not they of the Clergie forbidden to vse rasure, or to shaue their heads.

A strange answer of so great a *Rabbi*, and contrary to that he knoweth to be vndoubtedly true. For *Optatus* directly condemneth rasure, as we haue heard: and *Hierome* writing vpon the 44. of *Ezekiel*, hath these words: *Quod autem sequitur, Caput autem suum non radent, neq; comam nutrient, sed tondentes attondebũt capita sua, perspicuè demonstratur, nec rasis capitibus, sicut Sacerdotes cultores q; Isidis atq; Serapis nos esse debere; nec rursum comam dimittere, quod proprie luxuriosorum est barbarorumq; & militantium, &c.* That is, that which followeth, They shall not shaue their heads, nor let their haire grow long, but polling they shall polle their heads, doth clearely demonstrate, that we should neither shaue our heads like the Priests and worshippers of *Isis* and *Serapis*, nor on the other side let our haire grow long, as wantons, barbarous men, & Souldiers are wont to do; that that which is fitting, honest, & seemely, may appeare in the faces of the Priests. The *Septuagints* reade the words of the Prophet somewhat otherwise in this sort: *They shall not shaue their heads, nor cut their haire too neere; sed operientes operient capita sua*; that is, but hiding they shal hide their heads: whereby we learne, that we must neither make our selues bald by shauing, nor cut the haire of our heads so neere as if we were shauen, but let our haire grow so that the skinne may be hid and couered.

These are the words of *Hierome*, whereby it appeareth, that the absurd and ridiculous ceremonie of the *Romanists*, in shauing the heads of those of their Clergie, is condemned by the Fathers, and that *Bellarmine* speaketh against his owne conscience, when he saith the contrary.

Wherefore ceasing any longer to insist vpon the refutation of the absurditie of so ridiculous a ceremonie, and leauing those inferiour orders and degrees of ministerie in the Church of God, wherein men in ancient times were trained vp vnder the rules of strict and seuere gouernement and discipline, and fitted for higher and greater employments, let vs come to the office of the Deacons.

The office of Bishops and Presbyters, was from Christs owne immediate institution: but the institution of Deacons was from the Apostles, as [t]*Cyprian* deliuereth. These the Bishop alone may ordaine, neither is it necessary that other impose their hands with him, as in the ordination of Presbyters, seeing they are consecrated onely to bee assistants to the Bishop and Presbyters, and not admitted into the fellowship of the same power and order with them.

[t] *Cyprian. lib. 3. Epist. 9.*

The Deacons according to the intendment of their first institution, were to take care of the poore, and the treasure of the Church, and there-

upon *Chryſoſtome*, & after him the Fathers of the [u] ſixth generall Councel do thinke they were not the ſame we now haue; ours being buſied in other affaires of the Church. But I am of opinion that they were the ſame; and that (the end of their firſt inſtitution being principally to eaſe the Apoſtles of the care of prouiding for the poore, and to take the charge of the Church treaſure) when the treaſure of the Church increaſing was committed to certaine Stewards, and the poore otherwiſe prouided for, they were more ſpecially vſed for the aſſiſting of the Biſhop and Presbyters in things pertaining to Gods ſeruice and worſhip. Whereupon we ſhall finde that in ſome caſes they might baptize, reconcile penitents, preach, and do ſundry other things pertaining to the office of the Biſhop and Presbyters.

[u] Canone. 16.

That in ſome caſes they might baptize, [x] *Tertullian* witneſſeth. That they might reconcile penitents, we haue the authority of Saint [y] *Cyprian*. That they might preach, we haue the teſtimony of Saint [z] *Gregory*. And that they aſſiſted the Biſhops and Presbyters in miniſtring the Sacrament of the Lords body and bloud, and miniſtred the cuppe, it appeareth by [a] *Cyprian*. And hereupon *Hierome* amplifieth the dignity of them exceedingly, ſhewing that for auoyding preſumption the Presbyters may not take the cuppe of the Lord from the holy Table, vnleſſe it be deliuered vnto them by the Deacons.

[x] *Tertullian, lib. de Baptiſmo.*
[y] *Cyprian, lib. 3. Epiſt. 17.*
[z] *Greg. Epiſt. lib. 4. cap. 88.*
[a] *Cyprian, Serm. 6. de Lapſis.*

Theſe are they, ſaith he, of whom we reade in the *Reuelation*, [b] *Septem Angeli Eccleſiarum, hi ſunt ſeptem Candelabra aurea, hi ſunt voces tonitruorum, virtutum operatione præclari, humilitate prediti, quieti, Euangelizantes pacem, annuntiantes bona, diſſentiones, & rixas & ſcandala reſecare docentes, ſoli Deo colloquentes in templo, nihil penitus de mundo cogitantes, dicentes Patri & Matri, non noui vos, filios ſuos non agnoſcentes. Sine his Sacerdos nomen non habet, ortum non habet, officium non habet*: that is, Theſe are the ſeuen Angels of the Churches; theſe are the ſeuen golden Candleſticks; theſe are the voices of the thunders; theſe are renowned for the operation of vertues, humble, quiet, preaching peace, publiſhing good things, teaching how to cut away diſſentions, brawles and ſcandals, communing with God alone in his holy temple, hauing no thought of the world, ſaying to Father & Mother, I know you not, & not acknowledging their owne ſons; without theſe the Prieſt hath not the name, not the beginning, not the office of a Prieſt. And a little after he addeth, *Sacerdotibus etiam propter præſumptionẽ non licet de menſa Domini calicem tollere, niſi eis traditus fuerit à Diaconis: Leuitæ componunt menſam Domini: Leuitæ Sacerdotibus cum Sacramẽta benedicunt, aſſiſtunt: Leuitæ ante Sacerdotes orant, vt aures habeamus ad Dominũ Diaconus acclamat*: that is, Euen the Prieſts themſelues for the auoiding of preſũption, muſt not take the cup from off the Table of the Lord, vnleſſe it be deliuered vnto them by the Deacõs. The Deacons or Leuites prepare the Table of the Lord, and make all things ready on the ſame.

[b] *Hieron. tom. 4. de ſeptem ordinib. Eccleſiæ.*

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The Leuites assist the Priests when they blesse & sanctifie the Sacramentall elements. The Leuites pray before the Priests. The Deacon crieth out aloud vnto vs to open our eares, and to listen and heare what the Lord will speake vnto vs. Great and glorious are the dignities of these Deacons; yet the councell of *Carthage* maketh them [c] Ministers not of the Bishop alone, but of the Presbyters also: so that they might not sit in the presence of the Bishop or Presbyters. And when some went about to preferre them before Presbyters, *Hierome* with great violence opposed himselfe against the same, saying: [d] *Quid patitur mensarum & viduarum minister, vt supra eos se tumidus efferat, ad quorum preces Christi corpus sanguisque conficitur?* that is, What passion is this, that thus transporteth the Minister of the Tables and Widowes, that swelling in pride he should lift vp himselfe aboue them, at whose praiers the body and blood of Christ is consecrated? And obiecting to himselfe the custome of the *Romane* Church, where a Presbyter is ordained vpon the testimony of a Deacon, hee passionately breaketh out into these words: *Quid mihi profers vnius vrbis consuetudinem? Diaconos paucitas honorabiles, Presbyteros turba contemptibiles facit. Ceterum etiam in Ecclesia Romæ Presbyteri sedent, & stant Diaconi, licet paulatim inorihescantibus rebus, inter Presbyteros, absente Episcopo, sedere Diaconum viderim:* that is, Why doest thou vrge me with the custome of one Cittie? the fewnesse of Deacons maketh them honourable, and the number of Presbyters maketh them to be lesse esteemed. Yet euen in the Church of *Rome* Presbyters do sit, and Deacons stand; although things (growing worse and worse by degrees, and many things growing out of order) I haue seene a Deacon in the absence of a Bishop, sit amongst the Presbyters.

c *Concil. Carth. 4. can. 37. & 39.*

d *Hieromym. ad Euagrium.*

Out of the society and company of the Deacons in each Church, there was one chosen who not onely was to performe the thinges pertaining to the Deacons office, but also to prescribe vnto others what they should do.

The institution of these is not new, but very ancient, as it appeareth by [e] *Hierome*, who vrging the necessity of order and gouernement, sheweth, that the heardes of cattell haue their leaders which they follow; that Bees haue their King; that the Cranes flye after one that leadeth them the way; that there is one Emperour, and one Iudge of each prouince; that *Rome* could not haue two brethren to reigne in her as Kings, but was dedicated in parricide; that *Esau* and *Iacob* were at warre in the wombe of *Rebeccah*; that euery Church hath her Bishop; euery company of Presbyters and Deacons, their Arch-presbyter, and Arch-deacon.

e *Hier. ad Rusticum monachum.*

* This maketh nothing against them who with vs are named Arch-deacons, and vnder that name exercise Iurisdiction. For by the Canons of our Church they are Presbyters chosen to assist the Bishop in his gouernment, and not meere Deacons as sometime they were.

* These chiefe Deacons, or Arch-deacons were in processe of time (notwithstãding al Canons to the cõtrary, & the violent oppositiõ of *Hierome*, and

and other Worthies of those times) lifted vp not onely aboue the Presbyters, but the Arch-presbyters also.

The reason of which their aduancement was, first, because the number of Presbyters made them little esteemed, and the paucitie and fewnesse of Deacons made them honourable, as I noted before out of *Hierome*. Secondly, because they were busied about money-matters, & had the charge of the treasure of the Church, which kinde of employments are vsually much set by. Thirdly, because being Ministers vnto the Bishop, they were vsed by him for the viewing of such parts of his Diocese, as he could not conueniently come vnto himselfe, the dispatch of thinges for him, and in the end for the reformation of the lesser and smaller faults which vpon such view they should finde: Whereupon at the last they obtained a kinde of Iurisdiction and power of correction by prescription and custome, whereof I shall haue occasion to speake more hereafter. Thus haue we spoken of the inferiour degrees of Ministery, by which men were wont to ascend to the higher, being trained vp for a certaine space in the lower, that they might thereby be fitted for the higher, according to that of *Hierome* touching *Nepotian*, [f] *Fit Clericus, & per solitos gradus Presbyter ordinatur*; that is, He is made a Clergie-man, and passing through the ordinary degrees, he is ordained a Presbyter.

[f] *Hieron. in Epitaph. Nepotiani ad Heliodorum.*

Chap. 26.

Of the orders, and degrees of them that are trusted with the Ministery of the Word, and Sacraments, and the gouernment of Gods people; and particularly, of Lay-Elders, falsly by some supposed to be Gouernors of the Church.

NOW it remaineth that we speake of them that are trusted with the ministery of the Word and Sacraments, and the gouernment of Gods people, comprehended vnder one common name of Presbyters, that is, Fatherly Guides of Gods Church and people. Touching these Presbyters, or fatherly Guides of Gods Church, some in our time haue a new and strange conceipt, making them to be of two sorts: whereof some haue charge of gouernment onely, and some together therewith the ministery of the Word and Sacraments; the one sort Lay-men, and the other Clergie-men; the one sort gouerning onely, and the other sort preaching, teaching, ministring Sacraments, and gouerning also.

Touching these newly supposed gouerning Elders, that are not Ministers of the Word and Sacraments, I will first set downe the reasons that moue vs to thinke there neuer were any such in the Church; and secondly, I will shew the weakenesse of their reasons that are induced to thinke there were.

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The first reason that moueth vs to thinke, there neuer were any such, is, because Bishops, Presbyters, that preach and minister Sacraments, and Deacons that assist them, howsoeuer they much degenerated in later times, yet all still remained in all Christian Churches throughout the world (though in many thinges exceedingly different, as *Greeke*, *Latine*, *Æthiopian* and *Armenian*) in their names and offices also in some some sort; But of these Lay-elders, there are no foote-steps to be found in any Christian Church in the world, nor were not for many hundred yeares, whereas there would haue bene some remaines of these, as well as of the other, had they euer had any institution from Christ and his Apostles, as the other had.

Our second reason is, for that Saint *Paul* [a] prescribing *Timothie* how he should establish the Church and appoint her Pastours, and shewing who should be Bishops and Ministers, who Deacons, yea who Widowes, passeth immediatly from describing the quality of such as were to be Bishops and Ministers of the Word and Sacraments, to the Deacons, omitting these Lay-elders that are supposed to lye in the midst betweene them, no way describing vnto vs of what quality they must be, which in reason hee neither might nor would haue omitted, if there had bene any such. [a] 1. Tim. 3.

Our third reason is, for that neither Scripture, nor practise of the Church, bounding the gouernment of such Gouernours, nor giuing any direction how farre they may go in the same, and where they must stay, lest they meddle with that they haue nothing to do with, men should be left to a most dangerous vncertaintie in an office and employment of so great consequence, either of not doing that their office and place requireth, or presuming beyond that they should: which is not to be conceiued, seeing Christ our gracious Sauiour by himselfe or his Apostles, left certaine direction for farre lesser things then these mens gouernment is supposed to be.

That the gouernment of these supposed Lay-elders is not bounded in Scripture, or Fathers, it is most euident, neither can any man liuing shew vs any such bounding of the same in either of them. The gouernement of the Church is in respect of two sorts of men; the Clergie, and the Laitie: Touching the former, they are to bee tryed, and approued for their life and learning, they are to bee ordained with solemne imposition of hands, and if they deserue it, they are to be suspended from the execution of their office, or vtterly depriued, and degraded. Shall Lay-elders haue as much to doe in all these actions, as they to whom the ministery of the Word and Sacraments is commited? are they competent Iudges of mens learning and aptnesse to teach, that neither are Teachers nor learned? Can they giue the sacred power of holy ministery to others, that haue it not themselues? Or is it not a cer-

taine Axiome on the contrary side, that the lesser is blessed of the greater? Surely they that in *England* sought to bring in the gouernment of the Church by Lay-elders, were of opinion, that they ought to haue interest in all these thinges, as well as the Pastours of the Church. And indeed admit them to the gouernement of the Church by force of certaine doubtfull words of Scripture, mentioning gouernement without any distinction or limitation; and there is no reason to straighten them, but that they should haue their sway in all parts of it. But they of *Geneua*, *France*, and other parts, exclude these Elders from intermedling in ordination, and leaue the power to trye, examine, approue and ordaine to the Pastours onely. Likewise as I thinke, they referre the deciding of doubts in matters of Faith and Religion to the Pastours onely, and not to the suffrages of Lay-men by multitude of voices ouer-ruling them.

See *Beza's* Epistles, and *Calvin.* Institut. *l.4.ca.3.Sect.16*

Touching the other sort of them of whom the Church consisteth, which are Lay-men, who are to bee admonished, corrected, put from the Sacraments, yea from the communion of the Church for impietie, disobedience, and wickednesse, and vpon repentance and submission to bee receiued againe; doth not the ordering of these men in this sort come within the compasse of the power of the Keyes, and of binding and loosing? Did Christ leaue these to his Apostles as speciall fauours, and are they now transferred from their Successours, the Bishops and Pastours of the Church to Lay-men, that haue neither part nor fellowship in the worke of the Ministerie? Hath GOD committed the dispensation of his Sacraments to the Pastours of the Church? Is it on the perill of their soules, that they duely giue them or with-hold them, as cause shall require? And shall there bee in others that are not trusted with them, as great a power to direct the vse of this Ministeriall authoritie as in them? nay greater, the other being more in number, and their voices more to carry any thing that shall bee brought into deliberation? Besides all this which hath bene said, there are many more doubts touching the authoritie of these men, wherein I feare there will be none found amongst the friendes and fauourers of these Lay-elders that will be able to giue vs any satisfaction.

For first, I would gladly know, whether these ruling Elders must bee in euery congregation with power of ordination, and depriuation, suspension, excommunication, and absolution? or whether this power bee onely in the Ministers and Elders of diuers Churches concurring?

Surely in *Geneua* there are Elders in the congregations that are abroad *in agro*, that is, in the Country, but these haue no power of excommunication, much lesse of ordination or depriuation: They may onely complaine to the Consistorie of the Cittie; Nay they that are in the congregations within the Cittie, haue no separate power with their

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owne Miniſters, but a ioynt proceeding with the reſt of the Miniſters and Elders of the other Churches and congregations; all which concurring make but one Conſiſtory.

Secondly, let them tell vs, whether theſe offices bee perpetuall, as the offices of Biſhops and Paſtours, or annuall, and but for a certaine time.

But to leaue them in theſe vncertainties, the fourth reaſon that moueth vs to reiect the conceipt of theſe Lay-elders, is, becauſe the founders of this new gouernment, fetch the patterne of it from the *Sanedrim* of the Iewes, the platforme whereof they ſuppoſe Chriſt meant to bring into his Church when hee ſaid, [b] *Tell the Church.* Whereas it is moſt cleare, that that Court was a ciuill court, and had power to baniſh, to impriſon, yea and to take away life, till by the *Romanes* the *Iewes* were reſtrained: which made them ſay in the caſe of Chriſt, that [c] *it was not lawfull for them to put any man to death.*

b Mat.18.17.

c Ioh.18.31.

Our fift and laſt reaſon is, for that all Fathers and Councels mentioning elders or Presbyters, place them betweene Biſhops and Deacons, and make them to bee Clergy-men: and that in the *Acts*, where the Apoſtles are ſayd to haue conſtituted Elders in euery Church, Paſtours and Miniſters are meant, and not Lay-men, is ſtrongly confirmed by that in the twentieth of *Acts*, where the Elders of the Church of *Epheſus* conuented before *Paul*, are commanded *to feede the flocke of Chriſt, ouer which they were appointed ouerſeers*; whence it followeth ineuitably, that they were Paſtours.

The places of Scripture brought to proue this kinde of gouernment by Lay-elders are ſpecially three. The firſt is that to *Timothie*, [e] *Let the Elders that rule well, be eſteemed worthy of double honour, eſpecially they that labour in the word and doctrine.* The ſecond is that in the Epiſtle to the *Romanes*: [f] *He that ruleth, let him doe it with diligence.* The third is that to the *Corinthians*, where [g] *Gouernours*, or *Gouernments* are mentioned. The two later allegations are too too weake to proue the thing in queſtion. For will any man that knoweth what it is to reaſon, reaſon *à genere ad ſpeciem affirmatiuè*, that is, from the generall to the particular and ſpeciall affirmatiuely? Or will euer any man of common ſenſe bee perſwaded that this conſequence is good; There were gouernors in the Primitiue Church mentioned by the Apoſtles, and required by them to rule with diligence; therefore they were Lay-gouernours? Surely I thinke not. Wherefore let vs ſee if the firſt place alledged by them yeelde any better proofe. Touching this place, ſome interprete it in this ſort. The Guides of the Church are worthy of double honour, both in reſpect of gouerning and teaching, but ſpecially for their paines in teaching; ſo noting two parts or duties of Presbyteriall offices, not two ſorts of Presbyters. Some in this ſort: Amongſt the Elders and Guides of Gods Church &

e 1.Tim.5.17.

f Rom.12.8.

g 1.Cor.12.28.

people, ſome laboured principally in gouerning and miniſtring the Sacraments, ſome in preaching, and teaching: So *Paul* ſheweth, that he preached and [h] laboured more then all the Apoſtles, but [i] baptized few or none, leauing that to be performed by others; and when *Paul* and *Barnabas* were companions, and their trauels were equall, yet [k] *Paul* is noted to haue bene the chiefe ſpeaker: ſo that though both were worthy of double honour, yet *Paul* eſpecially.

h 1. Cor. 15. 10.
i 1. Cor. 1. 14.
k Acts 14. 12.

Some interprete the words in this ſort. There were ſome that remained in ſome certaine places for the guiding and gouerning of ſuch as were already wonne by the preaching of the Goſpell; other that trauailed with great labour and paines from place to place, to ſpread the knowledge of God into all parts, and to preach Chriſt crucified to ſuch as had neuer heard of him before. Both theſe were worthy of double honor, but the later that builded not vpon another mans foundation, more eſpecially then the former that did but keepe that which others had gotten, and gouerne thoſe that others had gained.

Thus we ſee that theſe words may haue a very good and true ſenſe without preſſing of them to confirme the late conceipt of ſome fewe men touching Lay-elders. Which conſtruction we haue no reaſon to admit, ſeeing the circumſtances of the place doe not enforce it, nor no Eccleſiaſticall writer did euer ſo interprete the words before our age. So that to conclude this point, the name of Presbyter, (one place onely in the firſt of *Timothie* and the fifth excepted, where it is a name of age and not of office) in the writings of the Apoſtles doth euer note out vnto vs a Miniſter of the Word and Sacraments. The reaſon why the Apoſtles choſe this word rather then the name of *Sacerdos*, which we commonly tranſlate Prieſt (though the Engliſh word Prieſt come of Presbyter) was, leſt there ſhould be a confuſion of the Miniſters of the old Teſtament, who were to offer ſacrifices vnto God, figuring the comming of Chriſt, with thoſe of the new: and to ſhew that none ſhould be appointed Miniſters, but men of ripe age and confirmed iudgement. But ſome man will ſay: the ancient Writers mention Seniours, without whoſe aduice nothing was done; an Eccleſiaſticall Senate and a Presbytery, or company of Presbyters, which gouerned the Church together with the Biſhop: therefore the matter is not ſo cleare againſt Lay-elders, as ſome would make it.

We deny not but that there were Presbyters in the primitiue Church conſtituted and ordained by the Apoſtles and their Succeſſours, not onely to preach and miniſter Sacraments, but to gouerne, direct, and guide the people of God alſo; but that they were Lay-men it cannot be proued.

The Biſhops in the greater Churches, & in Cities had a great number of Clergy-men ſeruing in diuers ſorts, as it appeareth by *Cyprian*, and the whole

whole Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory, but out of the whole Clergie at large the Presbytery, or company of Presbyters was called forth to the weightieſt deliberations, and to aſſiſt the Biſhop for the preſeruation of diſcipline; [l] *Admonitos nos & inſtructos ſciatis dignatione diuinâ*, ſaith *Cyprian, vt Numidicus Presbyter aſcribatur Presbyterorum Carthaginenſium numero, & nobiſcum ſedeat in Clero:* that is, Know yee, that we haue bene admoniſhed and directed by God himſelfe, to chooſe *Numidicus*, and to make him one of the company of the Presbyters of *Carthage*, that hee may ſit together with vs as a Clergy-man. By which words it appeareth, that there was in *Cyprians* time a colledge of Presbyters or Elders in the Church of *Carthage*, which ſate together with the Biſhop for the hearing and determining of the cauſes of the Church; but that theſe Elders were Clergie-men, and not ſuch Lay-Seniours as ſome would haue. [m] *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome*, writeth to *Cyprian, ſe totum Presbyterium contraxiſſe*, that is, that he drew together the whole Presbytery, or companie of Presbyters, for the reconciling of certaine Schiſmatiques to the Church, and that he called together fiue Biſhops alſo, and by common conſent ended the whole matter.

l *Cyprian. lib. 4. epiſt. 10.*

m *Apud Cyprian. lib. 3. epiſt. 11.*

Of this Senate and company of Presbyters, *Tertullian* ſpeaketh in his Apologie, when he ſaith: [n] *With vs the moſt approued Seniours doe ſit as preſidents to cenſure offendours, and to exerciſe diſcipline.* And of theſe likewiſe is it that *Hierome* ſaith, writing vpon *Eſay:* [o] *We alſo in the Church haue our Senate, the company of Presbyters*: And vpon *Titus:* [p] *The Churches were gouerned by the common aduice and counſell of the Presbyters.* For to put it out of doubt that he meaneth not Lay-elders, he ſaith in the ſame place, *Idem eſt ergo Presbyter qui Epiſcopus*; that is, Therfore a Presbyter and Biſhop are all one.

n *Tertul. in Apolog. cap. 39.*

o *Hieron. in 3. Iſaie.*

p *In 1. ad Titum.*

There is onely one place in *Ambroſe* that hath ſome ſhew of proofe for Lay-elders. His words are; [q] *The Iewiſh Synagogue, and after the Church, had Seniors or Elders, without whoſe counſell nothing was done in the Church; which, by what negligence it grew out I know not, vnleſſe it were by the ſloth or pride of the Teachers, whileſt they alone would ſeeme to be ſomthing.* Here is mention of Elders, without whoſe aduice nothing was done; but it is not ſaid, they were Lay-men. But ſome man perhaps will reply, that the Elders which *Ambroſe* ſpeaketh of, ceaſed before his time, which cannot be vnderſtood of Clergie-men, therefore they were Lay-men.

q *Ambroſ. com. in 1. ad Tim. 5.*

To this we ſay, that *Ambroſe* doth not ſay, the Elders without whoſe counſell nothing was wont to bee done, ceaſed before his time, and were no more, but that the aduiſing and conſulting with them ceaſed, whileſt ſome would do all themſelues. If it be ſaid, that they who thus aſſumed more then was fit, and excluded thoſe Seniors without whoſe counſell anciently nothing was done, are not ſaid to haue bene Biſhops, but Doctours,

ctours, and that therefore *Ambroſe* ſpeaketh, not of Biſhops excluding other Miniſters of the Word and Sacraments frō their conſultations, but of Clergi-men refuſing the aduice of Lay-ſeniours; we anſwer, that *Ambroſe* by the name of Teachers, whoſe ſloath or pride he condemneth in this place, might fitly vnderſtand the Biſhops, ſeeing none but Biſhops haue power to preach in their owne right, and other but onely by permiſſion from them.

r *Cap.* 5. Heerupon it is, that *Poſsidius* in r the life of *Auguſtine* ſaith, that *Valerius* Biſhop of *Hippo*, gaue Saint *Auguſtine* his Presbyter leaue to preach, becauſe being a *Grecian*, hee could not very well expreſſe himſelfe in *Latine*. In the ſ Councel of *Vaſe* leaue is giuen by the councell of Biſhops to Presbyters for to preach. But becauſe this queſtion touching Lay-elders is excellently handled by ſundry of our Diuines, I will not trouble the Reader with any farther diſcourſe of this matter.

ſ *Canone* 4.

Chap. 27.

Of the diſtinction of the Power of Order and Iuriſdiction, and the preëminence of one amongſt the Presbyters of each Church, who is named a Biſhop.

CEASING to ſpeake of ſuppoſed Lay-elders, which the Church of God knoweth not, let vs come to the other that were appointed to teach and gouerne the people of God. Where firſt we are to ſpeake of the diuers degrees of honour and preeminence found amongſt them. Secondly, of their calling and appointing to the ſame. And thirdly, of their maintenance. For the clearing of the former of theſe three things, the Schoole-men note, that there is a two-fold power found in the Miniſters of the Church of God. the one of Order, the other of Iuriſdiction. The power of Order is that, whereby they are ſanctified and enabled to the performance of ſuch ſacred acts as other men neither may nor can doe, as is the preaching of the Word, and miniſtration of the holy Sacraments. This power is to be exerciſed orderly, and the acts of it to be performed in ſuch ſort that one diſturbe not another. Whereupon the Apoſtles, the firſt Miniſters of Chriſt Ieſus, though equall in the power of Order & Iuriſdiction, yet for the better and more orderly diſpatch of the great worke of conuerting the world, which they had in hand, and that they might not hinder one another, diuided amongſt themſelues the parts and prouinces of the world; but when for the aſſiſting of them while they liued, and ſucceeding them dying, they were to paſſe ouer part of their power to other, they ſo gaue authority to ſuch as they made choyce of for this worke, to preach, baptize, and do other acts of ſacred Miniſtery (which are to bee performed by vertue of the

power

power of order) that before they inuested them with this power, they diuided the parts of the world conuerted to Christianity into seueral Churches, and when they ordained them, assigned each of them to that particular Church wherein hee should preach and minister Sacraments. So that these successours of the Apostles had not an illimited commission, but were confined within certaine boundes; that they were not to preach, nor minister Sacraments, but only within the limits and compasse of those places which were assigned vnto them, vnlesse it were with the consent, desire and liking of other willing to draw them, at sometimes for speciall causes to performe such sacred acts within the limits and bounds of their charge.

This assigning to men hauing the power of order the persons to whom they were to minister holy things, and of whom they were to take the care, and the subiecting of such persons vnto them, gaue them the power of Iurisdiction which they had not before.

And thus was the vse of the power of order which is not included within any certaine bounds, limited in those the Apostles ordained, and their power of Iurisdiction included within certaine boundes: so that the one of these kindes of power they haue not at all without the extent of their owne limits, nor the lawfull vse of the other. Hence is that resolution of the Diuines, that if a Bishop aduenture to doe any act of Iurisdiction out of his owne Diocese, as to excommunicate, absolue, or the like, all such actes are vtterly voyd, and of no force; but if hee shall doe any act of the power of order in another mans charge, as preach, or minister Sacraments; though he cannot be excused as not offending, if he do these things without his consent, yet are the sacraments thus ministred truly sacraments and of force.

When the Apostles first founded Churches, and assigned to such as they ordained to the worke of the ministery the seuerall parts of the flocke of Christ, and people of GOD, of which they appointed them to take care and charge, they so sorted and diuided out particular Churches, that a Cittie, and the places neere adioyning made but one Church: Whereupon we shall finde in the holy Scriptures, that to ordaine Presbyters [a] κατ' ἐκκλησίαν, and [b] κατὰ πόλιν, that is in euery Church, and in euery Citty, are all one. Now because Churches of so large extent required many Ministers of the Word and Sacraments, and yet of one Church there must bee but one Pastour, the Apostles in setling the state of these Churches did so constitute in them many Presbyters with power to teach, instruct and direct the people of God, that yet they appointed one onely to bee chiefe Pastour of the place, ordaining that the rest should bee but his assistants, not presuming to doe any thing without him; so that though they were all equall in the power of order, yet were the rest inferior vnto him in the gouernement of

a Acts 14.23.
b Titus.1.5.

of that Church whereof hee was Paſtour, and they but his aſſiſtants onely.

As another of my ranke cannot haue that Iuriſdiction within my Church as I haue, but if hee will haue any thing to do there, he muſt be inferiour in degree vnto me. So we reade in the *Reuelation* of Saint *Iohn*, of the [c] Angell of the Church of *Epheſus*, to whom the Spirit of God directeth letters from heauen, as to the Paſtour of that Church. It is not to be doubted but that there were many Presbyters, that is, Miniſters of the Word and Sacraments in ſo large a Church as that of *Epheſus* was; nay we reade expreſſely in the *Acts*, that there were many in that Church, [d] that *fed the flocke of Chriſt*, and conſequently were admitted into ſome part of paſtorall office and employment; yet was there one amongſt the reſt to whom onely the Lord did write from heauen, to whom an eminent power was giuen, who was truſted with the gouernement of that Church and people in more ſpeciall ſort then any of the reſt, and therefore challenged by name by Almighty God for the things there found to be amiſſe, the reſt being paſſed ouer in ſilence.

c Reuel. 2. 1.

d Acts. 20. 28.

The like we reade of the reſt of the ſeuen [e] Churches of *Aſia*, compared to ſeuen golden candleſtickes, in the midſt whereof the Sonne of God did walke, hauing in his hand ſeuen ſtarres, interpreted to haue bene the ſeuen Angels of thoſe ſeuen Churches. Neither was this orderly ſuperiority of one amongſt the Presbyters of the Church, found onely in the ſeuen Churches of *Aſia*, but in other Churches alſo. For Saint [f] *Hierome* teſtifieth, that in the Church of *Alexandria*, from the time of *Marke* the Euangeliſt, there was euer one whom the Presbyters of that Church choſe out of themſelues to be ouer the reſt. Neither was this proper to the Church of *Alexandria*, but we can ſhew the ſucceſſions of Biſhops in all the famous Churches of the world, euen from the Apoſtles times: and therefore all admit and allow a kinde of preëminence of one aboue the reſt in each Church. [g] Hereſies haue ſprung, ſaith *Cyprian*, and ſchiſmes riſen from no other fountaine then this, that Gods Prieſt is not obeyed, nor one Prieſt in the Church acknowledged for the time to bee Iudge in Chriſts ſteed.

e Reuel. 1. 20.

f *Hierony. ad Euagrium.*

g *Cyprian. lib. 1. Epiſt. 3.*

[h] If one, ſaith *Hierome*, in each Church be not aboue and before the reſt of the Presbyters, there will be as many Schiſmes as Prieſts; and the [i] beſt learned in our age that affect presbyteriall gouernment, ingenuouſly confeſſe it to be an eſſentiall, and perpetuall part of Gods ordinance, for each Presbytery to haue a chiefe amongſt them, the neceſſity whereof, we may learne from all Societies, both of men endued with reaſon, and of other thinges alſo to which God hath denied the light of vnderſtanding. [k] The dumbe beaſts, ſaith *Hierome*, and wilde Hares haue their leaders which they follow; the Bees haue their King; the Cranes fly after one in order like an Alphabet of letters: there is but one Emperour;

h *Hierony. ad. werſus Lucifer. an.*

i *Beza. in reſp. ad tract. de miniſt. Euang. gradib.*

k *Hier. ad Ruſticum monachum.*

one

one Iudge of a Prouince; *Rome* newly built could not endure two brethren to be Kings together; and therfore was dedicated in parricide; *Esau* and *Iacob* were at warre in the wombe of *Rebeccah*: euerie Church hath her owne Biſhop, her owne Arch-presbyter, her owne chiefe Deacon, and all Eccleſiaſticall order conſiſteth herein, that ſome do rule and direct the reſt.

In a ſhip there is but one that directeth the helme. In a houſe or family there is but one maiſter. And to conclude, in an armie, if it be neuer ſo great, yet the direction of one Generall is expected. Thus then all confeſſe, that there alwayes hath bene, and muſt be in each Church a preëminence of one aboue the reſt of the Presbyters of the ſame; but ſome thinke this preëminence ſhould be onely a prioritie of order, in ſitting before, in propounding things to be thought of, and in moderating the whole action of deliberation, and that all things ſhould be ſwayed by voyces, the Preſident or Biſhop hauing no voyce negatiue or affirmatiue, but as the maior part ſhall direct him.

Likewiſe this preſidencie they thinke ſhould be but annuall, or to end with the action about which they meete, whether it be to determine a doubt, to ordaine a Miniſter, or to do any other ſuch like thing.

This new conceipt we cannot approue of, becauſe we find no patterne of any ſuch Biſhop or Preſident in all Antiquitie: But the Fathers deſcribe vnto vs ſuch a Biſhop, as hath eminent and peereleſſe power, without whoſe conſent the Presbyters can do nothing. [l] *Hence haue hereſies ſprung and ſchiſmes ariſen*, ſayth *Cyprian*, *becauſe one Prieſt in the Church is not acknowledged for the time to be Iudge in Chriſts ſteed, to whom if all the brethren would be ſubiect according to the diuine directions, no man would, after the diuine iudgements, after the ſuffrages of the people, after the conſent of other Biſhops, make himſelfe Iudge not of the Biſhop, but of God.* [m] *Let the Presbyter*, ſaith *Ignatius*, *do nothing without the Biſhop*; [n] *The Biſhop* (ſaith *Hierome*) *muſt haue an eminent and peereleſſe power, or elſe there will be as many ſchiſmes in the Church, as there are Prieſts*. And [o] *Tertullian* ſheweth, that without the Biſhops leaue and conſent no Presbyter may baptize, miniſter any Sacrament, or do any miniſteriall act. So that it is moſt cleare and euident, that the Biſhop in each Church is aboue and before the reſt of the Presbyters of the ſame, not in order onely, but in degree alſo and power of Iuriſdiction.

l *Cyprian. lib. 1. epiſt. 3.*

m *Ignat. ad Magneſian. Epiſt. 3.*

n *Hier. aduerſus Luciferianos.*

o *Tertull. de Baptiſmo.*

Yet on the other ſide, we make not the power of Biſhops to be Princely, as *Bellarmine* doth, but Fatherly: ſo that as the Presbyters may do nothing without the Biſhop, ſo he may do nothing in matters of greateſt moment and conſequence without their preſence and aduice. Whereupon the Councell of *Carthage* [p] voideth all ſentences of Biſhops which the preſence of their Clergie confirmeth not; and euen vnto this day they haue no power to alienate lands, and to do ſome ſuch like things without the

p *Concil. Carthag. 4. can. 23.*

the concurrence and consent of the Presbyters of the Cathedrall, and great Church.

q *Bellar. lib. 1. de Clericis, ca. 14.*

It is therefore most false that q *Bellarmine* hath, that Presbyters haue no power of Iurisdiction, and the proofe he bringeth of this his assertion most weake, when he alledgeth, that all Councels both generall and prouinciall wherein Iurisdiction is most properly exercised, were celebrated and holden by Bishops, as if Presbyters had had nothing to do therein. For it is most cleare and euident, that in all prouinciall Synodes Presbyters did sit, giue voyce, and subscribe as well as Bishops. And howsoeuer in generall councels none did giue voyce but Bishops alone, yet those Bishops that were present bringing the resolution and consent of the prouinciall Synodes of those churches from whence they came, in which Synodes Presbyters had their voyces, they had a kind of consent to the decrees of generall Councels also: and nothing was passed in them without their concurrence.

Thus were things moderated in the Primitiue ages of the Church; and though Bishops had power ouer Presbyters, yet was it so limited, that there was nothing bitter or grieuous in it, nothing but that which was full of sweetnesse, and content. For if any difference grew betweene the Bishop and his Presbyters, the Presbyters might not iudge their Bishop, whom they were to acknowledge to be a Iudge in Christs stead, but an appeale lay vnto a prouinciall Synode, to which not onely the Bishops of the prouinces were to come, but a certaine number of Presbyters also out of each church to sit as Iudges of such differences. Neither might the Bishop of himselfe alone depriue, degrade, or put from their office and dignitie the Presbyters and Deacons of his church; but r if there were any matter concerning a Presbyter, he was to ioyne vnto him fiue other Bishops of the prouince; and if any matter concerning a Deacon, two other Bishops, before he might proceede to giue sentence against Presbyter or Deacon. The causes of other inferiour cleargie men the Bishop might heare and determine himselfe alone, without the concurrence, and presence of other Bishops, but not without the concurrence of his owne Clergie, without whose presence no sentence of the Bishop was of force, but iudged, and pronounced voide by the canon.

r *Concil. Carthag. 3. can. 8.*

Touching the preëminence of Bishops aboue Presbyters, there is some difference among the Schoole Diuines: For the best learned amongst them are of opinion, that Bishops are not greater then Presbyters in the power of consecration or order, but onely in the exercise of it, and in the power of Iurisdiction; seeing Presbyters may preach, and minister the greatest of all Sacraments by vertue of their consecration & order, as well as Bishops.

f *Durand. in 4. Sentent. dist. 24. quæst. 5.*

Touching the power of consecration or order, saith f *Durandus*, it is much doubted of among Diuines, whether any be greater therein then an ordinarie

ordinarie presbyter: For *Hierome* seemeth to haue bene of opinion, that the highest power of consecration or order is the power of a priest or elder; so that euerie priest in respect of his priestly power, may minister all Sacraments, confirme the baptized, giue all orders, all blessings and consecrations; but that for the auoiding of the peril of schisme, it was ordained that one should be chosen, who should be named a Byshop, to whom the rest should obey, & to whom it was reserued to giue orders, & to do some such other things, as none but Bishops do. And afterwards he saith, that *Hierome* is clearly of this opinion; not making the distinction of Bishops from presbyters, a meere humane inuention, or a thing not necessarie, as *Aërius* did; but thinking that amongst them who are equall in the power of order, and equally enabled to do any sacred act, the Apostles (for the auoiding of schisme and confusion, and the preseruation of vnitie, peace, and order) ordained, that in each church one should be before and aboue the rest, without whom the rest should do nothing, and to whom some things should be peculiarly reserued, as the dedicating of churches, reconciling of penitents, confirming of the baptized, and the ordination of such as are to serue in the worke of the Ministerie; Of which the three former were reserued to the Bishop alone, *Potiùs ad honorem Sacerdotij, quàm ad legis necessitatem*; that is, rather to honour his priestly and Bishoply place, then for that these things at all may not be done by any other. And therefore we reade, that at some times, and in some cases of necessitie [t] Presbyters did reconcile penitents, & by imposition of hands confirme the baptized: But the ordaining of men to serue in the worke of the Ministerie, is more properly reserued to them. For seeing none are to be ordained at randome, but to serue in some church, and none haue churches but Bishops; all other being but assistants to them in their churches: none may ordaine but they onely, vnlesse it be in cases of extreme necessitie, as when all Bishops are extinguished by death, or fallen into heresie, obstinately refuse to ordaine men to preach the Gospell of Christ sincerely. And then as the care and charge of the church is deuolued to the Presbyters remaining catholique; so likewise the ordaining of men to assist them, and succeed them in the worke of the Ministerie.

[t] *Ambros. in 4. ad Ephes.*

But hereof I haue spoken at large elsewhere. Wherefore to conclude this point, we see that the best learned amongst the Schoolemen are of opinion, that Bishops are not greater then Presbyters in the power of consecration or order, but onely in the exercise of it, and in the power of Iurisdiction; with whom [u] *Stapleton* seemeth to agree, saying expressely, that *Quoad ordinem Sacerdotalem, & ea quæ sunt ordinis*; that is, In respect of Sacerdotall order, and the things that pertaine to order, they are equall, and that therefore in all administration of Sacraments which depend of order, they are all equall *potestate*, though not *exercitio*; that is, in power, though not in the execution of things to be done by

[u] *Relect. contro. 2. quæst. 3. art. 3.*

by vertue of that power: whence it will follow, that ordination being a kind of Sacrament, and ſo depending of the power of order, in the iudgement of our Aduerſaries might be miniſtred by Presbyters, but that for the auoiding of ſuch horrible confuſions, ſcandals, and ſchiſmes, as would follow vpon ſuch promiſcuous ordinations, they are reſtrained by the decree of the Apoſtles; and none permitted to do any ſuch thing, except it be in caſe of extreme neceſſitie, but Biſhops, who haue the power of order in common together with Presbyters, but yet ſo, as that they excell them in the execution of things to be done by vertue of that power, and in the power of Iuriſdiction alſo.

x *Lib. 1. de Clerich, cap. 14.*

But x *Bellarmine* ſaith, the Catholique Church acknowledgeth, and teacheth, that the degree of Biſhops is greater then that of Presbyters by Gods Law, as well in the power of order as Iuriſdiction: and addeth, that the Schoolemen vpon the fourth of the *Sentences* defend the ſame, and *Thomas* in his *Summe*; which yet y elſewhere he confeſſeth to be vntrue.

y *De Sacram. Ord. lib. 1. cap. 5.*

This his opinion he endeauoreth to confirme, becauſe none but Biſhops do ordaine; and if they do, their ordinations are iudged voide; which they could not be by the Churches prohibition, or decree of the Apoſtles, if they were equall in the power of order to Biſhops.

z Booke 3. Chap. 39.

Hereunto I haue anſwered z elſewhere, ſhewing that ordinations at large, or *ſine titulo*, and ordinations in another mans charge by Biſhops, who by the character of their order may ordaine, are likewiſe pronounced to be voide by the ancient canons; and that therefore the prohibition of the church and decree of the Apoſtles for the auoiding of confuſion and ſchiſme, reſeruing the honour of ordaining to Biſhops onely (vnleſſe it were in the caſe of extreme neceſſitie) might make the ordinations of all other to be voide, though equall with them in the power of order.

Chap. 28.

Of the diuiſion of the leſſer Titles, and ſmaller Congregations of Churches, out of thoſe Churches of ſo large extent founded, and conſtituted by the Apoſtles.

HItherto we haue ſeene how the Apoſtles deuiding the Churches in ſuch ſort that a whole citie and the places adioyning made but one Church, ſet ouer the ſame one Biſhop, as Paſtour of the place, and diuerſe Presbyters, as aſſiſtants vnto him: But in proceſſe of time, we ſhall find certaine portions of theſe greater flockes of Chriſt, and Churches of God to haue bene deuided out and diſtinctly aſſigned to ſeuerall Presbyters, that were to take the care and charge thereof, yet with limitations and reſeruations of ſundrie preëmi-

preëminences to the Biſhop as remaining ſtill Paſtour of thoſe ſmaller particular congregations, though in a ſort deuided and diſtinguiſhed from that greater church, wherein he ſpecially made his abode. [a] Two words we find in Antiquitie vſed to expreſſe the flockes of Chriſt, and churches of God thus deuided for more conuenience, and yet ſtill depending on the care of one Paſtour or Biſhop, παροικία, and διοίκησις, that is, pariſh and Dioceſe; The former contained the citizens, and all ſuch borderers, as dwelt neare and repaired to any chiefe church or citie, though now we vſe the word Pariſh to ſignifie another thing; namely, ſome particular, ſmaller and leſſe congregation deuided out from the Mother-church; the later which is Dioceſe, both then and now importeth the villages and churches diſperſed in diuerſe places vnder the regiment of one Biſhop.

a See D. *Bilſon* perpet. gouern. Chap. 11. *Euſeb. lib.* 4. *ca.* 4. 5. 15. 19. & 23.

The firſt that began thus to deuide out ſmaller churches and congregations out of thoſe great ones firſt founded, and to aſſigne Presbyters diſtinctly to take care of them, was [b] *Euariſtus* Biſhop of *Rome*, whoſe example others did follow in all parts of the world. Theſe parts of Gods church thus deuided, and aſſigned to the care of ſeuerall Presbyters, were called *Tituli*, that is, Titles, becauſe God was entituled vnto them, and did ſpecially claime them as the lot of his inheritance. Theſe Titles, or ſmaller churches and congregations were of diuerſe ſorts; for ſome were more principall, wherein baptiſme might be miniſtred, and the like things performed, which were thereupon named Baptiſmall churches; and in reſpect of meaner in time growing out of them and depending of them, Mother churches alſo: Other there were not hauing ſo great liberties.

b *Platina de vitis Pontif. in Euariſto.*

[c] To ſuch of theſe Churches as he pleaſed, the Biſhop himſelfe went and preached, one day in one of them, and another in another, carrying great companies with him, and drawing great multitudes to him; which ſolemne aſſemblies and meetings were named ſtations, from their ſtanding at prayers vſed in thoſe times; and were like the mightie armies of God keeping their watches, and ſtanding readie to encounter their furious and dangerous enemies.

c *Onuphr. in libello de ſtationib. vrbis Romæ.*

In this ſort *Gregorie* the Great went and preached in ſuch churches in *Rome*, as he thought fit, whoſe Homilies and Sermons then preached are yet extant, with the names of the particular churches or places where they were preached, which were thereupon named churches of ſtation; though now in another ſenſe they call thoſe churches of ſtation, whither men out of deuotion reſorting to viſite Reliques and Monuments, are made partakers of ample Indulgences and pardons, for dayes, yeares, nay hundreds, and thouſands of yeares.

In thoſe times when the auncient Biſhops of *Rome* were wont to go to the churches of ſtation, becauſe all churches had not their Quire and Miniſters

niſters fit to performe the ſeruice of God with that ſolemnitie that was wiſhed, there were ſome ſpecially appointed for this purpoſe, that they might attend the Biſhop, and go with him in the dayes of ſtation, that ſo nothing might be wanting to all ioyfull ſolemnitie and diuine exultation.

d Bella. de Clericis lib. 1. cap. 16.

[d] Thoſe principall titles or pariſh churches, as now we vſe to ſpeake, that enioyed the greateſt liberties and priuiledges, were called Cardinall Titles, or churches; and thoſe Presbyters that attended the ſeruice of God in thoſe principall or Cardinall churches, were called Cardinall Presbyters; and in proceſſe of time ſome amongſt the Deacons alſo, Cardinall Deacons; and amongſt the Biſhops of *Italie*, certaine Biſhops were named Cardinall Biſhops.

e De Sacris Eccleſ. miniſt. lib. 1. cap. 13.

Neither were theſe Cardinall Presbyters onely in the church of *Rome*, but in other churches alſo, as [e] *Duarenus* ſheweth; whence it is that we reade in the councell of [f] *Melden*, that the Biſhop muſt canonically order the Cardinall Titles in the cities or ſuburbes; and that we reade in [g] *Ioannes Diaconus*, that *Gregorie* called backe the Cardinals violently ordained in the pariſhes abroad, into their auncient title againe. [h] *Onuphrius* a great Antiquarie, giueth another reaſon of the name of Cardinall, ſuppoſing that they were called Cardinall prieſts and deacons in each church, which were ouer all the other prieſts and deacons of the ſame; for that they were chiefe prieſts and deacons, and of more principall eſteeme then the reſt.

f Canone 54.

g In vita Greg. lib. 3. cap. 11.

h Onuphr. lib. de Epiſc. tit & Diaconijs Cardinal.

i Bella. vbi ſupra.

But this conceipt of his, [i] *Bellarmine* refuteth, for that there were ſometimes many Cardinals in the ſame title, as appeareth by Saint *Gregorie* in his Epiſtles. So that it ſeemeth more probable, that Cardinals are ſo named from the titles and churches which are Cardinall & chiefe churches, enioying greater liberties and priuiledges then others, then for that they are Cardinall or chiefe amongſt the Prieſts of thoſe their churches and titles.

But whatſoeuer was the reaſon that they were named Cardinals, which perhaps cannot now certainely be knowne; it is ſtrange to ſee from how meane beginnings they haue growne ſo great in ſtate and dignitie, as therein to match and equall the greateſt Princes of the world. That at firſt they were but pariſh prieſts of *Rome* (beſides that it is confeſſed by all) it is moſt euident, for that yet ſtill in this their greatneſſe, they are ſtiled but Cardinall prieſts of ſuch a title or pariſh church in *Rome*; and that for a long time there was no more reſpect had to one Presbyter then another, but all equally intereſſed in the gouernment of the church were indifferently called to the election of the Biſhop, and his conſultations, it is moſt cleare and euident. Whereupon [k] *Cyprian* writing to the clergie of *Rome*, writeth not to the Cardinals onely, but to all the prieſts and deacons of the church of *Rome*.

k Cyprian lib. 3. Epiſt. 5. & 11.

In the time of *Gregorie* the Great, it may ſeeme that all the Presbyters were

were not called to the consultations of the Bishop, but Cardinall Presbyters onely: For[l] onely foure and thirtie were present at the Synode holden by him, and mentioned in his epistles; whereas no doubt in his time there were many more Presbyters of that great and large church, seeing there were sixe and fortie in the dayes of *Cornelius* in the time of persecution, when the greatest part of the citie remained yet still in infidelitie, and heathenish superstition.

l *Greg. lib. 4. Registri. cap. 88.*

But whether all the Presbyters of the church of *Rome*, or onely some certaine were called to the consultations of the Bishop in *Gregories* time, it is certaine that all the clergie had interest in the choice, and election of the Bishop.

But afterwards in processe of time, the Cardinals onely had interest in the election of their Bishop, and they and no other were admitted to sit in councell with the Bishop, all other Presbyters being excluded. By which meanes the dignitie of these Cardinals was greatly encreased. So that whereas before, all Bishops were preferred before those Cardinals that were not Bishops, and to be a Cardinall was but a step to the degree of a Bishop, as *Onuphrius* in his booke of Cardinals sheweth, and as is collected out of the first booke and seuenth chapter of the life of *Gregorie*; afterwards, this order was chaunged, and the dignitie of a Bishop was made but a step to the degree and honour of a Cardinall.

Neither did they onely exclude the rest of the clergie of the church of *Rome* from the election of their Bishop, and from sitting in councell with him; but whereas from the yeare three hundreth, to the yeare eight hundreth after Christ, for the determining of all weightie matters concerning the Church, the Bishops of *Italie* were conuocated to nationall Synodes, as it appeareth by the Tomes of the councels, they excluded them also: so that the managing of the weightie affaires of the church was wholly referred to these Cardinals, the other being no longer called according to the old manner; though yet still they take an oath yearely to visite the Apostolicall thresholds, and to present themselues vnto the *Romane* Bishop their Metropolitane, as they were wont to do, when being called by him to nationall Synodes they were bound to make their repaire to *Rome*.

Of this change[m] Cardinall *Cusanus* speaketh, shewing that in his opinion the first step to the due reformation of the church were the chusing of these Cardinals out of those seuerall churches, which were heretofore interessed in the deliberations of the *Romane* Bishop, and the making of them to be but agents and procurators for them, and in their names, till such time as the Bishops might bee conuocated againe to nationall Synodes, as in former times they were wont to be. From hence, saith[n] *Duarenus*, we may easily gather the same that the Interpreter of the decrees somewhere writeth, that howsoeuer in time, and by

m *De concordan. Cathol lib. 2 cap. 18. citat. dist. 93. cap. 4.*

n *De sacris Eccles. ministeriis lib. 1. cap. 13.*

by ſpoiling other of their right, the Cardinals of the Church of *Rome* are growne exceeding great, yet in truth and indeed euery Biſhop of what citie ſoeuer, is of greater dignitie then any Cardinall, Prieſt, or Deacon of the *Romiſh* Church: which thing, ſaith *Duarenus*, if any man ſhould doubt of, might eaſily be confirmed by the authoritie of S. *Auguſtine*, in a certaine epiſtle to Saint *Hierome* prieſt of the *Romane* church, where he ſaith expreſſely: *Quanquam ſecundùm vocabula, quæ vſus obtinuit, Epiſcopatus ſit Presbyterio maior; Auguſtinus tamen Hieronymo minor eſt*; that is, Although according to the titles which now are in vſe, it is a more honorable thing to be a Biſhop, then a Presbyter; yet *Auguſtine* is leſſe then *Hierome*. His meaning is, in merite, and perſonall worth: for otherwiſe, that there is no other reaſon of Prieſts, and Deacons of the church of *Rome*, then of any other citie, in reſpect whereof *Hierome* as Prieſt of *Rome*, might be greater then *Auguſtine* being Biſhop of little *Hippo* in *Africa*, *Hierome* himſelfe demonſtrateth at large in his Epiſtle to *Euagrius*. But this proofe of *Duarenus* perhaps will be found too weake, becauſe it is greatly doubted by ſome of excellent learning, whether *Hierome* were a Prieſt of the church of *Rome* or not.

Surely in his [n] Epiſtle againſt *Iohn* of *Hieruſalem*, he termeth himſelfe a Prieſt of the church of *Antioche*, and not of *Rome*: So that it may be probably thought, that howſoeuer for a time he were in *Rome*, and did [o] helpe *Damaſus* the Biſhop in certaine writings, matters of learning, and reſolution of doubts, yet he neuer had any title or charge in the *Romane* church. [p] *Bellarmine* taketh great exception to *Caluine*, for ſaying that *Hierome* was Prieſt of the *Romiſh* church; which if he had beene well aduiſed, he ſhould not haue done (howſoeuer perhaps *Caluine* were deceiued in that point) not onely becauſe many of his owne friends haue erred with *Caluine* in this point, if it be an errour, but becauſe they haue for a long time in their churches and all other places, painted him in his ſcarlet robes, and * red hat, like a Cardinall.

And howſoeuer *Bellarmine* perhaps wil not be much moued with theſe paintings, yet *Campian* a great champion of the *Romane* church bringeth the painted glaſſe windowes of their churches as pregnant witneſſes againſt vs, which we may not except againſt; and *teſtes fenèſtræ* are not the meaneſt of thoſe witneſſes, which in his *Omne genus teſtium* (wherein he maketh a ſearch in heauen, and raketh hell, to ſee who will ſpeake for him, and depoſe againſt vs) he produceth, and bringeth to the barre.

But to leaue this proofe of the dignitie of Biſhops brought by *Duarenus* as vncertaine, it is moſt certaine, which the ſame *Duarenus* hath, that Cardinals of the church of *Rome* in auncient time were not matchable in honour and dignitie with the meaneſt Biſhop in the world; that they were but pariſh Prieſts and Deacons of the church of *Rome*, and bound by all canons to be reſident in their pariſhes and titles, as all other Prieſts, and

n *Epiſt. 61. ad Pammachium de errorib. Ioannis Hieroſolymitani.*

o *Hierony. Epiſt. ad Gerontiam de Monogamiâ.*

p *De Clericis lib. 1. cap. 16*

* *Innocent. 4. in Concilio Lugduni habito plures Cardinales creauit. Primuſq; fuit qui Cardinalitiã dignitatem rubeo pileo adauxit, ea intentione vt admonerẽtur, teſte Martino Polono, ſe ſemper paratos eſſe debere ſanguinẽ pro Chriſtiana religione profundere, præſertim eo tempore quo Romana Eccleſia â Friderico 2 quondam Imperatore vehementer oppugnabatur. Bin. Conc. tom. 3. part. 2. pag 148. in vita Innocentij. 4.*

deacons are; & that they can no way iuſtify their poſſeſſing of Biſhopricks, being no Biſhops, but Presbyters, and Deacons onely. What hauocke and ſpoile theſe pariſh Prieſts haue made throughout the whole Chriſtian world, ſince they came to that greatneſſe they are now at, by ſeazing into their hands the richeſt Abbeys, Biſhopricks, and Arch-biſhoprickes by vertue of the Popes prouiſions, not contenting themſelues with one or two, but getting vnto themſelues ſo great a number of the greateſt dignities and Church-liuings, as is incredible, [q] all ſtories report, and the woefull experience of all Chriſtendome, doth ſufficiently teſtifie. If any man deſire to ſee how the Pope as a wilde Boare hath laid waſt the Vineyard of the Lord in former times, ſpoiling the Church and people of God for the enriching of theſe his Cardinals, that ſo they might be equall in ſtate and magnificence to the Princes & Potentates of the world, let him reade that which [r] Doctor *Reynolds* in his moſt learned and worthy Conference hath collected & gathered out of moſt authentical records, touching theſe *Romiſh* practiſes, to the euerlaſting ſhame and ignominie of the Court of *Rome*; which long ſince for the intollerable and inſatiable couetouſneſſe thereof, [ſ] *Groſtead* the renowned Biſhp of *Lincolne* fitly compared vnto that *Behemoth*, that thinketh he can drinke vp the whole riuer of *Iordan*; & ſaith, that among other the praiſes of the *Romiſh* Court, theſe two are not the leaſt, that *Eius auaritia totus non ſufficit orbis; Eius luxuria meretrix non ſufficit omnis:* that is; That the Courtiers of the Court of *Rome* are ſo inſatiable in couetouſneſſe, that a whole world of wealth is not ſufficient to ſatisfie their greedy deſires; and ſo impure in their filthy luſts, that all the ſtews in the world are not able to giue them content.

q *Nicholaus Clemangis de corrupto Eccleſiæ ſtatu.*

r Confer. with Hart. Chap. 7. diuiſion 6. pag. 384. 385. &c

ſ *Matth. Pariſien. in Henrico 3.* pag. 848.

Chap. 29.

Of Chorepiſcopi, *or Rurall Biſhops, forbidden by old Canons to encroach vpon the Epiſcopall office: and of the inſtitution and neceſſary vſe of Arch-presbyters, or Deanes.*

FOR the more eaſie gouerning of their churches, in number many, and in place farre diſtant one from another, ſome of the Biſhops in ancient times communicated part of their authority to ſome principall men, which in places farre remote from them ſupplied their abſence, & performed ſome things pertaining to them. Theſe were called *Chorepiſcopi*, either for that they were χωρεπίσκοποι; that is, rurall Biſhops; or elſe for that they were in ſteed of the Biſhops, and in many things ſupplied their places, and did their duties. The firſt inſtitution of theſe, as it appeareth by the Councell of [a] *Neocæſarea*, and [b] *Damaſus* in his Epiſtle written concerning theſe Rurall Biſhops, was ſpecially, that they might be aſſiſtant to the Biſhop in receiuing

a *Canone* 13.

b *Damaſ. Epiſt.* 5

ning ſuch contributions, oblations, and ſet rents, as were for the maintenance of the Biſhop, and his Clergie, the relieſe of the poore and needy, and the entertainement of ſtrangers; as alſo in taking care of the poore, & prouiding for them out of the cõmon treaſury, the Biſhop himſelfe being farre off. Afterwards, in proceſſe of time there were ſome Biſhops, that put ouer vnto theſe the care, execution, and performance of ſuch things as properly pertained to themſelues, that they might take their eaſe, and attend their owne priuate affaires; like harlots, that put out their children to be nourſed by others, that themſelues in the meane while may ſatisfie their luſts, as a great [c] Biſhop, not without ſome bitterneſſe, ſpeaketh: whence it came, that theſe *Chorepiſcopi* waxed proud and inſolent, and in the end being but Presbyters, preſumed to ordaine Prieſts & Deacons, and to do ſuch things, as none but Biſhops ought to do: whereupon they were cõtrolled by the learned Biſhops that liued in thoſe times, and the Councels holden by them. *Damaſus* ſo farre diſliketh their preſumption in ordaining Prieſts and Deacons, that he will not haue them to ordaine Sub-deacons, or inferiour clearkes. The Councels of [d] *Ancyra*, and [e] *Hiſpalis*, [f] *Leo* the Great, and [g] *Iohn* the third, forbid them the ordaining of Prieſts and Deacons, mentioning not the other inferior clearkes. The Councell of [h] *Antioche* ſaith, the rurall Biſhops that haue receiued impoſition of hands of Biſhops, and haue bene ordained as Biſhops, may ordaine Sub-deacons, and other inferiour clearkes; but Prieſts or Deacons without the Biſhop of the citie, or as ſome reade it, without the priuitie of the Biſhop of the citie, they may not: thereby inſinuating that with his conſent they may. Out of which Councell [i] *Bellarmine* collecteth two things: The firſt, that in the primitiue Church there were two ſorts of *Chorepiſcopi* or rurall Biſhops, whereof the former had Epiſcopall ordinatiõ; that is, were ordained of three Biſhops like the Suffragan Biſhops of our time: the later were but Presbyters: The ſecond, that the Councell appointing the rurall Biſhop to be ordained by the Biſhop of the city, meant to forbid that there ſhould be any more ſuch rurall Biſhops as haue Epiſcopall ordination, wherunto the concurrence of three Biſhops at the leaſt is required: and thereupon he thinketh, the Councell of *Antioch* permitting rurall Biſhops to ordaine Subdeacons, and the Decretall of *Damaſus* forbidding them ſo to do, may be reconciled; for that the Councell permitting the ordination of Sub-deacons to rurall Biſhops, ſpeaketh of ſuch as were ordained of three Biſhops; and the Decretall of *Damaſus* forbidding them to meddle in ſuch ordination, of ſuch as were but meere Presbyters. But whoſoeuer ſhall take a view of the [k] Decretall epiſtle of *Damaſus*, ſhall find that he condemneth the intermedling of any rurall Biſhops whatſoeuer in ordination, and ſhutteth them out of the church, as men that neither haue, nor can haue any place in the ſame. What is *Chorepiſcopus*, ſaith *Damaſus*, but a country Biſhop? & if he be a country Biſhop, what

c *Damaſus ibid.*

d *Canone* 12.
e *Hiſpalenſ.* 2. *Canone* 7.
f *Epiſt.* 86. & 88.
g *In epiſt. ad Epiſcop. Germaniæ & Gallia.*
h *Canone* 10.

i *De Clericis, lib.* 1. *cap.* 14.

k *Epiſt. ſuprà cit.* 1.

what doth he in the city? the canon altogether forbidding, that there ſhold be two Biſhops in one city. If he be not in the city, but in ſome countrey village, and in ſuch place where there neuer was any Biſhop before (the canō forbidding Biſhops to be ordained in meane cities, villages or forts, or in any places whatſoeuer where Biſhops haue not bin placed in former times, leſt the authority, & name of Biſhops grow into contempt) what I pray you ſhall he be? For behold, neither doth the place agree with his ordination, nor his ordination with the place; becauſe, if ſuch rurall Biſhops haue receiued the impoſition of the hands of many Biſhops, & haue bene ordained as Biſhops, they ſhould not haue bene conſecrated in a country village, ſuch as the Greek word χωρεπισκοπος importeth, the canon forbidding Biſhops to be placed in villages, ſmall forts, or little cities. Giue me therfore a reaſon, ſaith he, I pray you, of the conſtituting of theſe men; or if you cannot, as I know you cannot, lay your hand on your mouth, & aſſure your ſelues, that they haue no place nor authority in the church of God, diuerſe things making void their ordination, & whatſoeuer thing they attempt to do by vertue of ſuch ordination: Whereof the firſt is, for that they are wont to be ordained by one Biſhop, wherein their ordination is againſt the canons concerning Biſhops, which wil haue Biſhops ordained by the impoſitiō of the hands of three Biſhops at the leaſt. The ſecond, for that if they be ordained by many Biſhops, yet they are placed in ſome village, litle fort, or ſmall city; or at leaſt in ſome ſuch place where lawfully Biſhops may not be ordained, or formerly haue not bin, & where the authority, & name of a Biſhop wil grow into contempt; or if they be placed in a city, they are placed there with another Biſhop, whereas the canons permit not two Biſhops in one city. The third is, for that if they haue bene ordained large, & neither placed in city, nor coūtry village, as it hath bin reported vnto vs of ſome, their ordination is void, becauſe the canons do voide all ordinations at large: ſo that which way ſoeuer we turne vs, we ſhal find that theſe men neither haue, nor can haue any Epiſcopal authority or place. This is the reſolution of this great *Romane* Biſhop, who wholly reiecteth this kind of rural Biſhops, & wil not haue them at all to intermeddle in any thing peculiarly pertaining to the Epiſcopall office. But ſome man wil ſay, May not a Biſhop when he is growne aged, infirme, & vnable to ſuſtaine & beare the weight of that great office, haue a *Coadiutor* or aſſiſtant? Surely, there is no doubt but he may haue one ioyned vnto him to beare part of his burthen; but that that other ſhould haue Epiſcopal ordination, the Canons permit not: wherupon S. *Auguſtine* now aged, & diſtracted with multiplicity of manifold buſineſſes concerning the ſtate of the whole Church, deſirous with the conſent of his Clergy & people to haue *Eradius* a Preſbyter of his church ioined vnto him as a *Coadiutor* while he liued, & deſigned to ſucceed him after his death, wold by no means haue him ordained a Biſhop, but to cōtinue a Presbyter ſtil, though himſelfe had bin ordained a

Biſhop, while *Valerius* yet liued. His words are theſe; [l] *Adhuc in corpore poſito beatæ memoriæ Patre & Epiſcopo meo Valerio, Epiſcopus ordinatus ſum, & ſedi cum illo; quod Concilio Niceno prohibitum fuiſſe neſciebam, nec ipſe ſciebat. Quod ergo reprehenſum eſt in me, nolo reprehendi in filio meo: erit Presbyter, vt eſt; quando Deus voluerit, futurus Epiſcopus. Obſecro vos & obſtringo per Chriſtum, vt huic Iuueni, huic Presbytero Eradio, quem hodie in Chriſti nomine deſigno Epiſcopum ſucceſſorem mihi, patiamini refundere onera occupationum mearum, &c.* that is, While my Father and Biſhop *Valerius* of happie memorie yet liued, I was ordained a Biſhop, and ſate together with him, which I knew not to haue bene forbidden in the *Nicene* Councell, neither did he know it. What therefore was diſliked in me, I will not haue to be blamed in my ſonne. He ſhall continue a Presbyter as he is, and when God will, ſhall be a Biſhop. I beſeech you, and earneſtly entreate you for Chriſts ſake, that you will giue me leaue, in ſome ſort to eaſe my ſelfe, and to caſt the burthen of my employments vpon the ſhoulders of this yong man, this Presbyter *Eradius*, whom this day in the name of Chriſt, I appoint and deſigne the Biſhop that ſhall ſucceede me. My counſell ſhall not be wanting to him, neither will I faile to ſupplie what ſhall be any way defectiue or wanting in him.

l *Auguſt. epiſt. 110.*

Thus we ſee, a *Coadiutor* was allowed, but yet ſuch a one as ſhould be but a Presbyter; and therfore long after the time of *Auguſtine*, when [m] *Zacharias* Biſhop of *Rome* aſſociated another Biſhop, as a *Coadiutor*, to *Bonifacius* the Biſhop of *Mentz*, he confeſſed it to be a thing that was forbidden, and worthie reprehenſion; but that vpon his importunitie, of ſpeciall fauour, he had yeelded ſo much vnto him, that he might haue ſuch a *Coadiutor*, whom with the aduice of his brethren he might appoint to ſucceed him when he ſhould die.

m *Naucler. vol. 2. generat. 36. pag. 667. Decreti part. 2. cauſa. 7. queſt. 1. cap. Petiſti.*

But notwithſtanding the canons forbidding any ſuch thing to be done, and the diſlike of many the greateſt Biſhops of the world; yet in the later ages of the Church, the Biſhops giuing themſelues to eaſe, or attending ſecular buſineſſes, and greatly neglecting their Epiſcopall function, againe reduced into the Church theſe rurall Biſhops, whom they named Suffraganes. To theſe they committed the doing of ſuch things, as are moſt proper vnto Biſhops, as ordination and confirmation, but kept the power of Iuriſdiction to themſelues, or gaue it to ſome other, and not to theſe: contrarie to the example of S. *Auguſtine*, that put ouer to *Eradius* the hearing of cauſes, and the performing of things pertaining to Iuriſdiction, himſelfe onely directing and ouerſeeing him, but held ſtill himſelfe that which is moſt properly Epiſcopall. Such Biſhops [n] *Melchior Canus* entreating of Councels, and the perſons whereof Councels conſiſt, ſaith, they are ſo farre from hauing anie place or voyce in Councels, that they neither haue, nor ought to haue anie place in the Church at all.

n *Loc. Theolog. lib. 5. cap. 2.*

¶ The Biſhops he ſpeaketh of, he calleth annular Biſhops, haply for that whereas full Biſhops had both ſtaffe and ring, expreſſing their Iuriſdiction as well as their eſpouſing to the Church, theſe had the ring onely.

But

But whatsoeuer we thinke of these, the Bishops in former times for the better gouerning of their churches, chose out certaine of their Presbyters to assist them in the superuision and direction of the rest, whom they first named Arch-presbyters, and afterwards Deanes. The name of *Decanus* or Deane being first vsed, to note out such a Prefect or Gouernour of Monkes, as had the rule of ten Monkes liuing together in common: And in this sence the name of a Deane is found in [o] Saint *Augustine*. The Arch-presbyters, which Bishops anciently appointed to assist them, were of two sorts, [p] *Vrbani* and *Vicani*, that is, such as liued in the great Church in the City, and such as liued abroad in the country, and were thereupon named Rurall Arch-presbyters, or Rurall Deanes.

o *August. de moribus Eccles. cathol.* 1.

p *Duarenus de sacris Eccles. ministr. lib.* 1. *cap.* 8.

Touching the former, who liued in the great church in the citie, because the Bishop alone either in respect of absence, or employments, could not execute all things that pertained to the seruice belonging to his place, nor giue particular direction to euery other what he should doe, they were chosen out of the whole number of Presbyters, partly to execute and performe what the Bishop in his owne person should haue done, and partly to prescribe to others what they should doe. The Rurall Arch-presbyters had the ouersight and direction of the Presbyters, that were placed in the lesser Titles, or meaner churches, abroad in the country.

Concerning these we find it thus decreed, [q] *Vt singulæ plebes Archipresbyterum habeant, qui non solùm imperiti vulgi sollicitudinem gerat, sed etiam Presbyterorum qui per minores Titulos habitant, vitam iugi circumspectione custodiant, quâ quisq; industriâ diuinum opus exerceat, Episcopo enunciet: nec contendat Episcopus non egere plebem Archipresbytero, quasi ipse eam gubernare valeat; quia etsi valde idoneus sit, decet tamen vt sua onera partiatur, vt sicut ipse matrici Ecclesiæ præest, ita Archipresbyteri præsint plebibus, vt in nullo titubet Ecclesiastica sollicitudo; cuncta tamen referant ad Episcopum, nec aliquid contra eius decretum ordinare præsumant*; that is. That each diuision of the people of God in their seuerall limits haue their Arch-presbyter, who may not onely take care of the rude and ignorant multitude, but may also with continual circumspection obserue & looke vnto the life & conuersation of the Presbyters, which dwell in the lesser Titles, and shew vnto the Bishop with what diligence each of them performeth the worke of God. Neither let the Bishop contend and say, that the people committed to his charge need no Arch-presbyter, as if he himselfe were able sufficiently to gouerne the same, because, though he be exceeding worthy, yet it is fit he should deuide his burthens, that as he is ouer the Mother church, so the Arch-presbyters may be ouer the people abroad, that the Ecclesiasticall care stagger not, or be not too weake in any thing. Yet notwithstanding let them referre all things to the Bishop, neither let them presume to order any thing against his liking and decree.

q Decret. Greg. 9. ex Synod. habit. Rauenna, lib. 1. Tit. 25.

These rurall Arch-presbyters were to be chosen by the clergie, and confirmed by the Bishop, and being so placed, might not be remoued without the consent of the clergie. [r] *Archipresbyterum*, saith the second Councell of *Turone*, *sine omnium Presbyterorum consensu de loco deijcere Episcopus non presumat: quem autem negligentia eijcit, cum omnium Presbyterorum consilio refutetur*: that is, Let not the Bishop presume to remoue or put an Arch-presbyter from his place, without the consent of all the Presbyters: but when the negligence of any one of these maketh him worthy to be ejected and put out, let him be reiected with the counsell and aduice of all the Presbyters. Touching the power and authoritie of these Arch-presbyters; first they were to admonish such as they saw to liue scandalously, or any way to offend, as well Lay-men as clergie-men; and the Councell of [s] *Antisiodorum* decreeth, that if any lay or secular man shall contemne and despise the information and admonition of the Arch-presbyter, he shall be kept from entring or setting his feete within the thresholds of the holy church, till he shall submit himselfe to the wholesome information and admonition: Secondly, [t] they were twise in the yeare to visite all the churches within the limits subiect to them, to see what was there amisse, defectiue, or weake, that so they might either reforme, supplie, or strengthen & confirme the same: Thirdly, [u] they were to receiue warrants from the Bishop or his substitute, and by vertue thereof to cite all such to make their appearance before the chiefe Pastour or Bishop, as were vpon any occasion to be conuented before him: and this their citation of such parties to be conuented, vnder the seale of their office they were to certifie the Bishop of. Fourthly, [x] they were to hold Chapiters in a set course foure times in the yeare, and at other times as often as vrgent occasions should require; and all [y] parish Ministers within a yeare after their being possessed of their liuings were to sweare to the Deane, and so to be admitted as brethren to sit in Chapiter with him, and to be bound to come to the yearely Chapiters, and otherwise also when as vpon vrgent cause the Deane should call a Chapiter; and to beare part of the charge. This oath which the Ministers were to take before they were admitted to sit in Chapiter, was not simple, but with this limitation, *Saluis iuribus Capituli*; that is, No way to preiudice the rights of the Chapiter. In these Chapiters the Arch-presbyters, were to publish the decrees of prouinciall, & Episcopall Synodes, excluding lay-men at such times as they published things precisely concerning the clergie, which otherwise might be present at the publication of things generally concerning all. Neither were they only to publish such decrees in their Chapiter, but to vrge the execution of the same, to take notice of all places of ministery void, vpon what occasion, and by whose fault they continued void; of all intrusion into places of ministery, & of the inuestiture of all such as newly entred into the charge of ministery, & the authoritie by which substitutes supply

[r] *Concil. Turonens. 2. Canone 7.*

[s] *Canone 44.*

[t] *Synod. August.*

[u] *Linwood. lib. 2. de Iudicijs, fol. 45*

[x] *Idem, lib. 1. de Constitutionib.*

[y] *Synod. Trebivens. de Decanis Christianitatis.*

ſupply the places of other men. And beſides they were to admoniſh ſuch as either by their viſitation or other information they found to be faultie: And if by other good meanes they could not win them, to [z] ſuſpend laymen frō the ſacraments, & clergy-men from the execution of their offices, but farther they might not go. But in caſe of obſtinat cōtinuance of diſordred perſons in their miſdemeanors notwithſtanding theſe proceedings, they were to cōplain to the biſhop if the matter required haſt, or otherwiſe to the next Epiſcopall Synode. For the Biſhop in each dioceſe hauing certaine thus appointed to aſſiſt and helpe him in the ſuperuiſion of the reſt, as wel of the clergie as the people, was once in the yeare to hold a Synode with the chiefe of his Prelates, Deanes rurall, and other worthy men. [a] *Annis ſingulis* (ſaith *Gratian*) *Epiſcopus in ſua Dioceſi Synodum faciat de ſuis Clericis & Abbatibus, & diſcutiat alteros Clericos, & Monachos*; that is, Let the Biſhop euery yeare hold a Synode in his Dioceſe of his clerkes & abbots; and let him therein diſcuſſe and examine the learning, conuerſation, and behauiour of other clerkes and monkes. The Synode of *Coleine* vnder *Adolphus* confirmed by *Charles* the fifth, appointed this Dioceſane Synode to be holden twiſe euerie yeare, according to the old manner & cuſtome. And the Synode of *Coleine* vnder *Hermannus* ordaineth, that the Biſhop or his Officiall generall with the Prelates of the Metropoliticall, Cathedrall, and Collegiate churches, eſpecially the Arch-deacons, and Deanes rurall, who in ſome part are taken into the fellowſhip of the Biſhops cares, ſhal enquire into things out of order; and what he ſhall find by their iudgement to need reformation, he ſhall with their aduice amend and reforme. The like doth [b] *Laurentius* the Popes Legate decree and ordaine. Yea the Councell of [c] *Trent* confirmeth the ſame alſo; and the Councell of *Coleine* vnder *Adolphus* taketh order, that Deanes of colledges comming to the Epiſcopal Synode in the name of their colledges, and rurall Deanes in the name of the pariſh miniſters within their diuiſions, ſhall haue their charges borne by ſuch their colledges and miniſters, according to the number of dayes the Synode endureth, ſeeing they goe on warfare for God. The forme of holding a Dioceſane Synode *Iouerius* out of *Burchardus* deſcribeth in this ſort. [d] At a conuenient hower when it ſeemeth good to the Biſhop or his vicegerent, all other dores being locked, let the Oſtiaries ſtand at that, by which the Presbyters are to enter, & coming together let them go in & ſit according to their ordination: after theſe the approued Deacons, which order ſhall require to be preſent; let ſome lay-men alſo of good conuerſation be brought in, & then let the Biſhop or his ſubſtitute enter; who entring into the Synode, is firſt to ſalute the clergy & people; & thē turning towards the Eaſt to ſay a certain praier; & the Deacon to read the Goſpel, *Whē it was late, the firſt day of the Sabaoth, and the dores were ſhut, &c.* after which reading & praiers all are to go out ſaue the Presbyters and clearks only; & after ſuch departure of the reſt, another praier being made,

z *Statu. Synodal. Epiſc. Hildemenſ.*

a Decret. part. 1. diſt. 18. cap. Annis. Conc. Tarracon. can. 8.

b *Reformat. Cleri Germaniæ per Laurent. Legat. Clement. 7. apud Iouerium. Claſſe 2. ſect. 3.*

c *Seſ. 24. cap. 2.*

d *Iouer. Claſ. 3. ſect. 2.*

the Bishop shall will the Presbyters to propose their doubts, and either to learne or teach, and to make knowne their complaints, that so they may receiue satisfaction. This is all that is done the first day.

The second day, if the clergie haue no matter of complaint or doubt, let the Laitie be let in to propose their doubts, and make knowne their grieuances, or otherwise let their comming in be deferred till some other day. Besides this Synode, which euery Bishop was to hold once euerie yeare, he was to go from church to church, and see all the churches in his Diocese.

e *Canone* 1. The second councell of e *Braccar* appointeth, that the Bishop shall go through all his churches, enforming both presbyters and people; and the

f *Canone* 17. third councell of f *Arles* prescribeth, that he shall enquire and take notice of the wrongs offered to those of meane and poore estate by them that are great and in authoritie, and first seeke to reforme such euils by Episcopall admonition and counsell; but if he cannot so preuaile, he shall acquaint the King with it.

g *Canone* 35. The Bishop, saith the fourth Councell of g *Toledo*, must go euery yeare through his Diocese, and see all his churches and parishes, that he may enquire what reparations the churches do neede, and what other things be amisse. But if he be either detained by sickneſſe, or so intangled with businesse that he cannot go, let him send some approued Presbyters or Deacons, which may not onely consider of the ruines of each church, and the needfull reparations thereof, but enquire also into the life and conuersation of the clergie, and ministers. According to the decree and direction of this Councel we shall find, that Bishops hindered by other employments, sickneſſe, weakneſſe, or age, so that they could not go in person to visite their churches, sent some of their chiefe Presbyters or Deacons, but especially the chiefe Deacons, to performe the worke of visitation for them; becauſe they being the chiefe among the Deacons, which are but church-seruants, were more attendant about them for dispatch of all publicke businesses, then Presbyters.

These chiefe deacons, or Arch-deacons at first, they sent onely to visite, and to make report, but not to sententiate any mans cause, or to meddle with the correcting or reforming of any thing; but afterwards, in processe of time they were authorised to heare and determine the smaller matters, and to reforme the lighter and lesser offences; and therefore in the Councell of h *Lateran* vnder *Alexander* the third, it is ordered, that the Arch-deacon shall not giue sentence against any one; But in the i Councel of *Rhoane* it is appointed, that the Arch-deacon and Arch-presbyter shall be forerunners to the Bishop, and shall reforme the lighter and smaller things they find to be amisse.

h *Conc. Lateran. de Sent. & Interlocut. 4.*

i *Concil. Rhotomag. apud. Ioue. rium 2. Class. sec. 2. ex Burchard. lib. 1. cap. 90.*

Hence in time it came, that Arch-deacons much vsed by Bishops, as most attendant on them in the visitation of their churches, and reforming some

ſome ſmaller diſorders, at length by preſcription claimed the correction of greater things; as hauing of long time put themſelues into the exerciſe of ſuch authoritie.

And thus the Deacons, or at leaſt the chiefe of them, the Arch-deacons (which at firſt might not ſit in the preſẽce of a Presbyter, but being willed by him ſo to do) in the end became, by reaſon of this their emploiment by the Biſhop, to be greater, not only then the ordinarie Presbyters, but then the Arch-presbyters themſelues. And therefore it is confeſſed by all, that the Arch-deacon hath no authoritie or power of Iuriſdiction by vertue of his degree and order, but by preſcription onely: neither can he claime more then he can preſcribe for; which his preſcription is thought reaſonable, becauſe the Biſhop is ſuppoſed to haue conſented to his intermedling in ſuch parts of gouernment, as by preſcription he may claime.

Yet leſt it might ſeeme abſurd for him that is onely a Deacon, to exerciſe Iuriſdiction ouer Presbyters, the canon of our church prouideth, that no man ſhall poſſeſſe the place of an Arch-deacon, vnleſſe he haue the ordination of a Presbyter.

Beſides the Deanes or Arch-presbyters, which the Biſhops vſed for the gouerning and ouer-ſeeing of certaine parts of their dioceſe allotted to them, with ſuch limitations as they pleaſed, and for counſell and aduice in managing of their weightieſt affaires; and the Arch-deacons, which they vſed as ſpies in all places, and truſted with the diſpatch of what they thought fit; they had for their direction in caſes of doubt, and for their eaſe in the multiplicitie of their emploiments, [k] certaine of their clergie, skilfull in the canons, and lawes of the church, whom they vſed as Officials to heare all manner of cauſes, and matters of inſtance betweene partie and partie, but ſuffered them not to meddle in the cenſuring or puniſhing of criminall things, or in any matter of office; but in caſe of abſence, or ſickneſſe, they had Vicars generall, that might do any thing almoſt that pertaineth to the Biſhops iuriſdiction.

k *Annot. in 2. lib. Linwoodi. de ſequeſtrationib.*

The former are not onely named Officials, but Chauncellours, though the name of Chauncellour be not in this ſenſe ſo auncient as the former. [l] *Cancellarius* originally, and properly ſignifieth a Notarie or Secretary, becauſe theſe for the preſeruing of their writings and notes of remembrance, were wont to ſit and write *Intra cancellos*; that is, Within certaine places incloſing them, made in the manner of Checquer-worke: But from hence in time it came to be vſed for any one that is employed for the giuing of anſwer vnto ſutors, for keeping of Records and notes of remembrance, and generally for the performance of ſome principall duties pertaining to him, whoſe Chauncellour he is ſayd to be.

l *Onuphrius in interp. vocum Eccleſiaſticarum.*

Chap. 30.

Of the forme of the gouernment of the Church, and the institution and authority of Metropolitanes and Patriarches.

THis being the forme of gouernment of each Dioceſe, & particular Church, let vs conſider what dependance or ſubordination ſuch particular Churches haue. For it cannot, nor may not be imagined, that each Dioceſe, or particular church is abſolutely ſupreme, and ſubiect to no higher authority. The Papiſts are of opinion, that Chriſt conſtituted and appointed one chiefe Paſtour, with vniuerſality of power, as his Vicegerent generall vpon earth, placed him in the chiefe City of the world, and ſet him ouer all the other both Biſhops and Churches: But the ancient Fathers are of another opinion. For [a] *Hierome* pronounceth, that all Biſhops are equall in order, office and miniſtery, whether of *Rome*, *Eugubium*, *Tanais*, or *Conſtantinople*, howſoeuer riches and magnificence of Churches and cities may make one ſeeme to be greater then another: and *Cyprian* ſpeaketh to the ſame purpoſe, ſaying: [b] Let no Biſhop make himſelfe a Iudge of other, euery one hauing receiued his authority from Chriſt, and therefore being accountant to him onely. And this he ſpeaketh vpon occaſion of a difference betweene him and the *Romane* Biſhops of that time about rebaptization.

a *Hierō. ad Euagrium.*

b *Cyprian. lib. 2. epiſt. 1. & in Concilio Carthaginenſi.*

Wherefore let vs examine theſe contrary opinions, and ſee which of them is moſt agreeable vnto truth and reaſon. For the confirmation of the former of theſe two opinions, the *Romaniſts* alledge many things, to proue, that the beſt forme of Regiment and gouernement is a Monarchie, and conſequently that Chriſt who vndoubtedly eſtabliſhed the beſt forme, appointed one ſupreme Monarch in his Church.

c *Ockam. Dialog. l. 2. tract. 1. part. 3. cap. 30.*

To this allegation [c] *Ockam* moſt excellently and learnedly anſwereth in his *Dialogues*, ſhewing and prouing at large, that though the gouernment of one, or a Monarchie be the beſt forme of Regiment in one citty or country, as *Ariſtotle* rightly teacheth, yet it is not the beſt forme of policie and gouernement in reſpect of the whole world and all the parts of it, ſo farre diſtant and remote one from another; becauſe the whole world, and the infinite different countreyes and regions of it regularly may bee better gouerned by many, whereof no one is ſuperiour to other, then by one alone: neither is the ſame forme of gouernment alwaies moſt expedient for the whole, & for each part; for greater circuits, and for ſtraighter or narrower bounds; ſeeing one man may ſuſteine the burthen of hearing, determining, and diſpatching the greater cauſes and more important matters in one kingdome or country, but no one can ſo manage the weightieſt buſineſſe of the whole world.

And

And that in like sort, though it be expedient that there should be one Bishop ouer some part of the Church & people of God, yet there is not the same reason that there shold be one ouer the whole, seeing no one can dispatch the greater businesses, and manage the weightier affaires of the whole Christian world. Besides, he saith, it would bee most dangerous, that there should be any such one supreme ruler of the whole Church; for that, if hee should fall into errour or heresie, all the whole world would be in great danger to be seduced, the members, for the most part, conforming themselues to their head, and the inferiors to their rulers and superiours.

That which *Ockam* saith, may be confirmed by the authority of Saint *Augustine*, who thinketh a Monarchie or the gouernment of one supreme ruler, most fit for the seuerall countries and parts of the world, but not for the whole. His words are: [d] *Feliciores essent res humanæ, si omnia Regna essent parua, & concordi vicinitate lætantia*; that is, The state of worldly things would be much more happy, if the whole world were diuided out into small kingdomes, ioyfully conspiring together in a friendly neighbourhood, then if all should be swayed by one supreme commander.

d Aug. de Ciuit. Dei. lib. 4. ca 15.

Thus then we deny not, but that amongst al the simple & single formes of gouernment, a Monarchie is the best for each country and people; neither doth *Calvin* contradict vs herein, as *Bellarmine* seemeth to report; for he doth not simply say, that amongst all the simple formes of gouernment *Aristocratie* is best & to be preferred, but only in the respect of often declinings & swaruings of absolute Kings, hardly moderating themselues so in so free & absolute a liberty of commanding all, as that their wils should neuer swerue from that which is right and good.

e De Pont. Rom. lib. 1. cap. 1. Calvin. Instit. lib. 4. cap. 6.

[f] But *Bellarmine* himselfe thinketh, that the mixt formes of gouernment are to be preferred before any of those simple formes of Monarchy, Aristocratie, and Democratie, as hauing in them the best that is found in euery of those single and simple formes. And such is the gouernment of the Church of God (Christ vndoubtedly establishing the best forme of gouernment in the same.) For the gouernment of each Diocese, & particular church resteth principally in one, who hath an eminent & peerelesse power, without whom nothing may be attempted or done: yet are there others ioyned with him as assistants, [g] without whose counsell, aduice, and consent he may do nothing of moment & consequence; whom he cannot at his pleasure displace and remoue from their standings, or depriue them of their honour, or any way hardly censure them of himselfe alone; but in [h] the case of a Deacon, he must haue two other Bishops to cõcurre with him, and in the case of a Presbyter, fiue, without which concurrence he may not proceed against either of them.

f De Pont. Romano. l. 1. cap. 3.

g Concil. Carth. 4

h Concil. Carth. 3

The gouernment of a prouince is principally Aristocraticall, resting in the Bishops of the prouince and their assistants, but it hath a kinde of chiefty

chiefly of one hauing a primacie of order and honour amongst the rest, who being placed in the *Metropolis* or Mother citie is named a *Metropolitane*; This gouernment is so mixed, that the Bishops may do nothing concerning the state of the whole Prouince, or out of the limits of their owne Churches without consulting the Bishop of the mother city, nor i he without them, and k if they differ in iudgement and opinion, he is bound to follow the maior part of voices for the ending and determining of all controuersies that may or do arise concerning matters of faith, or of fact.

i *Lucius 1. in Epist. ad Episc. Hisp. & Gallic. Concil. Antioch. 1. Canone. 9. Concil. Nicen. canone. 4.*

k *Concil. Antioch. 1. canone. 19.*

Neither is this the forme of gouernment of one prouince onely, but the gouernment of larger circuits is altogether like vnto it, and in proportion the same. For looke what the Metropolitane is in respect of the Bishops of the prouince, that & no more is the primate or Patriarch in respect of the Metropolitans, and Bishops of diuers prouinces, so that as the Metropolitan can doe nothing out of his owne Diocese without the concurrence of the maior part of the Bishops of the prouince, though he be in order and honour the first and greatest amongst them, who must be consulted before they can do any thing; so in like sort, the Primate or Patriarch may do nothing without the aduice and consent of the Metropolitanes and Bishops subiect vnto him. So that we see the forme of Church gouernment is mixt in such sort; that in respect of a Diocese or particular Church, there is a speciall authoritie resting in one, though not excluding nor neglecting the assistance and concurrence of more; but the gouernment of many particular Churches and prouinces is principally Aristocraticall, all thinges being swayed by the maior part of the voyces of the Bishops and Metropolitanes, yet admitting a primacie of order and honour of one amongst the rest, who must bee first consulted, from whom all deliberations must take beginning, and who sitteth in all their meetings as a president and moderatour.

This l *Bellarmine* endeuoureth to improue, and therefore laboureth to shew, that the supreme power of the Church is not in the company of Bishops.

l *De Pont. Rom. lib. 1. cap. 8.*

His first reason is, because Christ, as he supposeth, gaue no authoritie to his Apostles and Disciples, but that which he gaue to euery one of them apart, as to preach, baptize, binde and loose, remit, and retaine sinne.

But this silly argument is easily answered, and the absurditie of *Bellarmines* confident affirmation is too too apparant. For to ordaine Bishops, to depose Bishops or Presbyters, and to determine the differences, and controuersies that arise amongst them, is, as I thinke, a great part of Ecclesiasticall power and iurisdiction: yet may no one Bishop doe any of these things, but the company of Bishops onely.

m *Concil. Carth. 2. can. 12.*

m To the ordination of a Bishop, the presence of the Metropolitane, &

of

of three other Biſhops at the leaſt, with the conſent of the reſt that are abſent, ſignified in writing, is by the old Canons required: neither did the Church euer admit leſſe then three Biſhops to ordaine, vnleſſe in certaine caſes of neceſſity: And touching the depriuing or degrading of Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, the ancient Canon requireth the concurrence and conſent of three Biſhops for the cenſuring and depriuing of a Deacon; of ſixe for the depriuing of a Presbyter; and of twelue for the cenſuring, iudging, and depoſing of a Biſhop. Wherefore let vs ſee, if the Cardinall haue any better reaſon behinde.

His ſecond reaſon is, that it cannot be imagined that Chriſt committed the gouernment of the Church to the company of Biſhops; for that then the Church ſhould oftentimes lacke gouernours, for that the Biſhops are ſeldome aſſembled by ioynt conſent to decree and determine things.

Surely this reaſon hath farre leſſe ſtrength then the former; for in the beginning, all the Biſhops of each prouince met to the ordination of euery Biſhop newly elected; and twice in the yeare beſides there was a Synode holden, conſiſting of all the Biſhops of the prouince, the Metropolitane not onely hauing power, but alſo being ſtraightly bound to conuocate his brethren; and they as ſurely tyed and obliged to come when he called them.

His third reaſon, which he bringeth to proue, that the gouernment of the Church was not by Chriſt committed to the company of Biſhops, but to ſome one chiefe and ſupreme amongſt them, is, for that the whole multitude of right beleeuing Chriſtians is one Church, and therefore muſt haue one chiefe ruler.

For anſwer whereunto we ſay, that a Church may be named one, either in reſpect of the ſame faith, hope, profeſſion, meanes of ſaluation & communion or fellowſhip of Saints; & ſo the whole multitude of right beleeuers throughout the world is but one Church; or in reſpect of the ſame immediate communicating together in Sacraments, & in the actions and exerciſes of Gods worſhip and ſeruice. The vnitie of the Church of God in this later ſort, implieth & requireth a neceſſitie of the vnitie of one chiefe Paſtour; but the vnitie of the Church in the former ſort, may ſtand without the vnitie of one Paſtour.

[n] Chriſtian men, ſaith *Ockam*, in Scripture are compared to ſheepe, and the Church of God to a fold. Now though it bee expedient that theſe ſheepe, ſo many as belong to the ſame particular fold, that go out to the ſame paſtures to feede, to the ſame riuers of water to drinke, and do remaine and abide together, ſhould bee fed, directed and guided by the ſame Paſtour; yet the ſheep of diuers folds, led out to diuers paſtures to feede in, and riuers of water to drinke, may haue their diuerſitie of Paſtours vnder the ſame chiefe Shepheard Chriſt Ieſus. Neither is there any vnitie implyed in the whole Church, or in the Churches of diuers prouinces,

n *Ockam. Dialog. lib. 2. tract. 2. part. 3. ca. 30.*

uinces which may not be preſerued as wel by the multitude and diuerſitie of Paſtors bound and knit together in the bond of conſpiring conſent and agreement, as by the vnitie of one chiefe Paſtour. And in this ſort wee ſhall finde the Church of God to haue ſtood in perfect vnitie in the firſt and beſt ages thereof, without finding any want of the helpe of one chiefe Paſtour. For how could there be a more perfect vnitie in the whole Church, then when the Paſtour of each particular Church choſen by the Clergie, and people of the ſame, was approued by the Metropolitane, and all the reſt of the Biſhops of the prouince for his ſincerity in profeſſion, and godlineſſe of conuerſation, and ordained to the worke of the miniſtery by the ioynt impoſition of all their handes? when the [n] Metropolitanes of ſeuerall prouinces were confirmed by the Primate or Patriarch, but ordained by the Biſhop of their prouinces? when the [o] Patriarches elected by the Clergie and people, and ordained by their Metropolitanes, ſent their Synodall letters one to another, teſtifying and expreſſing their faith and profeſſion before they were receiued and allowed one of another, and before they were accounted and reputed for lawfull Patriarches?

n *Vide Decret. Damaſi. ex Decr. Iuonis Carnotenſ. lib. 1. in Tom. 1. Concil. apud Binnium. p. 505.*

o *Greg. lib. 1, Epiſt. 24. Vide exemplar literarum Tharaſii ad ſummos Sacerdotes & Epiſcopos Antiochiæ, Alexandriæ & ſanctæ Vrbis, in 3. Action. Synod. 7. apud Binnium.*

Wherefore preſuppoſing that the gouernement of the Church is not Monarchicall in reſpect of any one ſupreme Paſtour on earth, but mixt; and hauing ſeene how, notwithſtanding the diuerſitie of many Paſtours, the church may be preſerued in peace and vnitie, let vs more exactly and diſtinctly conſider what the ancient forme of Church policie and gouernment was.

If we looke into the monuments of Antiquitie, we ſhall finde, that there were anciently three Subordinations in the Church. For the actions of the Biſhop of each particular Church of a cittie, and places adioyning, were ſubiect to the cenſure and iudgement of the reſt of the Biſhops of the ſame prouince; amongſt whom for order ſake there was one chiefe to whom it pertained to call them together, to ſit as moderator in the midſt of them being aſſembled, and to execute what by ioynt conſent they reſolued on. The actions of the Biſhops of a prouince, and a prouinciall Synode conſiſting of thoſe Biſhops, were ſubiect to a Synode conſiſting of the Metropolitanes, and other Biſhops of diuers prouinces.

This Synode was of two ſorts: For either it conſiſted of the Metropolitanes and Biſhops of one kingdome and nation onely, as did the Councels of *Africa*: or of the Metropolitanes, and Biſhops of many kingdomes. If of the Metropolitanes and Biſhops of one kingdome and ſtate onely, the chiefe Primate was moderator: If of many, one of the Patriarches, and chiefe Biſhops of the whole world, euery Church being ſubordinate to ſome one of the Patriarchicall churches, and incorporate into the vnity of it.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, the actions of the Bishops of a whole kingdome and Patriarchship were subiect to an Oecumenicall Synode consisting of all the Patriarches, and the Metropolitanes and Bishops subiect to them. Touching prouinciall Councels, to the censures whereof the actions of particular churches are subiect, they were by the ancient Canons of the church to be holden in euery prouince twice euery yeare. p *It is very necessary*, say the Fathers of the Councell of *Nice*, *that there should bee a Synode twice euery yeare in euery prouince; that all the Bishops of the prouince meeting together may in common thinke vpon those thinges that are doubtfull and questionable. For the dispatch of Ecclesiasticall businesses, and the determining of matters in controuersie,* q *We thinke it were fit*, say the Fathers in the Councell of *Antioche*, *that in euery prouince Synodes of Bishops should bee assembled twice euery yeare.* The first Councell of r *Constantinople* decreeth the same: and the Fathers assembled in the Councell of s *Chalcedon* complaine, that in some prouinces the Synodes of Bishops are not holden, and that thereby many Ecclesiasticall matters needing reformation are neglected: and therefore they appoint, *that the Bishops of euery prouince shall assemble euery yeare twice at that place, which the Bishop of the mother Cittie shall thinke fit, to amend all thinges that shall bee found to bee amisse in the prouince.*

p Concil. Nicen. Canone. 5.

q Cõcil. Antioch. Canone. 20.

r Canone. 2.

s Canone. 19.

Heere we see the necessitie of holding these Synodes, and by whom they were to be called and moderated. Wherefore let vs now proceede to see of whom they consisted, what causes they examined and determined, what the power of the Metropolitane originally was, and what in processe of time, by positiue constitution, vpon due and iust considerations it grew to be.

Touching the persons that prouinciall Synodes consisted of, it is cleare and euident, that not onely Bishops, but Presbyters also were present in these Assemblies, and had decisiue voices: whereupon the Councell of *Antisiodorum* saith; t *Let all the Presbyters being called come to the Synode in the Cittie.* The Councell of *Tarracon*, u *Let letters bee sent by the Metropolitane to his brethren, that they bring with them to the Synode not onely some of the Presbyters of the Cathedrall Church, but also of each Diocese.* And the fourth Councell of *Toledo*, describing the forme of celebrating prouinciall Synodes, hath these words: x *Let the Bishops assembled goe to the Church, and sit according to the time of their ordination; and after all the Bishops are entred and set, let the Presbyters be called, and the Bishops sitting in compasse, let Presbyters sit behinde them, and the Deacons stand before them.* In the first councell of *Toledo*, we finde these words, y *Considentibus Presbyteris, astantibus Diaconis, & cæteris qui intererant Concilio congregato, Patronus Episcopus dixit, &c.* that is, the Presbyters sitting together with the Bishops, the

t Concil. Antisiod. canone. 7.

u Conc. Tarracon. canone. 13.

x Conc. Toletan. 4. can. 3.

y Initio. Cõcilij Toletan. 1.

the Deacons ſtanding before them, and the reſt, which were preſent in the Councell aſſembled, *Patronus* the Biſhop ſaid, &c.

The like we reade of a Synode holden by *Gregory* the Pope. The words are theſe: [z] *Gregorius Papa coram ſacratiſsimo corpore Beati Petri Apoſtoli, cum Epiſcopis omnibus Romanæ Eccleſiæ, & Presbyteris reſidens, aſſiſtentibus Diaconis, & cuncto Clero, dixit &c.* that is, *Gregory* the Pope ſitting before the moſt ſacred body of bleſſed *Peter*, with all the Biſhops of the *Romane* Church and the Presbyters alſo, the Deacons ſtanding before them, and all the Clergie, ſaid, &c. And that Presbyters were not onely preſent in Prouinciall Synodes, but had deciſiue voices as wel as Biſhops, it appeareth by their [a] ſubſcribing to the Decrees of ſuch Synodes in the very ſame forme and manner that Biſhops did. So that it will be found moſt falſe and vntrue that [b] *Bellarmine* hath, that Presbyters haue no voyces in Synodes: and the ancient forme of our Conuocation here in England, wherein not onely the Arch-biſhops, and Biſhops, but ſundry Presbyters alſo, as well out of Cathedrall Churches as Dioceſes at large, are preſent, and haue deciſiue voices, will clearely refute the ſame.

z Greg. lib. 4. Epiſtolarum, cap. 88.

a *Vide Subſcript. Concil. Elebertin. & Synod. ſub. Gregorio.*

b *Bell. de Clericis lib. 1. cap. 14.*

The cauſes that were wont to be examined and determined in the meeting of the Biſhops of the prouince, were the [c] ordinations of Biſhops, when any Churches were voyd, and the depriuing and reiecting of all ſuch as were found vnworthy of their honour and place: and in a word, any complaint of wrong done in any Church was there to bee heard. [d] *Let the prouinciall Synodes be holden twice euery yeare*, ſaith the Councel of *Antioch*, *and let the Presbyters and Deacons be preſent, and as many as thinke they haue bene any way hurt or wronged, there expect the determination of the Synode.* The power of the Metropolitane, was in calling the reſt of the Biſhops to the Synode, in appointing the place of their meeting, and in ſitting as Preſident in the midſt of them: and ſo were things moderated, that [e] neither the reſt might proceede to doe any thing without conſulting him, nor hee to do any thing without them, but was tyed in all matters of difference to follow the maior part; and if he neglected his dutie in conuocating his brethren, that ſo things might bee determined by common conſent, he was by the Canons ſubiect to cenſure and puniſhment.

c Conc. Antioch. Canone. 19.

d Ibid. can. 20.

e Ibid. can. 9.

Thus at firſt all matters were to be heard, determined, and ended by Synodes, and they holden twice euery yeare: But in proceſſe, of time when the gouernours of the Church could not conueniently aſſemble in Synode twice a yeare, the Fathers of the ſixth [f] generall Councel decreed, that yet in any caſe there ſhould be a Synode of Biſhops once euery yeare for Eccleſiaſticall queſtions. Likewiſe the [g] ſeuenth generall Councell decreeth in this ſort. *Whereas the Canon willeth iudicial inquiſition to be made twice euery yeare by the aſſembly of Biſhops in euery prouince, and yet for the miſery and pouerty of ſuch as ſhould trauell to Synodes, the Fathers of the*

f Canone. 8.

g Canone. 6.

the sixth Counceel decreed, it should be once in the yeare, and then thinges amisse to bee redressed, we renew this later Canon. So that, whereas at the first there was a Synode of Bishops in euery prouince twice in the yeare, now it was sufficient if the Bishops met once. But afterwards, many things falling out to hinder their happy meetings, we shall finde that they met not so often, and therefore the Councell of [h] *Basil* appointeth Episcopall Synodes to be holden once euery yeare, and Prouinciall at the least once in three yeares: And so in time, causes growing many, and the difficulties intollerable in comming together, and in staying to heare these causes thus multiplyed and encreased, it was thought fitter to referre the hearing of complaints and Appeales to Metropolitanes, and such like Ecclesiasticall Iudges, limited and directed by Canons and Imperiall lawes, then to trouble the Pastours of whole prouinces, and to wrong the people by the absence of their Pastours and Guides.

h *Canone 8.*

Thus hauing spoken of the authority of the Metropolitane and his Councell in euery prouince, it remaineth that we come to Synodes of a larger extent. These, besides Oecumenicall, whereof we will not yet speake, were of two sorts: Patriarchicall, wherein one of the Patriarches and chiefe Bishops of the world sate as president; or Nationall, consisting of the Bishops of many prouinces, within one country or kingdome, wherein the Primate sate as President: of which sort the Councels of *Africa* were; concerning which Councels it is ordered in the third Councell of [i] *Carthage*, that once euery yeare there shall be a generall assembly of the Bishops of *Africa*, to which all the prouinces, which haue *primas sedes*, that is, first Sees, and so may hold prouinciall Councels, shall out of their Councels send two Bishops, or as many as they shal think fit; but that out of *Tripolis*, because of the pouerty of the Bishops of it, one Bishop shal come. In these councels, the Legates of the Bishop of *Rome* were somtimes present, not as presidents, but assistants, as other Metropolitanes were.

i *Canone 2.*

Heere were many prouinces that had *primas sedes*, that is, first Sees, and so consequently many Primates; yet for distinction, some call him that was Bishop of that first See (which was in honour before al the rest of the same countrey and kingdome, and to whom in all common deliberations the other Metropolitanes did resort) by an excellency, the Primate; and the rest, by the common name of Metropolitanes; in which sense the Bishop of *Carthage* was primate of all *Africa*; and so is a Primate in order and honour before Metropolitanes, but inferiour vnto a Patriarch. Of this distinction of degrees of honour amongst Metropolitanes and chiefe Bishops, *Hugo de Sancto Victore* writeth in this sort: [k] *Post Sacerdotes altiores sunt Principes sacerdotum, id est, Episcopi: supra quos iterum sunt Archiepiscopi: & supra illos, qui dicuntur Primates: supra quos quidam Patriarchas con-*

k *De Sacrament. lib. 2. part 3. cap. 5.*

conſtituere volunt: alij eoſdem Patriarchas & Primates dicunt: that is, After Prieſts we are to reckon the chiefe Prieſts, that is, Biſhops, as in the firſt degree of honour aboue them: aboue whom againe are Arch-biſhops, and aboue them they that are named Primates: aboue whom ſome will haue Patriarches to bee placed; but others will haue Patriarches and Primates to be all one. *Rabanus* in his booke [1] *de inſtitutione Clericorum*, ſorteth Biſhops into three rankes: Patriarches; Arch-biſhops, who alſo are named Metropolitanes: and ordinary Biſhops.

1 *Lib. 1. cap. 5.*

Chap. 31.

Of Patriarches who they were; and the reaſon why they were preferred before other Biſhops.

TOVCHING the Patriarches, they were in the beginning but onely three: to wit; the Biſhops of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioche*. The reaſon, as ſome thinke, why the Biſhops of theſe places were preferred before other, and made Patriarches, was in reſpect had to bleſſed *Peter*, who was, in ſort before expreſſed, in order and honour the firſt and chiefeſt of the Apoſtles. For *Antioche* was honoured, for that he ſate there for a certaine ſpace, and afterwards gouerned it by *Euodius*; *Alexandria* for that he placed *Marke* his ſcholer there: & *Rome* becauſe it was the place of his death and martyrdome, where in his body he ſtaieth and expecteth the reſurrection of the dead, & the ſecond cõming of Chriſt. All the Churches founded by any Apoſtle, are rightly called Apoſtolique; but theſe more ſpecially in which the Apoſtle *Peter* ſate. [a] *Secunda ſedes*, ſaith *Anacletus*, *apud Alexandriam beati Petri nomine à Marco eius diſcipulo conſecrata eſt. Tertia autem ſedes apud Antiochiam eiuſdem beati Petri Apoſtoli habetur honorabilis*; that is, The ſecond See, and in degree and honour next vnto that of *Rome*, was conſecrated at *Alexandria*, by the authority of bleſſed *Peter*, by *Marke* his Scholer; and the third See honorable for *Peters* preſence in the ſame, is at *Antioche*. [b] *Nihil*, ſaith *Leo* writing to *Anatholius*, *Alexandriæ ſedi, eius quam per ſanctum Marcum Euangeliſtam beati Petri diſcipulum meruit, pereat dignitatis. Antiochena quoque Eccleſia in quâ primùm prædicante Apoſtolo Petro, Chriſtianum nomen exortum eſt, in paterna conſtitutionis ordine perſeueret; & in gradu tertio collocata, nunquam fiat inferior*; that is, Let the See of *Alexandria* loſe no part of that dignity which it obtained by S. *Marke* the Euangeliſt the Diſciple of bleſſed *Peter*. Let the Church of *Antioche* alſo, in which vpon *Peters* preaching the name of Chriſtians firſt beganne, continue in that degree and order, wherein the conſtitution of the Fathers ſet it, and being placed in the third degree, let it neuer be put lower. This did *Leo* write, whē the Biſhop of *Cõſtantinople* ſought to haue the

a *Anacletus. Epiſt. 3.*

b *Leo, ad Anatol. Epiſt. 53.*

the second place in the Church of God, and to be preferred before the Bishops of *Alexandria*, and *Antioche*. *Gregory* writeth to the same effect to *Eulogius* Bishop of *Alexandria*. His words are. [c] *Cum multi sint Apostoli, pro ipso tamen principatu sola Apostolorum Principis Sedes in authoritate conualuit, quæ tribus in locis vnius est. Ipse enim sublimauit sedem, in qua etiam quiescere & præsentem vitam finire dignatus est. Ipse decorauit sedem in qua Euangelistam discipulum misit. Ipse firmauit sedem, in qua septem annis, quamuis discessurus sedit. Cum ergo vnius atque vna sit sedes, cui ex authoritate diuinâ tres nunc Episcopi præsident, quicquid ego de vobis boni audio, mihi imputo*; that is, Whereas there were many Apostles, yet in respect of the chiefty that *Peter* had, as being Prince of the Apostles, his Sea only grew to be in chiefe authority, which in three places is yet the See but of one and the same Apostle. For hee exalted that Sea in which hee pleased to rest, and end this present life. He beautified that Sea in which he placed *Marke* his Scholer: and he firmly and strongly setled that Sea in which he sate seuen yeares, though with purpose in the end to leaue it. When as therefore there is one Sea of one Apostle, in which by diuine authoritie three sit as presidents, whatsoeuer good I heare of you, I impute it to my selfe. And againe in the same place to *Eulogius*, hauing spoken to him of the dignitie of *Peters* chaire in which he sate, he saith: He hath spoken to me of *Peters* chaire, who himselfe sitteth on *Peters* chaire.

[c] *Greg. Epist. lib. 6. ep. 37.*

This is the opinion of these *Romane* Bishops, touching the reason of the exaltation of the Seas of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioche* aboue other Episcopall Seas; who, how partially soeuer they may be thought to be affected to the chaire of *Peter*, yet heerein do they mainly crosse the conceipt of the *Romanists* at this day, in that they teach, that other Bishops succeede *Peter* in the chaire, and in that chiefety and primacie he had, as well as the Bishop of *Rome*. The dignity of these three Apostolicall Churches was confirmed in the *Nicene* Councel; & each of them cõfined within the ancient bounds & limits thereof. [d] Let the ancient custome, say the *Nicene* Fathers, continue in *Ægypt*, *Lybia*, & *Pentapolis*, that the Bishop of *Alexandria* may haue power ouer all these; seeing the Bishop of *Rome* hath the like custome in like sort in *Antioche*, and other prouinces; let euery Church retaine and keepe her owne degree and honour. [e] *Bellarmine* much troubleth himselfe about this limitation and bounding of these Patriarches, as preiudiciall to the illimited Iurisdiction of the *Romane* Bishop: and therefore though it be most cleare that there was a particular assignation of Churches to euery of these Patriarches, yet he seeketh to auoyd the euidence of these words. For whereas [f] *Ruffinus* saith, it was decreede by the Councell of *Nice*, that the Bishop of *Alexandria* should haue care & charge ouer *Ægypt*, as the Bishop of *Rome* hath of the Churches neere that city; & *Theodorus Balsamon* in the explicatiõ of the *Nicene* canons, with *Nilus* in his booke against the primacie in-

[d] *Concil. Nicen. Canone 6.*

[e] *De Pontif. lib. 2. cap. 13.*

[f] *Ruff. Hist. eccl. lib. 1. cap. 6.*

terpreteth the words of the *Nicene* decree in this ſenſe, that the Biſhop of *Alexandria* ſhould haue the charge of *Ægypt*, *Lybia*, and *Pentapolis*, and the confirming of the Metropolitanes in thoſe parts, becauſe the Biſhop of *Rome*, who hath the care of the Weſt, confirmeth the Metropolitanes of the Weſt; hee maketh this conſtruction of the words of the Councell: Let the Biſhop of *Alexandria* haue the charge of *Ægypt*, ſeeing the Biſhop of *Rome* was wont to permit him ſo to haue before any Councell had decreed it. And ſo, he ſaith, *Nicolas* the Pope in his Epiſtle to *Michael* the Emperour vnderſtandeth the words; which yet is moſt vntrue: for *Nicolas* ſaith no ſuch thing, but onely that the Councell maketh the cuſtome of the *Romane* Church the patterne for others to follow. But the [g] eighth generall Councell, which no doubt vnderſtood the words of the *Nicene* Fathers farre better then *Bellarmine*, ſheweth plainly, that the meaning of the *Nicene* Canon was, that the Biſhop of *Alexandria* ſhould haue power ouer *Ægypt*, and the prouinces pertaining to it, to confirme the Metropolitanes in the ſame, ſeeing the like cuſtome preuaileth in the *Romane* Church; And this Councell confirmeth the ſame diſtinction of the bounds of Iuriſdiction, within which euery Patriarch is to containe himſelfe, both for old *Rome* and new, and for the other Churches of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*. The Canons of the *Nicene* Councell tranſlated out of the *Arabian* tongue, and publiſhed by *Turrian*, *Piſanus*, and *Binnius*, will fully cleare this point, if our Aduerſaries giue any credit vnto them. * For in the eighth of thoſe Canons, the decree, about the meaning whereof we contend, is thus ſet downe: *Conſtitutum eſt, vt Epiſcopus Ægypti, id eſt, Patriarcha Alexandrinus, præſideat, & habeat poteſtatem totius Ægypti:* that is, It is ordained that the Biſhop of *Ægypt*, that is, the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, ſhall ſit as Preſident, and haue power ouer all *Ægypt*, and ouer all places, Cities and Townes which are round about it; becauſe ſo it is fit, and becauſe likewiſe the Biſhop of *Rome*, that is the Succeſſour of *Peter* the Apoſtle, hath power ouer all the Citties and places which are about *Rome*. And in like ſort let the Biſhop of *Antioche* haue power ouer that whole prouince, &c. But becauſe perhaps theſe Canons, though publiſhed by themſelues, as rare ſecrets of Antiquity lately brought to light, will be of little credit with them, I will adde one reaſon more, which to me ſeemeth very forcible to confirme our interpretation of the words of the *Nicene* Fathers. [h] There was anciently a great contention betweene the church of *Rome*, and the church of *Conſtantinople*, about the churches of *Bulgaria*, either of theſe churches making claime thereunto, and ſeeking to bring them within the compaſſe of their owne Iuriſdiction: which contention could not haue bene, if the one of theſe two churches had had an illimited extent of Iuriſdiction.

But that neither of thē had any ſuch illimited Iuriſdictiō, it is euident, in that

g *Canone* 17.

* *Apud Binnium Tom. Conciliorum prima, pag.* 352.

h *Binnius in vitâ Hadriani.* 2. *Tom.* 3. *Concil. part.* 2.

that neither *Constantinople*, nor *Rome*, vrge any such thing for iustification of their claime, but stand vpon their conuerting of the people of *Bulgaria* to the Christian faith, and the planting of religion amongst them. Which either of these pretending rather then other, sought thereby to iustifie a title of iurisdiction, and authority ouer them.

Wherefore resoluing that we haue the true meaning of the *Nicene* canon, let vs returne thither whence we haue a little digressed, namely to the discourse of Patriarchicall Churches & Bishops set in order and honour before all other. These, as I haue already shewed, were at first but three, to which afterwards two other were added: First *Constantinople*, & afterwards *Hierusalem*. Touching the Church & Bishop of *Constantinople*, after that citty was by *Constantine* made the seate of the Empire, and thereby as much or more honoured then any cittie in the world, the Bishop thereof, before little esteemed, grew exceeding great; and in the second Councell, which was the first of [i] *Constantinople*, was made a Patriarch, in degree of honour next the Bishop of *Rome*, and before the other two: And againe in the Councell of [k] *Chalcedon*, confirmed in the same. And though *Leo* resisted against this act of the Councell of *Chalcedon*, and peremptorily protested, that he would not suffer the Church of *Alexandria* to lose the dignity of the second Sea, & the Church of *Antioche* of the third, and his successours many of them persisted in the same resistance; yet they were forced in the end to giue way to the exaltation of the *Constantinopolitane* Church; so that after the time of *Iustinian* the Emperour, they neuer made any more wordes about this matter. Whereby we see, that to bee true of *Hierome*, [l] *Orbis maior est vrbe*; that is, The world is greater then any one citty of the world, though *Rome* it selfe.

i Canone. 5.

k Actione. 16.

l Hiero. ad Euagrium.

The Church of *Hierusalem*, as being the place of Christs passion, and whence the preaching of the Gospell tooke beginning, was euer much honoured; yet was it not so much as a Metropolitane Church at the first; but the Bishop and Clergie thereof were subiect to the Bishop of *Cæsarea*, as their Metropolitane, and the Bishop of *Antioch* as their Patriarch; as *Hierome* writing to *Pammachius* against *Iohn* of *Hierusalem* testifieth: And thereupon *Leo* [m] writing to *Maximus* Bishop of *Antioche*, blameth *Iuuenall* Bishop of *Hierusalem* for seeking to subiect *Palæstina* to himselfe, and chargeth him with insolent boldnesse for that attempt.

m Leo. epist. 62.

But the [n] Fathers of the fifth generall Councell thought good to honour the church of *Hierusalem*, where Christ suffered, and rose againe from death: & therfore, whereas the Bishop thereof had formerly but a bare title, and a preëminence in sitting before other, they made him a Patriarch in order the fifth; and that he might haue Metropolitanes subiect vnto him, they tooke some partes of the Diocese of *Alexandria* and *Antioche* from the Bishops of those Churches, and put them

n In Fragmento Concil. 5. apud Binnium. Tom. 2. Concil. p. 606.

them vnder him: So that now we haue fiue Patriarches of the Christian church. Touching these, the o eighth general Coūcel taketh order, that no man shall offer any indignity to any of them. To these, they were wont to wish al prosperity & long life in the cōclusion of their Councels. Without these, no Councel was holden to be full and perfect. These might conuocate the Metropolitanes of their seueral diuisions, and hold a Patriarchical Councel, which was of greater authority then either those in the seuerall prouinces, or of a whole nation, formerly mentioned, because it consisted of more, and more honourable Bishops: yet had the Patriarches no greater authority ouer the Metropolitanes within their larger circuits, then the Metropolitanes within their lesser compasse. These were, by the order of the p eighth generall Councel, to confirme the Metropolitanes but subiect vnto them, either by imposition of hands, or giuing the Pall: inferior Bishops they might not meddle with, but were to leaue them to the ordering of their Metropolitanes.

o Canone 21.

p Canone 17.

Chap. 32.

How the Pope succeedeth Peter: *what of right belongeth to him: and what it is that he vniustly claimeth.*

WE deny not but that blessed *Peter* had a kinde of primacy of honour and order, that in respect thereof, as all Metropolitanes doe succeed him, as being greater then other Bishops in honour & place; so the Patriarches yet more specially: & amongst them the *Romane* Bishops in the first place. We will not therefore put our Aduersaries to so much paines, as some other haue done, to proue, that *Peter* was at *Rome*; that he dyed there, and that the Bishop of *Rome* succeedeth him. But this is it which we say, that hee succeeded him in the Bishoprique of that cittie, and in the honour of being one of the prime Bishops of the world, as the Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* likewise did; but not in the condition of being vniuersall Bishop, that is, such a one in whom all Episcopall power and authoritie is originally inuested; from whom it is deriued to others; and who may limite and restraine the vse of it in other, as seemeth good vnto himselfe. For *Peter* was not such an Apostle, but had onely a ioint commission with the rest, who were put into it immediatly by Christ as well as he, though he were in some sort the first man in it.

We deny not therefore to the *Romane* Bishop his due place among the prime Bishops of the world, if therewith he will rest contented; but vniuer-

vniuerſall Biſhop in ſort before expreſſed, we dare by no meanes admit him to be, knowing right well, that euery Biſhop hath in his place, and keeping his owne ſtanding, power and authority immediatly from Chriſt, which is not to be reſtrained or limited by any but by the company of Biſhops; wherein though one be chiefe for order ſake, and to preſerue vnity, and in ſuch ſort that all things muſt take their beginning from him, yet he can do nothing without them.

The Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, as I haue already noted, in the time of the ſecond generall Councell, obtained to be one of the foure Patriarches, by reaſon of the greatneſſe of his Church and cittie; and in the fourth holden at *Chalcedon*, to haue equall priuiledges with the Biſhop of *Rome*; but not contenting himſelfe long with this equality, ſoone after he ſought to be aboue him, and would bee called vniuerſall Biſhop, ſeeking thereby to ſubiect to himſelfe all other both Biſhops and Churches: in which proud claime he was reſiſted by *Gregory* the firſt, who profeſſeth, [a] that whoſoeuer aſſumeth this title, ouerthroweth the dignitie and honour of all other Biſhops; in his pride is like *Lucifer*; and may rightly bee thought to bee a forerunner of Antichriſt.

a *Gregor. Epiſt. lib. 4. ep. 34. & 38.*

Paul the Apoſtle, ſaith *Gregory*, when he heard certaine men ſay, *I am of Paul, I am of Apollo, and I of Cephas*; trembling and quaking exceedingly, to heare and ſee this tearing and renting aſunder of the Lords body, through which his members ioyned themſelues in companies factiouſly vnto other heads, cryed out aloud ſaying, *Was Paul crucified for you? or were yee baptized in the name of Paul?* In ſuch ſort therefore did hee decline the particular ſubiecting of the members of the Lords body to certaine Heads, as it were, beſides Chriſt, yea though they were the Apoſtles themſelues. And what wilt thou be able to anſwer to Chriſt the Head of the vniuerſall Church in the tryall of the laſt Iudgement, which goeſt about by aſſuming the title of vniuerſall Biſhop, to put vnder thy ſelfe all the members of his myſticall body? Who is it, I pray thee, whom thou propoſeſt to thy ſelfe for imitation, in taking to thee ſo peruerſe a title, but he who deſpiſing the Legions of Angels, ioyned with him in ſociety as companions, ſought to climbe vp aboue them to the heighth of ſingularity, that neither he might ſeeme to be vnder any, nor any might be found ouer whom he was not: who alſo ſaid, *I will aſcend into heauen, I will exalt my throne aboue the Starres of heauen, I will ſit in the mountaine of the teſtament, in the ſides of the North; I will aſcend aboue the heighth of the cloudes, and will bee like vnto the moſt high.* For what are thy brethren, all the Biſhops of the vniuerſall Church, but the ſtarres of Heauen; whoſe life, and tongue or ſpeech, do ſhine in the midſt of the ſinnes and errours of men, as it were in the midſt

of the darkneſſe of the night; whoſe name and honour while thou ſeemeſt to trample vnder thy feete, in that thou ſeekeſt by this title of pride to preferre thy ſelfe before them, what elſe doeſt thou ſay, but *I will aſcend into heauen, and exalt my ſeate aboue the Starres of heauen?* Are not all the Biſhops of the Church, cloudes, who by the wordes of their preaching powre downe the graces of GOD like ſhowers of raine, and ſhine through the light of good workes, whom whiles your brotherhood deſpiſing ſeeketh to bring vnder it ſelfe, what other thing doth it ſay but this, which is ſaid of the old enemy, *I will aſcend aboue the heighth of the cloudes?* And a little after, the ſame *Gregory* addeth: Surely *Peter* the Apoſtle was the firſt member of the holy & vniuerſall Church: *Paul*, *Andrew*, and *Iohn*, what other thing are they but heads of particular parts of the people and Church of God? and yet notwithſtanding they are all members of the Church vnder one head.

Thus doth this holy Man and worthy Biſhop diſlike, that any amongſt the Biſhops of the Chriſtian church, ſhould be ſo proud and inſolent, as to ſeeke to be ouer all, and ſubiect to none; to ſubiect vnto himſelfe all the members of Chriſt, as to a head, and to challenge vnto himſelfe to bee vniuerſall Biſhop: [b] for that if any ſuch be, if hee fall into errour or hereſie hee draweth all other with him, and ouerthroweth the ſtate of the whole church. Yet do the *Romane* Biſhops at this day, take all theſe things vnto themſelues: for they ſubiect all Chriſts members to themſelues, as to Heads of the vniuerſall church, vpon perill of euerlaſting damnation: they will be ſubiect to none, nor haue any to be ouer them, ſo that all depends of them; their ſtanding is the ſtay of all, and their fall the ruine of all; and if they erre, all erre. But perhaps it will be ſaid, that the name of vniuerſall Biſhop is not ſimply euil, nor theſe claimes ſimply to be diſliked; but when they are made by them to whom it pertaineth not to make them, ſuch as the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople* were.

b *Greg. Epiſt. lib. 4. ep. 32.*

Surely this euaſion will not ſerue the turne. For *Gregory* ſaith in the ſame place, that no Biſhop of *Rome* euer aſſumed this title, *ne dum priuatum aliquid daretur vni, honore debito Sacerdotes priuarentur vniuerſi*: that is, Leſt while ſome ſingular thing were giuen to one, all Biſhops ſhould be depriued of their due honour: thereby ſhewing, that this title, and the claimes accompanying it, are ſimply to be diſliked, as preiudiciall to the ſtate of the whole Church, and the honour and dignity of all other Biſhops, by whomſoeuer they be made. Some man perhaps will be deſirous to know, how our Aduerſaries ſeeke to decline the euidence of this cleare teſtimony of ſo great a *Romane* Biſhop, witneſſing againſt them in a matter of ſo great conſequence. I will therefore ſet downe briefly in this place, what I finde any where ſaid by any of them in anſwer to this authority.

The

The credit of the Author is such, that they dare take no exception against him; and the generalitie of his speech is such, that what he disliketh in the *Constantinopolitane* Bishop, he confesseth to be euill in any other, and particularly in the Bishop of *Rome*. And therefore the onely thing that they can deuise, whereby to darken the cleare light of truth, is this; that the Bishop of *Constantinople* did so, and in such sence challenge to be vniuersall Bishop, that he onely would haue bene a Bishop, and there should haue bene no more; then which nothing could be more absurdly sayd. For the thing that the *Romane* bishops disliked in those of *Constantinople*, was not the putting of all other from being Bishops, but the preferring themselues before other, the subiecting of other to themselues, the encroaching vpon the priuiledges and rights of other, and the challenging of the power of ordination, and confirmation of them, whom it pertained not to them to ordaine or confirme; as appeareth by the epistles of [c] *Leo*, blaming *Anatolius* for subiecting all vnto himselfe, for depriuing other Metropolitanes of their due honour, by encroaching vpon their rights, and for taking vpon him to ordaine the Bishop of *Antioch*, who was one of the Patriarches.

c *Leo epist. 53.*

That the Bishops of *Constantinople* sought not so to be vniuersall Bishops, that there should be no other bishops but they onely, is most euident by the epistles of *Leo* and [d] *Gregorie*, in that they ordained Bishops themselues, and are blamed by them for presuming to ordaine such as they should not haue ordained. Wherefore the most that they can be conceiued to haue desired, and sought in assuming the title of vniuersalitie, is no more but the inuesting of the fulnesse of all power and iurisdiction Ecclesiasticall originally in themselues, and thereby the subiecting of all other to a necessitie of deriuing ministeriall power and authoritie from them; of seeking ordination at their hands, and being in all things pertaining to Episcopall office subiect to them: all which things are challenged by the Bishop of *Rome*. For the *Romanists* at this day teach, that the fulnesse of all power and iurisdiction Ecclesiasticall is originally in the Pope, and that he communicateth a part thereof vnto others, with such limitations as seemeth best vnto himselfe; that all other Bishops receiue their iurisdiction from him; that all the Bishops of the world cannot iudge him; that he may dispose of all the kingdomes of the world; that his standing is the stay of all; that his fall would be the ruine of all; and that therefore we must perswade our selues he cannot erre. And hence indeed it followeth, that he only is Bishop in truth, and that there are no other.

d *Vide epist. Gregor. supra citat.*

For if the Pope may take from any Bishop, so often as he seeth cause, as many as he pleaseth of them that are subiect to him; if he may reserue vnto himselfe what cases he will, and inhibite Bishops to meddle with them; if he may giue leaue to preach, minister Sacraments, and to do all other

other Ecclesiasticall duties, to whom he will, within any dioceſe of the world; if in generall Councels, where the power of iuriſdiction is principally exerciſed, where the great affaires of the Church are treated of, where doubts are reſolued, controuerſies determined, articles of faith defined, and lawes made that bind the whole church, he haue ſo abſolute power, that he is neither bound to follow the greater, nor the leſſer part of Biſhops there preſent, but may determine what he pleaſeth, when they haue all done, and ſayd what they can. If the aſſurance of finding out the truth, and decreeing that which is good and behoofefull, reſt not partly in him, and partly in them, but only in him, as our Aduerſaries teach; then are Biſhops indeed no Biſhops; no Iudges of controuerſies, but counſellours onely to aduiſe the Pope; no Law-giuers to the Church, but ſuch as muſt receiue lawes from the Pope; no commaunders in their owne right in the Church in any degree, but meere Lieutenants and ſubſtitutes, or, to ſpeake more truly and properly, vaſſals to the Pope.

Chap. 33.

Of the prooſes brought by the Romaniſts, *for confirmation of the vniuerſalitie of the Popes Iuriſdiction and power.*

IT is euident by that which hath bene ſaid, that that vniuerſality, whereof *Gregorie* ſpeaketh in his Epiſtles, and which he ſo peremptorily condemneth, is claimed by the Popes his ſucceſſours, at this day; and conſequently, that they are in his iudgement the fore-runners of Antichriſt, and in pride like *Lucifer*. Yet becauſe there is nothing ſo abſurd, that ſome will not defend; nothing ſo falſe, which ſome will not endeauor to proue true: let vs ſee what the *Romaniſts* can ſay for proofe and confirmation of the vniuerſall Iuriſdiction of their Popes. Surely as men carefull to vphold the ſtate of the Papacy, vnder the ſhadow of the boughes of which tree they ſo ſweetly reſt, and repoſe themſelues, they haue turned ouer their bookes to ſee what may be ſaid, and out of them alleage againſt vs the teſtimonies of Councels, Popes, Fathers *Greeke* and *Latine*, and the practiſe of Popes, whence ſuch a peereleſſe power may be proued and inferred.

The firſt teſtimonie that they bring out of any Councell, is out of the [a] Epiſtle written by the Fathers of the ſecond general Councel to *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome*, and the other Biſhops of the Weſt; wherein the Fathers ſay, (if we may beleeue theſe men, that they came together to *Conſtantinople* by the mandate of the Pope, whoſe letters the Emperour ſent vnto them;) and confeſſe, that the *Romane* Church is the head, and they the members. Truely this is a very ill beginning, and may make vs iuſtly feare, that wee

[a] *Theodoret hiſt. lib. 5 cap. 9 citat. à Bellar. lib. 2. de Pont. Rom. c. 13. & Binnio, in annot. ad Conc. Conſtant. 1.*

ſhall

ſhall find little good dealing in that which followeth. For there is no part of this true, which, in the front of all their proofes, is by them ſo confidently alleaged. For thus the matter ſtandeth betweene the Fathers of that Councell, and the Biſhop of *Rome*.

The Biſhops aſſembled at *Conſtantinople* writ to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and the reſt of the Biſhops of the Weſt aſſembled in a Councell at *Rome*, ſignifying, that they had bene inuited by them out of their brotherly loue, as their owne members, to come to their Councell; and that they wiſhed nothing more, then that they had the wings of doues, that they might flie away, and reſt with them; but that the ſtate of their churches not permitting them to be ſo long abſent, and that intending at the time they vnderſtood of their letters, to come no farther then *Conſtantinople*, they could not come, but had ſent notwithſtanding certaine vnto them.

This is all that is contained in the letter of thoſe Fathers written to the Biſhop of *Rome*: in all which there is no word of any mandate of the Pope, but of a friendly and louing entreatie of the weſterne Biſhops, deſiring the preſence of their brethren of the Eaſt; no word of head and members, but of fellow members; nor any thing that may proue a commanding power in the Pope. Nay, the contrary is moſt ſtrongly from hence to be proued. * For it was the Emperour, and not the Pope, that called them to *Conſtantinople*; they refuſed to come to *Rome*, though they had receiued the letters of the *Romane* Biſhop; and his colleagues intreating and deſiring them to come to *Rome*, they abode at *Conſtantinople*: and were eſteemed to be the generall Councell, though the Pope held a Councell in the Weſt at the ſame time, which ſhould haue bene accounted generall, rather then this, if all aſſurance of finding out the truth, and making good lawes, did reſt in the Pope onele.

* *Theodret. hiſt. lib. 5. c. 7.*

And laſtly, they ordained Biſhops of the greateſt and moſt famous Churches of the world, ſuch, and in ſuch ſort, as the Pope did not greatly like, and yet he was forced to giue way to their doings, and to ratifie that which they had done. The ſecond allegation to proue the vniuerſality of the Popes iuriſdiction, is, [b] that the Fathers of the third generall Councel, holden at *Epheſus*, profeſſed, that they depoſed *Neſtorius* by force of the mandatorie letters of *Caleſtinus* Biſhop of *Rome*; and that in their Epiſtle to *Caleſtinus* they ſay, they reſerued the iudgement of the cauſe of *Iohn* Patriarch of *Antioch* to him, as being more doubtfull.

b *Bellarm. vbi ſupra.*

The former of theſe two things they endeauour to proue out of [c] *Euagrius*; the later out of the Epiſtle written by the Fathers of that Councell, extant in the Councell it ſelfe. For the clearing of this obiection we muſt obſerue, that [d] *Neſtorius* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, hauing vttered certaine hereticall, and impious ſpeeches, touching the perſonal vnion of the natures of God & Man in Chriſt, whereby many were ſcandalized, the firſt amongſt

c *Euagrius hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 4.*

d See theſe things in the Actes of the Councell of Epheſus, the 7. booke of *Socrates* hiſt. and the firſt of *Euagrius*.

amongst the Patriarches that tooke notice of it, was *Cyrill* Bishop of *Alexandria* in *Ægypt*; who after he found, that *Nestorius* would not be reclaimed by admonitions, called a Synode of his Bishops, and condemned the absurd and hereticall positions of *Nestorius*, and required him to anathematize them, otherwise threatning, that he and his Bishop, would reiect him from their communion, and hold them as brethren who vnder his iurisdiction resisted against him.

This his proceeding he signified to the Bishop of *Rome*, who approued, and commended the same; and with his whole Synode of westerne Bishops encouraged him to goe forward, wishing him not to doubt of his concurrence with him, but as hauing all the authoritie & power he & his Bishops had, to prouide for the church of *Constantinople*, and to let *Nestorius* know, that he was cut off from the vnitie of the body of their Churches, if he should not within a certaine number of daies anathematize his wicked doctrine, and professe the faith touching the generation of Christ the Sonne of God, which the *Romane* Church, the Church of *Alexandria*, and Christian religion euery where preacheth. Hereupon *Nestorius*, fearing the course that *Cyrill* would take against him, desired the Emperour to summon a generall Councell.

To this Councell came *Nestorius*, and the Bishops that were vnder him: and *Cyril*, with his Bishops, assisted with the concurrence of the resolution and direction of the Bishop of *Rome*, and other Bishops of the West, though absent; But *Iohn* the Patriarche of *Antioche* and his Bishops were not come. Whereupon after a while, the Bishops that were present, being wearie of staying there, beganne to proceed without him, requiring *Nestorius* to appeare in the Synode, & to answere to such things as should be obiected to him; Which when he refused to doe, the Fathers assembled, finding by manifest proofe, that he had taught impiously, condemned, and deposed him, compelled so to doe by the Canons, and the letters of the Bishop of *Rome*, and his westerne Bishops, who had set a time, within which if he submitted not himselfe, they would reiect him from their communion.

Fiue daies after the condemnation and deposition of *Nestorius*, came *Iohn* the Patriarche of *Antioche* with his Bishops, excusing himselfe for his long tarrying in respect of the distance of the place from whence he came, as also for that his Bishops could not sooner be gathered together. He was much offended, that they who were come before him had passed their sentence before his comming; and thereupon without delay, before he had put off his cloake, or shaken off the dust from his feete, as the[e] storie saith, assembling the Bishops subiect to him in a Synode, deposed *Cyril* and *Memnon* Bishop of *Ephesus*, who were chiefe agents in the proceedings against *Nestorius*. Which deposition of *Cyrill* and *Memnon*, was something hastily confirmed by the Emperour *Theodosius*.

[e] Act. Conc. Eph. Tom. 4. cap. 17.

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The Synode assembled vnder *Cyrill*, in like sort gaue sentence against *Iohn*, & signified to *Celestinus* Bishop of *Rome*, what they had done, shewing how vnaduisedly a few had presumed to condemne a great many, and the Bishop of the third See, Bishops of greater Sees, to wit, *Cyrill* of *Alexandria*, and *Celestinus* of *Rome*, who was present in the Counsell by his Vicegerent: yet referring the finall proceeding to his consideration also, he and his Bishops being as much interessed in this businesse, as they that were assembled. In the end by mediation of many great and worthy ones, *Iohn* and his Bishops, that formerly were misconceited of *Cyrill*, were satisfied, and he sent the confession of his faith vnto him; which he approued, and so they were reconciled, and made friends without any farther intermedling of the Bishop of *Rome*.

Here is nothing to be found, that any way argueth or importeth an vniuersality of power in the Bishop of *Rome*, but onely his concurrence with the other Patriarches, as prime Patriarch, in the waighty and important businesses of the Church: and therefore the [f] Fathers of that Counsel writing to the Vicars of the Bishop of *Rome* and other Bishops, sent by them to the Emperour, to informe him concerning the differences that had arisen in the Councell, and their proceedings, charge and require them to doe nothing but according to their direction; assuring them, that if they do otherwise, they will neither ratifie that they do, nor admit them to their communion: Thereby shewing, that though the *Romane* Bishop be to concurre with the Fathers assembled in Councels, yet he is not absolutely there to command, but to follow the directions of the Maior part. So that he hath a ioint interest with others, but not an absolute Soueraignity ouer all others; God hauing therefore ordained the high toppes of Patriarchicall dignities (as it is in the eighth generall [g] Councell) that they might iointly concurre to vphold the state of the Church, and the truth of Religion; and that if one fell, the rest might restore, settle and reëstablish things againe: Which course [h] *Cyrill* in his Epistle to *Iohn* of *Antioche* sheweth to haue bene holden by him.

For when he obserued that *Nestorius* his fellow Patriarch erred from the faith, he first admonished him, and threatned to reiect him from the communion of his Churches. Secondly, he acquainted the Bishop of *Rome* and the westerne Bishops with the impieties and blasphemies of *Nestorius*; who thereupon reiected him, professing that they would admit none to their communion, but such as would condemne him. Thirdly, he wrot to *Iuuenall* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, and to *Iohn* Bishop of *Antioch*, shewing his owne dislike of *Nestorius*, and farther professing, that for his part he was fearefull to be cast out of the communion of the westerne Bishops, as he saw he must be, if he accursed not *Nestorius*.

The next allegation is out of the Councell of [i] *Chalcedon*, where *Theodorus* and *Ischiron*, Deacons, in their bils of complaint exhibited to the Bishop

f *Act. Conc. Ephe. Tom. 4. cap. 19.*

g *Apud Binnium Conciliorum. Tom 3. pag. 2. Act. 1. pag. 881.*

h *Cyril. Epist. inter acta Ephes. Conc.*

i *Actione 3.*

Biſhop of *Rome* as preſident, and to the whole Councell, call *Leo* the Biſhop, *Moſt holy and moſt bleſſed vniuerſall Arch-biſhop, and Patriarche of great Rome*. But they that preſſe the teſtimonie of theſe two diſtreſſed Deacons, flying to *Leo* for helpe, ſhould remember, that in the Councell of [k] *Conſtantinople* vnder *Mennas*, not Deacons, but Biſhops, and they many, are reported to haue written to the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* in this ſort: *To our moſt holy Lord, and moſt bleſſed Father of Fathers*, Iohn, *the Archbiſhop, and vniuerſall Patriarche*; and [l] *Mennas* himſelfe alſo is called *Oecumenicall Patriarche*, and Archbiſhop, oftentimes in that Councell of *Conſtantinople*: and yet, I thinke, they will not acknowledge the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople* to haue had an vniuerſall, ſupreme commaunding power ouer the whole world.

k *Actione 5. pag. 455, 460. apud Binnium, tom. 2.*

l *Eodem Tomo pag. 438.*

Heereunto therefore they adde another proofe, out of the relation of the [m] Councell of *Chalcedon* made to *Leo*; wherein the Fathers complaine of *Dioſcorus*, that as a wild Boare he had violently entred into the vineyard of the Lord, and waſted the ſame, plucking vp the true fruitfull vines, and planting vnfruitfull in their places; and that he ſtayed not there, but reached out his hand againſt him to whom the keeping of the vineyard was committed by our Sauiour, that is, againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, whom he thought to excommunicate.

m *Actione 16. pag. 139.*

Theſe words we willingly confeſſe, to be words of iuſt complaint, vpon great cauſe made by the Fathers of the Councell, againſt *Dioſcorus*; but they proue not the thing in queſtion. For we make no doubt, but the keeping of the vineyard of the Lord of hoſts was committed to the Biſhop of *Rome*, not onely as well as to other, but in the firſt place, as being in order and honour the chiefe: But that he onely receiued from Chriſt this power, authoritie and charge, and others from him, not we onely, but many learned amongſt themſelues do denie, as [n] *Bellarmine* teſtifieth.

n *De Pontif. Rom. l. 4. cap. 22.*

There are two other teſtimonies that may bee alleaged out of the Councell of *Chalcedon*. For *Paſchaſinus*, one of the Vicegerents of the Biſhop of *Rome* in that Councell, calleth [o] *Rome* the head of the churches, and [p] *Leo* the Biſhop of *Rome*, head of the vniuerſall Church. But they who preſſe ſo much the ſaying of the Popes Legate in fauour of the Pope, muſt know, that by head he meant chiefe in order and honour, and not one hauing all power originally in himſelfe, and abſolutely commaunding ouer all, as the Papiſts now teach. For if he had meant ſo, he had not beene endured by the Fathers of that Councell, who peremptorily pronounce, [q] that it was the greatneſſe of the citie, and not any power giuen by Chriſt or deriued to him from *Peter*, that made the Biſhop of *Rome* to be great; and that therefore they would equall the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* vnto him, ſeeing *Conſtantinople* was now become equall vnto *Rome*.

o *Concil. Chalced. act. 1. pag. 4.*

p *In Exempl. epiſt. Paſchaſini, pag. 141.*

q *Act. 15. chap 28.*

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The next teſtimonie that they alleage, is out of the Patriarchicall Councell of [r] *Conſtantinople* vnder *Mennas*, wherein the Fathers profeſſe by *Mennas* their Preſident, that they follow and obey the Apoſtolique See, that they communicate with them with whom that See communicateth, and condemne all thoſe it condemneth.

[r] *Actione 4.*

Surely, this reaſon, howſoeuer it may ſeeme to haue ſome force, yet indeed hath none at all. For there is no queſtion, but that the Biſhop of *Rome* with his weſterne Synodes, all which according to the phraſe of Antiquitie are comprehended vnder the name of the Apoſtolique See, was more to be eſteemed then the particular Synode vnder *Mennas*; and that therefore they might profeſſe to follow it, and obey the decrees of it; and yet neither thinke the Pope to be vniuerſall Biſhop, nor that the Biſhop of *Rome*, with his weſterne Biſhops, is more to be liſtned vnto, & obeyed, then all the other Biſhops of the Chriſtian world. That [s] *Adrian* the Biſhop of *Rome*, in his Epiſtle to *Tharaſius* inſerted into the ſeuenth generall Councell, ſaith, that the See of *Rome* hath the primacie throughout the whole world, & is the head of all churches (which is the laſt allegation of *Bellarmine* out of Councels) is no more, then we graunted before, if it be rightly vnderſtood of a primacie of order and honor, and not of an vniuerſall, ſupreme, commanding power ouer all.

[s] *Epiſt. ad Tharaſ. in Concil. 7. act. 2.*

This is all that *Bellarmine* can alledge out of any ancient Councell: in which his allegations, it will not be amiſſe for the Reader to obſerue his guilefull cunning; who vndertaking to produce the teſtimonies of ancient Councels, for confirmation of the papacie, bringeth nothing for the moſt part, but the words of particular men; and they either ſutors to the Pope, agents for him, or Popes. To that which he hath out of later Councels, as that of *Laterane* vnder *Innocentius*, and that of *Lyons*, and *Florence*, I will anſwer, when I come to ſhew the opinions of later times touching the Popes vniuerſality of iuriſdiction and power, and therfore will paſſe them ouer in this place.

Chap. 34.

Of the pretended prooſes of the Popes Iuriſdiction, taken out of the Decretall Epiſtles of Popes.

The next prooſes that are brought for confirmation of the vniuerſalitie of Papall iuriſdiction, are the ſayings of Popes in their decretall Epiſtles. Theſe Epiſtles [a] *Bellarmine* ſorteth into three rankes, placing in the first, the Epiſtles of thoſe Popes that liued within the first 300 yeares; in the ſecond, the epiſtles of thoſe, that liued after the first 600 yeares; and in the third, the Epiſtles of ſuch as came in the midſt betweene theſe.

[a] *De Pontif. l. 2. cap. 14.*

Touching the firſt, he confeſſeth, that certaine errours haue crept into

into them, and that he dareth not pronounce them to be indubitate; but Cardinall *Cusanus*, a man of great learning, reading, and iudgement, misteth not the matter, as *Bellarmine* doth, but plainely and in direct words professeth, that he thinketh these epistles that go vnder the names of ancient Popes, are counterfeit. His words are these. [b] *In my opinion, the things that are written of* Constantine *and his donation, are Apocryphall, as also perhaps some other long and large writings attributed to the holy men* Clemens, *and* Anacletus *the Pope, on which, they that desire to magnifie the Romane Sea, which is worthie of all honour, and to exalt it more then either is expedient for the Church, or is any way fit, do either altogether, or in some sort ground themselues. For assuredly, if any man would diligently reade ouer and peruse all the writings attributed to those holy men, and compare the times wherein they liued with those writings, and then would be conuersant in the workes of all the holy Fathers, which were till the time of* Augustine, Hierome, *and* Ambrose, *and in the bookes of Councels, wherein authenticall writings are alleaged, committing them to memorie, and making vse of them, he would finde this to be true, that neither any mention is made of those forenamed Epistles in any of those writings, nor that the Epistles compared with the times wherein their supposed authors liued, can be made to agree with the times of their life; but by the very circumstance of time bewray themselues to be counterfeit. It is written in the Epistles of* Clemens, *how he was made Pope, and succeeded* Peter: *and after the death of* Peter, *the author of these Epistles writeth vnto* Iames, *who was brother of our Lord, and Bishop of Hierusalem: and yet it is most manifest that the same* Iames *died eight yeares before* Peter, *which was one of the causes (as* Beda *writeth in his commentaries vpon the Canonicall Epistles) why the Epistle of* Iames *is set first among the Catholique Epistles.* Neither is this the censure of *Cusanus* onely, but [c] *Contius* a learned Canonist, in his annotations vpon *Gratian*, feareth not to pronounce all the decretall Epistles that go vnder the names of such Bishops as liued before *Sylvester*, to be false and counterfeit. Besides these censures of learned men, there want not strong and effectuall reasons to disproue these Epistles. For first, they will easily appeare to be counterfeit, because they are barbarously, and rudely written, and are not like the writings of those men that liued in the times wherein the supposed authors of those Epistles did liue, but like the writings of such as liued in later and worse times, after Barbarisme had preuailed, and ouerflowne all. Secondly, because the style is so different from those indubitate remainders of the Epistles of the same Popes, found in [d] *Cyprian*, [e] *Eusebius*, and [f] *Athanasius*, that they cannot be but counterfeit: For whosoeuer shall compare them, shall find them to differ as much as gold and drosse. Thirdly, for that all these supposed Epistles are so like one another in style, and oftentimes haue the very same sentences, that it is very likely they all came from one and the same forge. Fourthly, because neither *Eusebius*, *Hierome*, nor any other auncient writer maketh any

b *Cusan. de concord. Catholica, lib. 3. cap. 2.*

c *Contius annot. in dist. 16. ca. 10.*

d *Cyprian. epist. 46. et 48. in edit. Pammelij.*

e *Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 43.*

f *Athanas. apologia 2.*

any mention of them. Fiftly, becauſe they follow not the old tranſlation in their allegations of Scripture, but that of *Hierome*, which was not in being in thoſe times, wherein the ſuppoſed Authors of theſe Epiſtles did liue. Laſtly, which is the reaſon before vſed by [g] *Cuſanus*, becauſe the Epiſtle to *Iames* written after the death of *Peter*, as appeareth in the front of it, and ſo conſequently after the twelfth yeare of *Nero*, could not be written to *Iames* the brother of our Lord, who, as [h] *Hierome* teſtifieth, was ſlaine at *Hieruſalem* in the ſeauenth yeare of *Nero*. But whatſoeuer become of the cenſure of learned men branding theſe Epiſtles with the note of forgerie, and the reaſons brought to diſproue them, which cannot eaſily be anſwered; yet *Bellarmine* will proue, that theſe Epiſtles are mentioned by the ancient, and conſequently, that the [i] *Centurie-writers* ſay vntruly, that hardly any ſhal be found before the time of *Charles* the great, that ſpeaketh any thing of them.

g Loco citato. videtiam Binnius in annot. in ep. Clem.

h Hieron. Catalog. Script. Eccleſ. in Iacobo.

i Cent. 2. cap. 7. ad finem.

To this purpoſe he produceth *Iſidore*, in his preface before his collection of the Councels, affirming, that he gathered Canons out of the Epiſtles of *Clemens*, *Anacletus*, *Euariſtus*, and the reſt of the *Romane* Biſhops, by the aduice of eightie Biſhops; but this is to iuſtifie one counterfeit by another; For this preface is thought to be counterfeit, becauſe in it there is mention made of the ſixth general Councel vnder *Agatho*, whereas *Iſidore* was dead fortie yeares before the holding of that Councell. Wherefore he alleageth the Councell of *Vaſe*, as mentioning the ſame decretals. But the decrees of that Councell are vncertaine, as [k] *Binnius* noteth, by reaſon of the great confuſion that is found in them: and truely, I thinke, there is no man that can make any ſence of that which is cited out of *Clements* Epiſtles by that Councell.

k Binnius annot. in Conc. Vaſenſ. 2.

Therefore in the third place he addeth *Ruffinus*, who in his preface before his tranſlation of the recognitions of *Clemens* out of *Greeke*, ſpeaketh of an Epiſtle of *Clement* vnto *Iames* the brother of our Lord, and ſaith, he turned it out of *Greeke* into *Latine*; and this, ſaith *Bellarmine*, which we haue, is vndoubtedly the ſame that he tranſlated, as may be proued out of *Gennadius*: therefore the Epiſtle that is now carried about vnder the name of *Clemens*, is ancient, and not late or counterfeit.

l Genna. Catalog. illuſtrium virorum.

But that theſe *Philiſtines* may fall by their owne ſword, we will oppoſe againſt *Bellarmine* the Cardinall, *Baronius* the Cardinall: againſt the *Romane* reader of controuerſies, the *Romane* Annaliſt. For [m] *Baronius* proueth out of [n] *Gennadius*, whom *Bellarmine* alleageth, that theſe Epiſtles we haue, are not the ſame that *Ruffinus* tranſlated, becauſe thoſe he tranſlated had prefaces before them, but this of *Clement* hath none. Thus we ſee the Epiſtles of the Popes, of the firſt 300 yeares, proue nothing, becauſe they are counterfeite.

m Baron. Anno 102. num. 6.

n De viris illuſtr. cap. 17. vide Annot. Binnij in 1. Epiſt. Clement. ad Iacobum.

Of them that were written by ſuch as liued after the firſt 600 yeares, I ſhall haue a fit opportunity to ſpeake in another place. Wherefore let vs come

come to those of the middle rancke, where *Bellarmine* produceth twelue ancient Bishops of *Rome*, claiming that supreme, absolute, and commanding authoritie ouer the whole Church, which we deny.

The first of the twelue, is *Iulius* the first, in his Epistle extant in the second Apologie of *Athanasius*.

The witnesse is good, and we will not except against him, but he deposeth directly against them that produce him; neither is there any better euidence to be desired, then this his Epistle. For the Bishops of the East hauing written to *Iulius*, and blamed him for communicating with such as they reiected, and going about to reuerse the acts which they had agreed on; and hauing told him, that the greatnesse of citties maketh not the power of Bishops to be the greater: & that therefore he should not take on him to be greater then other Bishops, and to vndoe that which they had done, because he was Bishop of a greater citty then any of them was; he answereth modestly in this his Epistle, that he hopeth he offended not in desiring them to come to a Synode, that therein their proceedings might be examined; seeing the *Nicene* Councell appointeth the acts of one Councell to be reëxamined in another.

Secondly he sheweth, that they whome they sent to informe him and the Westerne Bishops, touching their proceedings against *Athanasius*, being conuicted by the Presbyters of *Athanasius*, desired him to call a Councell of his owne Bishops, and to write to *Athanasius*, and those of *Eusebius* part to come vnto the same; wherein they doubted not, but they should proue the things they had alleaged.

Thirdly, he sheweth that if without the sollicitation of their Agents he had desired them to meete in Councell, it had bene no fault, nor any way preiudiciall vnto them.

Fourthly, that they who will not haue their proceedings reëxamined, contemne Councels, by admitting such as were condemned by the *Nicene* Councell; that *Athanasius* was not condemned at *Tyrus*; that he was not present when he was condemned at *Mareotta*: and that many wrote in his defence, to him and the other Bishops of the West; and that yet he foreiudged nothing, but would haue had matters defined in a Councell,

Fiftly, he sheweth that though he wrote alone, yet he reported not his owne opinion onely, but of all the Bishops of *Italy*, and the countries thereabout.

Lastly, he telleth them, that the Bishops they proceeded against, being no vulgar persons, but Bishops of such churches as the Apostles thēselues planted, before they had proceeded against them, they should haue first written to him and his colleagues, that from thence might haue bene defined, what was right and good; then which course what could be more fitting? For *Athanasius* Bishop of the second Sea, with other his adherents,

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were not to be iudged by Biſhops of an inferiour ranke, eſpecially in a matter concerning the faith, without firſt conſulting the Biſhop of the firſt See, and his colleagues, that from thence an action of ſuch conſequence might take beginning.

And therefore *Iulius* rightly telleth the Orientall Biſhops, that in their raſh proceeding againſt ſo great and worthy a Biſhop, as was *Athanaſius*, they had offended againſt the ordinations of *Paul*; that the Fathers had not taught them ſo to do; and that he had receiued otherwiſe from bleſſed *Peter*.

Here is nothing found, for any thing I ſee, that any way proueth the Pope to haue a ſupreme commaunding power ouer the whole church; but rather the contrarie: For he doth nothing, without the Synode of the Weſterne Biſhops: He challengeth not the right of iudging the cauſes of the Orientall Biſhops, either by himſelfe alone, or with his Synode of Weſterne Biſhops; much leſſe deriueth the claime of any ſuch right from *Peter*; as the Ieſuit vntruly miſreporteth the matter; but thinketh, that the finall, and ſupreme iudging of them pertaineth to a generall Councell.

The next allegation is out of an ° Epiſtle of *Damaſus*, wherein writing to the Biſhops of the Eaſt, he commendeth them that they gaue due reuerence to the Sea Apoſtolique, and calleth them ſonnes. To what purpoſe this allegation ſerueth, I know not. For if any man doe thinke it conſequent, that the Pope hath an vniuerſall commaunding power ouer all, becauſe the Biſhops of the Eaſt yeelded a kind of due reſpect and reuerence to the Sea Apoſtolique (that is, to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and his colleagues) for that it was in order and honour the firſt Sea; he is greatly deceiued, and may be confuted out of the ᵖ Epiſtle of the Orientall Biſhops, in anſwere whereof *Damaſus* writeth. For they write vnto him, not as to their Lord and Commaunder, but as to their brother and colleague; and direct not their letters to him only, but to him and the other Biſhops of the Weſt. Their Epiſtle beginneth in this ſort.

° *Apud Theodoret. lib. 5. hiſtor. Eccleſ. cap. 9.*

ᵖ *Apud Theodoret. ibidem.*

To their Brethren and Colleagues, *Damaſus*, *Ambroſe*, *Britto*, *Valerianus*, *Achalius*, *&c.* and the reſt of the holy Biſhops aſſembled in the great citie of *Rome*. Where by the way, we may obſerue, that howſoeuer *Damaſus* call them ſonnes, as being Biſhops of meaner places, and inferiour Seas, yet they call him brother and colleague, as being equall in office and power, though inferiour in order and honour. Beſides this, they refuſed to come to *Rome*, though earneſtly intreated by *Damaſus* ſo to do, but ſtayed at *Conſtantinople*, and there held a Councell, wherein they condemned the hereſies of the *Eunomians*, and *Macedonians*; ordained ſundry Biſhops, as the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople*, *Antioche*, and *Hieruſalem*, *Nectarius*, *Flauianus*, and *Cyrill*: they made the Biſhop of *Conſtanple* a Patriarche, and ſet him in degree of honour next vnto the Biſhop of *Rome*.

Vide notas Binnij in Concilium Constantinopolitanum Primum conciliorum. tom. 1.

These ordinations of *Nectarius* and *Flavianus* especially, *Damasus* liked not, and yet was forced to giue way vnto them, and to yeeld to the Bishops assembled at *Constantinople* (being but an hundred and fifty in number) the name of the generall Councell, though about the same time, he, & all the Bishops of the West were assembled at *Rome*. Wherefore this testimony might well haue bene spared.

q *Damas. Epist. 4.*

The next allegation out of the q Epistle of *Damasus* to the Bishops of *Numidia*, is lesse to be esteemed then the former; seeing that Epistle hath many thinges in it, which cannot agree with the state of things in those times.

For if the *Africanes* had bene so willing to referre all greater matters by way of appeale to *Rome*, as the Epistle of *Stephen*, in answere whereunto this of *Damasus* is written, importeth; how could it haue come to passe, that in *Zozymus* his time, appeales to *Rome* should seeme so strange, as it appeareth they did?

That which is alleaged out of the Epistle of *Syricius* to *Himericus*, Bishop of *Tarracon*, and of *Zozymus* to *Hesychius*, Bishop of *Salona*, is to little purpose; for, that *Syricius* saith, he is more zealous of true religion, then all other Christians, and that he beareth the burthen of all that are

r *Basil. Epist. 48.*

grieued, is no more then is attributed to r *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria*.

Neither is it to be maruelled at, that he saith the Bishop of *Tarracon* referred certaine matters to the Church of *Rome*, as to the head of his body, seeing he was one of the Bishops that were subiect to the Bishop of *Rome*, as Patriarch of the West. Which also is the reason, why *Zozymus* giueth directions to the Bishop of *Salona*, touching the time they of the Clergie were to continue in euery of the lower degrees, before they might be preferred to higher, wishing him to acquaint others neare vnto him with the same, and to assure them, that he should answer it with the losse of his place, whosoeuer should contemne the authority of the Fathers, and neglect his prescriptions.

s *Innocent. Epist. 22. ad Episc. Maced.*

t *Inter Epistolas Augustin. ep. 91. & 93.*

The next Pope that is produced as a witnesse, is s *Innocentius* the first, in his Epistles to the Bishops of *Macedonia*, and the t Fathers assembled in the Councels of *Mileuis* and *Carthage*; out of which Epistles, foure things are alleaged for proofe of the Popes supremacie.

The first is, that the Church of *Rome* is by him called head of churches, yea the wel-spring, and head of all churches.

The second, that doubtfull cases were referred to the Sea of *Rome* by the Bishops of *Macedonia*.

The third, that all the Bishops of the world, were wont to consult the *Romane* Bishop in doubtfull questions touching matters of faith.

The fourth, that the *Romane* Bishops hath the care of all churches.

To these seuerall obiections framed out of the Epistles of this *Ro-*

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mane Biſhop, we anſwer briefly; Firſt, that the church of *Rome* was head of all churches; that is, firſt in order and honour amongſt them, but not in abſolute ſupreme commaunding power. Secondly, that the church of *Rome* was in more ſpeciall ſort head of ſuch churches, as were within the Patriarchſhip of *Rome* (as *Macedonia* was in *Innocentius* his time) and that this was the reaſon, why the Biſhops of *Macedonia* referred their doubts to the determination of the Sea of *Rome*. Thirdly, that all the Biſhops of the world conſulted the Apoſtolique Sea of *Rome*, and the Biſhop thereof, in controuerſies of Faith and Religion, not as an abſolute ſupreme iudge, to whoſe determinations they were bound to ſtand, but as their moſt honourable Colleague intereſſed as much as any of them in the maintenance of the trueth of Religion, and the determination of things queſtioned concerning the Faith. Fourthly, that they did not conſult the perſon of the Biſhop of *Rome* alone, but all the Biſhops of the Weſt together with him, who were a great and principall part of the Chriſtian world, though ſometimes he onely be named, as beeing the Preſident of all the Synodes of Biſhops throughout the Weſt. Fiftly, that the Biſhops of *Rome* had the care of all churches, not as abſolute ſupreme commaunders, but as moſt honourable amongſt the Biſhops, and paſtours of churches, who were firſt to be ſought vnto in matters requiring a common deliberation, and from whom, all things generally concerning the ſtate of the whole church, were either to take beginning, or at the leaſt to ſeeke confirmation, before they were generally impoſed, and preſcribed; that ſo being rightly determined by the Biſhops of the chiefe and principall churches, other churches might receiue the ſame, like waters flowing from a fountaine, and running in puritie in all churches according to the puritie of the head and beginning.

The ſixt Biſhop of *Rome* that is produced to giue teſtimonie for the Popes ſupremacie, is *Leo* the firſt, out of whom ſeuen things are alleaged; whereof the firſt is, that he [u] appointed *Anaſtaſius* the Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, to be his Vicegerent for the gouernement of the prouinces farre off from him; whence it may be inferred, as our Aduerſaries thinke, that the Biſhops of *Rome* had an vniuerſall commaunding power ouer all the world. The ſecond, that he [x] commaundeth *Anatolius* Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*. The third, that he [y] wiſheth the Biſhop of *Antioch* to write often to him, touching the affaires and ſtate of the churches. The fourth, that [z] *Cyrill* the Patriarche of *Alexandria* beſought him, not to permit *Iuuenall* Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, to preiudice the right of the church of *Antioche*, and to ſubiect *Paleſtina* to himſelfe. The fifth, that he [a] commaunded *Dioſcorus* Biſhop of *Alexandria*. The ſixt, that he [b] intermedled in *Africa*; and the laſt, that he [c] ſaith, that *Rome* had a larger extent of Preſidence, in that by *Peters* chaire ſhe was made

u *Leo epiſt.* 84.

x *Idem epiſt.* 46.

y *Idem epiſt.* 62.

z *Ibidem.*

a *Idem. epiſt.* 81.
b *Idem. epiſt.* 87.
c *Idem Serm.* 1. *in natal. Apoſt.*

the head of all Churches then in that, in respect of earthly dominion, she was Lady and Mistresse of a great part of the world.

To all these obiections thus mustered together out of the writings of *Leo*, we answere in this sort.

First, that *Thessalonica* was within the Patriarchship of *Rome*, and that therefore the Bishop of *Rome* might haue a Vicegerent there to dispatch some of those things that pertained to him as Patriarch, & yet haue no vniuersall commanding power ouer all the world.

Secondly we say, that *Leo* did not acknowledge *Anatolius* Bishop of *Constantinople* to be a Patriarch, and that therefore it followeth not, that he would haue presumed to haue commanded a Patriarch, if he had commanded him: but that indeed he did not command him. For thus the case stood.

d *Vide Epist. 46. Leonis.*

d After the Councell of *Ephesus*, wherein diuers Bishops compelled by *Dioscorus*, subscribed to impious decrees, *Leo* besought the Emperour, that a generall Councell might be called; but because by reason of warres in many parts of the world, such a Councell could not conueniently be presently called, he sent certaine commissioners to *Constantinople*, who taking to them the Bishop of *Constantinople*, and being assisted by him and the Bishops thereabout, might, vpon repentance and due satisfaction, reconcile and againe admit to the communion of their churches, such as they should thinke fit.

These commissioners *Leo* directed & commanded, as in right he might; But that he specially commanded the Bishop of *Constantinople*, it cannot be proued.

Thirdly we say, that *Leo* in brotherly sort wished the Bishop of *Antioch* to resist heretiques; and to let him vnderstand of the state of the churches, and to be a consort of the Apostolique Sea in this care: to see that the priuiledges of the third Sea were not diminished by any mans ambition, assuring him, that whensoeuer he will doe any thing for the aduancing of the dignity of the Sea of *Antioch*, he also will be ready to concurre with him.

In all which passages betweene *Leo*, and the Bishop of *Antioch*, there is nothing found, that hath any shew of proofe of the Popes supremacie.

Fourthly, we say that *Cyrill* the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, besought *Leo* to giue no consent to the attempts of *Iuuenal* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, seeking to preiudice the church of *Antioch*, and to subiect *Palestina* to himselfe; but that he besought *Leo*, not to permit, nor suffer *Palestina* to be taken from *Antioch*, and subiected to the church of *Hierusalem* (as if the whole power of permitting or hindring this thing, had rested in *Leo*) is but the false report of the Cardinall, according to his wonted manner of misse-alleaging

leaging authors for the aduantage of his cauſe.

So that the diſpoſition of this matter reſted not wholly in *Leo*, but his concurrence with the Biſhops of *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, was neceſſary for the withſtanding of the attempts of *Iuuenal*; which his concurrence and helpe, he promiſed the Biſhop of *Antioch*, as we haue already heard, and was euer ready to yeeld the ſame vnto him.

Fiftly we ſay, that *Leo* did not command *Dioſcorus* the Patriarch of *Alexandria*: but whereas the manner was, when the Patriarches were firſt elected and ordained, that they ſhould mutually conſent one to another, and that he who was newly ordained, ſhould ſend vnto the reſt his Synodall letters, and teſtimonies of his lawful election and or dination: *Dioſcorus* being newly elected, and appointed Patriarch of *Alexandria*, ſendeth his Synodall letters to *Leo* Biſhop of *Rome*, that ſo he might giue his conſent, and receiue and embrace him as his fellow Patriarch.

Leo, that theſe beginnings of *Dioſcorus* might be more ſure & firm, & nothing wanting to perfection, fatherly, as more ancient, & brotherly, as of the ſame ranke with him, putting him in mind of ſome differences between their two churches, about the time of the ordination of Miniſters; and for that it ſeemed not likely vnto him, that *Marke* the ſcholer of *Peter* took any other order in this behalfe then *Peter* did, ſaith vnto him; *We will haue you to obſerue, that which our Fathers euer obſerued*; making this a condition of the allowance and conſent he was to yeeld vnto him; and vrging the practiſe of the Apoſtles, ſaith, he ſhall do well, if obeying theſe Apoſtolicall inſtitutions, he ſhall cauſe that forme of ordination to be kept in the churches ouer which God hath ſet him, which is obſerued in the churches of the Weſt; that Miniſters of the church may be ordained onely on the Lords day, on which day the creation of the world was begun, in which Chriſt roſe, in which death was deſtroyed; and life, after which there is no death, tooke beginning; in which the Apoſtles receiued from the Lord the trumpet of preaching the Goſpell, & the miniſtration of the Sacrament of regeneration.

Sixtly we ſay, that *Leo* intermedleth in the churches of *Africa*, and requireth ſome ordained contrary to the Canons, to be put from their places; tolerateth others, and willeth the cauſe of *Lupicinus*, a Biſhop who had appealed vnto him, to be heard there, becauſe he was Patriarch of the Weſt; and theſe parts of *Africa* were within his Patriarchſhip; and that yet this his intermedling in ſo particular ſort with the affaires of the *Africane* churches, was not very pleaſing vnto thoſe of *Africa*, as ſhal appeare by that which followeth.

Laſtly, we ſay, that the church of *Rome* was the head of all churches in the ſence before expreſſed, and had a preſidence of order and

honour amongst them; and had in that sort, as *Leo* truly sayth, more subiect to it, then euer were vnder the *Romane* Empire; but vnder any absolute, supreme, commaunding power of the Church of *Rome* they were not.

But, saith *Bellarmine*, if the former testimonies of *Leo* be auoided, there is one more yet behind so cleare and full for the supremacie of the Pope, that nothing can bee sayde in answere vnto it, in his Epistle to *Anastasius*, Bishop of *Thessalonica*: His words are these: [e] *Amongst the most blessed Apostles, like in honour, there was a certaine difference and distinction of power; and whereas they were equally chosen, yet notwithstanding it was giuen to one of them to haue a preeminence amongst the rest, from which forme, the distinction and difference, that is amongst Bishops, hath taken beginning; and by a most wise disposition it hath bene prouided, that all without difference shall not challenge all vnto themselues, but that there should be in seuerall prouinces seuerall Bishops, whose sentence and iudgement should be first and chiefe amongst the brethren; and againe certaine other constituted and placed in greater cities, who might take the care of more then the former, by whom the care of the whole Church might flow vnto that one seate of* Peter, *and nothing any where might dissent from the head.* These words truely make a goodly shew, and may seeme most strongly to proue the supremacie that the Popes now challenge; but in very deed they most powerfully ouerthrow it. For the Bishops of *Rome* will neuer be perswaded in proportionable sort as is expressed in the words of *Leo*, to challenge no more in respect of the whole Church, then the Metropolitane Bishops do in respect of their prouinces, and the Patriarches in respect of their churches of a larger extent: For then they must do nothing, but accordingly as they shall be swayed by the major part of the voices of the Bishops of the Christian Church.

[e] Leo epist. 84.

For the Metropolitane may do nothing in his prouince, nor the Patriarche in his larger extent, but as they shall be directed, and swayed by the major part of the voices of their Bishops: & yet surely the meaning of *Leo* was not to giue so much to the Bishop of *Rome*, in respect of all Christian Bishops, as pertaineth to the Metropolitanes and Patriarches, in respect of their Bishops.

For the Metropolitane is to ordaine the Bishops of the prouince, and the Patriarche to ordaine and confirme the Metropolitanes by imposition of hands, or mission of the Pall; but the Pope neuer had any such power in respect of the Patriarches, who were onely to send their Synodall Epistles to him, testifying their faith, as he likewise to them, without expecting any other confirmation then that of mutuall consent, whereby one of them assured of the right faith and lawfull ordination of another, receiued and embraced each other as fellowes and collargues.

So

So that that care of the vniuersall Church, which *Leo* saith floweth together and commeth vp to that one chaire of *Peter*, is to be vnderstood only in respect of things concerning the common faith, and generall state of the Church, or of the principall, most eminent, and highest parts, & members of the same; none of which things might bee proceeded in without the Bishop of *Rome* and his Colleagues: but otherwise he was not to intermeddle with inferiour persons and causes, within the iurisdiction of other Patriarches, neither immediatly, nor vpon appeale, and complaint.

The seuenth *Romane* Bishop brought to testifie for the absolute supreme power of Popes, is *Gelasius*; out of whom two things are alledged: The first is, that he [f] saith, the Sea of *Peter* hath power to loose that which the Bishops of other Churches haue bound. The second, that [g] it hath power to iudge of euery Church, and that no Church may iudge of the iudgement of it. For answer to this testimony of *Gelasius*, first we say, that the Church of *Rome* may not meddle with reuiewing, reëxamining, or reuersing the acts of other Churches proceeding against Lay-men or inferiour Clergy-men; Secondly, that in the case of a Bishop complaining of wrong, by the authority of the Councel of [h] *Sardica*, she might interpose her selfe, not so as to bring the matter to *Rome*, there to be heard; but so farre forth only, as to command & appoint a reuiew to be taken by the Bishops of the next bordering prouince, or at the most to send some commissioners to sit with such second Iudges. Thirdly, that in cases which concerned the principall Patriarches, whether they were differences betweene them and their Bishops, or betweene themselues, the chiefe Sea, as the principall part of the whole Church, might interpose it selfe. Neither was this proper to the Sea of *Rome*; for other Patriarches likewise of the higher thrones might interpose themselues in matters concerning the Patriarches of inferiour thrones; whence it is, that *Basil* writing to *Athanasius* Bishop of the second See, [i] telleth him, that the ordering of the Church of *Antioche*, which was the third See, did pertaine to him, and that hee was to see to the setling of things there, though the quieting of the whole East, required the helpe of the Occidental Bishops: and [k] *Cyril* in the case of *Nestorius* not yet fully established, in the right of a Patriarch intermedled, and proceeded so farre as to reiect him and his adherents from the cõmunion of the Churches of *Ægypt*, *Lybia*, & *Pentapolis*. But the Bishops of the inferior thrones, might not iudge the superiour; & therefore [l] *Iohn* of *Antioche* of the third See, is reprehended and reproued for iudging *Cyril* Bishop of the second See: & *Dioscorus* Bishop of the second See, is condemned in the Councel of [m] *Chalcedon*, as for other things, so for this among other, that he presumed to iudge the first See. So that this is it which *Gelasius* saith, that the See of *Rome*, that is, the Bishop of *Rome*, and the Bishops of the West, may iudge & examine the differences betweene Patriarches

f *Gelas. Epist. ad Episc. Dardan.*

g *Idem epist. ad Anast. Imperat.*

h *Cap. 7.*

i *Basil. ep. 48.*

k *Act. Concil. Ephes.*

l *Ibidem.*

m *In Epist. ad Martian. & Valentiniã. Imp. & in altera ad ipsum Leonem quæ habetur act. 3. eiusd. Concil.*

Patriarches, or betweene Patriarches and their Bishops; but neither so peremptorily, nor finally, but that such iudgement may be reuiewed and reëxamined in a generall Councell: and that no other particular Church or See may iudge the Church of *Rome*, seeing euery other See is inferiour to it; no way denying, but that a generall Councell may reuiew, reëxamine, & reuerse the acts and iudgments of the *Romane* See; as being greater, and of more ample authority. Neither truly can there be any better proofe against the pretended supremacie of the Popes, then this Epistle, the circumstances whereof are these. *Acatius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, for communicating with certaine *Eutychian* Heretiques, was by the See of *Rome* condemned; some disliked his proceeding against him, because a Synode was not specially summoned for the purpose, especially seeing hee was Bishop of the Princely citty; *Gelasius* standeth not vpon the claime of vniuersall power, thereby to iustifie his proceeding, but answereth; First, that *Eutyches* being condemned in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, all such were accursed likewise, as should either by defence of such errour, or communicating with men so erring, fall into the fellowship of the same heresie, and that therefore there needed no Synode, but the Sea Apostolique might execute that was there decreed.

Secondly, that the Catholique Bishops in the East being deposed, and Heretiques thrust into their places, there was no reason why he should haue consulted with them.

Thirdly, that he did nothing of himselfe, but with a Synode of the Westerne Bishops.

The next foure Bishops produced by the Cardinal, are *Iohn* the second, *Anastasius* the second, *Felix* the fourth, & *Pelagius* the second; out of whō he alleageth nothing but this, that the Sea of *Peter* holdeth the chiefty assigned of the Lord in the vniuersall Church, and that the church of *Rome* is the head of all churches. Whereunto we briefly answer, that the Sea of *Peter* euer held the chiefty, and that the church of *Rome* was euer the head of all churches, not in vniuersality of absolute supreme power and commanding authority, but in order and honour in sort before expressed: and that by the See of *Peter* and church of *Rome*, is meant the whole West church, and not precisely the Diocese of *Rome*, as likewise we haue noted before; and therefore these allegations to proue the Popes supremacie ouer all Bishops, are nothing to the purpose.

The last of the twelue Bishops brought by *Bellarmine*, is *Gregorie* the first; out of whom foure things are alledged; the first is, * that he required the *Africanes* to permit appeales to *Rome* from the Councell of *Numidia*, and blamed the Bishops of *Africa*, for that after letters written vnto them, they had degraded *Honoratus* the Arch-deacon. The second, [n] that he sent a Pall to the Bishop of *Corinth*. The third, [o] that he saith, *Eusebius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, acknowledged the Church of *Constantinople* to be subiect

* *Greg. Epist. lib. 1. ep. 72.*

[n] *Idem lib. 2. epist. 37.*

[o] *Idem lib 4 ep. 36.*

to

to the Sea Apostolique. The fourth, [p] that the Bishop of *Constantinople* professeth his subiection to the Sea Apostolique.

To these obiections we answer; First, [q] that it is contrary to the resolution of the ancient Councels of *Carthage*, and *Milevis*, that the Bishop of *Rome* should admit appeales of inferiour Clergy-men out of *Africa*; and that therefore by some positiue constitution or later agreement, *Gregory* might be permitted to heare the complaints of an Arch-deacon appealing vnto him out of *Africa*, yet from the beginning it was not so, though some parts of *Africa* were euer within the compasse of the Patriarchship of *Rome*.

Secondly, that he sent the Pall to the Bishop of *Corinth*, because he was within his Patriarchship; all Patriarches being to confirme their Metropolitanes by imposition of hands, or by sending the Pall.

Thirdly, that there was no such *Eusebius* Bishop of *Constantinople* in *Gregories* time, as is mentioned in the Epistle alledged; and that they that were, as *Iohn* and *Cyriacus*, strone and contended with *Gregory*, to bee aboue him, and to haue the first place in the Church; and that not without the helpe and furtherance of the Emperour: so that it may be doubted whether *Gregory* wrot this or not, it being so contrary to that we know to haue bene attempted and sought by the Bishops of *Constantinople*, that liued in his time. But granting that *Gregory* did so write, and that *Eusebius* a Bishop of *Constantinople* did acknowledge his Church to be subiect to the Sea of *Rome*, yet he meant nothing else thereby, but that it was an inferiour See, and so subiect in such sort, as I haue declared the inferiour Seas to be subiect to the superiour; which subiection will no way proue the supremacie that the Popes now claime.

Fourthly, that *Gregory* doth not say, that the Bishop of *Constantinople* acknowledged himselfe subiect to the Bishop of *Rome*. For it was not *Primas Byzanzenus*, the Primate of *Byzantium*, that *Gregory* reporteth to haue confest himselfe subiect to the Bishop of *Rome*, and whose cause the Emperour commanded *Gregory* to heare, but [r] *Primas Byzazenus*, that is, the Primate of the *Byzazene* prouince of *Africa*. So that this confession of the Primate mentioned by *Gregory*, brought to proue that the Bishop of *Rome* had a commanding power ouer the Bishop of *Constantinople*, is meerely mistaken by *Bellarmine*, as it was before him by *Gratian*.

But some man will say, howsoeuer there be a mistaking of this allegation, yet it is strong and forcible to proue the thing intended. For *Gregory* saith expressely, that howsoeuer all Bishops in respect of humility, be equall, yet there is no Bishop but if he bee found faulty, is subiect to the Sea of *Rome*; That this saying of *Gregory* may bee found true, certaine limitations must bee added vnto it. For the Bishop of *Rome* might not immediatly punish euery Bishop that hee found to offend,

nor

p *Idem. lib. 7. epist. 63.*

q *Vide infra. chap. 39. of appeales to Rome.*

r *Vide annot. in Gratian. Decr. part. 1. dist. 22. cap. 3.*

nor vpon appeale take notice of the faults and misdemeanours of all Bishops; but the Councel of *Chalcedon* ordereth that if any inferiour Clergy-man haue ought against another inferiour Clerke, the matter shall be heard and determined by the Bishop, or such as with the liking of the Bishop shall by the parties be chosen arbitratours; and if he goe against their determination, he shall bee punished. If a Clerke haue ought against his owne or another Bishop, it shall be inquired of in the audience of the Synode of the prouince. If either Clerke or Bishop haue ought against the Metropolitane of the prouince, hee shall goe to the Primate of the Diocese, or to the throne and Sea of the Regall citty of *Constantinople*.

s Canone. 9.

This Canon of the great Councell of *Chalcedon*, was confirmed by the decree of *Iustinian* the Emperour. t If any man (saith the Emperour) accuse a Bishop, for whatsoeuer cause, let the cause bee iudged by the Metropolitane: and if any man gainsay the Metropolitane, let the matter be referred to the Arch-bishop, and Patriarch of that Diocese, and let him end it according to the Canons and Lawes. So that we see the Bishops of *Rome* might not intermedle in iudging inferiour Bishops, subiect to other Patriarches, neither immediatly, nor vpon complaint and appeale, whatsoeuer their faults be; but they haue other supreme Iudges, who haue power finally to determine such matters, and from whom there-lyeth no appeale.

t Iustinian. Nouel. 123. cap. 22.

This Canon of the Councel of *Chalcedon*, and the Emperours decree confirming the same, u *Gregorie* alledgeth and alloweth, onely adding, that if there be no Metropolitane or Patriarch, such thinges as otherwise should be finally determined, and ended by them, are to bee brought to the Bishop of *Rome*. Wherefore it seemeth that *Gregory* speaketh of the Bishops within his owne Patriarchship, whom sometimes he calleth his owne Bishops, when he saith, there is no Bishop, but if he be found faulty is subiect to the Sea of *Rome*.

u Gregor. Epist. lib. 11. ep. 54.

Of these he speaketh when he saith, x I impute it to my sinnes, that my owne Bishops should thus despise me. And againe, if the causes of Bishops committed to me be thus dealt with, alas, what shall I doe? And in this sense he y willeth *Iohn* of *Palermo*, to whom he sendeth a Pall, not to suffer the reuerence of the Apostolique See to bee troubled by any mans presumption: for that the state of the members is then entire and safe, when the canons are kept, and no iniurie hurteth the head of the faith; not naming the church of *Rome* the head of the Faith, for that the Bishop of *Rome* hath an infallible iudgement, and absolute command in matters of faith, vpon which all the world must depend (as some ignorantly misconstrue him) but because it was the head, that is, the beginning and wel-spring, whence the doctrine of Faith, the knowledge of God, and all Christian institution flowed to sundry other Churches, which therefore

x Idem. Lib. 4. Epist. 34. & in ep. 36 hortatur Eulogium Episc. Alexandr. & Anastasium Antiochenum vt omnes Episcopos eorum curæ Subiectos ab iniquitate elationis Episc. Constantinopolitani prohibeant.

y Lib. 11. epist. 42.

therefore are in a ſort to depend on it, to haue recourſe to it, and to hold conformitie with it. [z] No other, ſaith *Innocentius*, eſtabliſhed and founded the Churches of *Italie*, *France*, *Germany*, *Spaine*, *Africke*, and the Iſles that lye betweene, but *Peter* and his Succeſſours: and therefore the Biſhops of theſe Churches muſt keepe ſuch obſeruations, as the *Romane* Church (from which they tooke their beginning) receiued from the Apoſtles, *ne caput inſtitutionum omittere videantur*, that is, Leſt they ſeeme to forſake the Head, and wel-ſpring of all the inſtitutions and ordinances they haue.

z *Innocent in epiſt. ad Decentium. Eugubin. Epiſcopum.*

This is the reaſon, why the Churches of theſe parts haue bene ſo ſubiect to the Church of *Rome*, namely for that from thence they receiued the light of Chriſtian knowledge; but to all churches it is not an head in this ſort, ſeeing they receiued the faith not from *Rome*, but from ſome other Apoſtolicall church, as *Antioche*, or *Alexandria*.

Chap. 35.

Of the pretended proofes of the Popes Supremacie, produced and brought out of the writings of the Greeke *Fathers.*

HAVING examined the proofes they bring for confirmation of the Popes ſupremacie out of Councels, and the writings of ancient Biſhops of *Rome*, let vs come to the teſtimonies of the Fathers *Greeke* and *Latine*.

The firſt that they produce amongſt the *Greeke* Fathers, is *Ignatius*, [a] who writeth to the holy church which hath the preſidence in the region of the *Romans*, or ſitteth before other in the region of the *Romanes*; from which words nothing can bee inferred that we euer doubted of. For we moſt willingly confeſſe the *Romane* church to haue bene in order and honour the firſt and chiefeſt of all churches, and he ſaith nothing out of which any other thing may be concluded.

a *Ignatius Epiſt. ad Romanos.*

The next is *Irenæus*, [b] who being to ſhew againſt Heretiques, that the tradition of the church is againſt them, and for him, and thinking it very tedious to runne through the ſucceſſions of all churches, ſaith, hee will content himſelfe with that which is the greateſt, ancienteſt, beſt knowne to all, and founded by the two moſt glorious Apoſtles, *Peter* and *Paul*, at *Rome*; for that the whole church, that is, the company of all faithfull ones, that are euery where, in which the tradition hath bene euer preſerued, muſt of neceſſity agree in her tradition with this, *propter potentiorem principalitatem*, that is, For that it is the principall of all other.

b *Irenæus lib. 3. cap. 3.*

This teſtimony of *Irenæus* no way proueth the thing in queſtion. For heere is nothing of the dependance of all other churches on the church

of

of *Rome*, in their faith and profession, nor that all Churches haue kept the faith in that Church, that is, in cleauing to it, as to their head and Mother, as *Bellarmine* vntruly fansieth: But all that is heere said, is nothing else, but that vndoubtedly the same faith was giuen and deliuered to all other Churches, that was deliuered by blessed *Peter* and *Paul* to the Church of *Rome* the chiefest of all. The two next *Greeke* Father that are produced to testifie for the supremacie, are [c] *Epiphanius*, & [d] *Athanasius*: who report, that *Vrsacius* & *Valens*, sworne enemies of *Athanasius*, repenting them of their former errors, came to *Iulius* Bishop of *Rome*, to giue an account, and to seeke fauour & reconciliation. Surely, the producing of such testimonies as these are, is nothing else but meere trifling; & they that bring them know right wel, that they no way proue the thing questioned; the circūstances of this narration touching *Vrsacius* & *Valens* are these. The cause of *Athanasius*, as himselfe [e] testifieth, was first heard in his owne prouince, by an hundred Bishops, and he there acquited: Secondly at *Rome*, by more then 50 Bishops, at the desire of *Eusebius* his Aduersary; and lastly, at *Sardica*, by 300 Bishops, where he was likewise acquited. To the decrees of this Synode, *Vrsacius* & *Valens*, his enemies, making shew of repentance, subscribed, cōfessing, they had plaied the sycophants: neither rested they there, but they wrote to *Iulius* Bishop of *Rome*, to testifie their repentance, and to desire reconciliation; and likewise to *Athanasius* himselfe. It were strange, if any man could proue the absolute supreme power, & commanding authority of the Bishop of *Rome* ouer al the world by this testimony, wherein nothing is found of submission to *Iulius*, or of seeking his fauor & cōmunion, more then the fauour & communion of *Athanasius*, & all other Catholique Bishops adhering to him. The Epistle of *Athanasius* to *Felix* Bishop of *Rome*, is a meere counterfeit, as that worthy and renowned [f] *Iuel* hath proued at large by vnanswerable demonstrations; & therfore it needeth no answere. The allegation of the accusation of *Dyonisius* of *Alexandria*, to *Dyonisius* of *Rome*, ioined with it it by *Bellarmine*, is of the very same stampe; & yet if it were not, proueth nothing against vs. For there is no question, but that in matter of faith, men may accuse any erring Bishop, to the Bishop of *Rome* & his Westerne Bishops; and that they may iudge & cōdemne such a one, though the Pope be not supreme head of the church. The fifth *Greeke* Father that they alledge, is *Basil*, [g] who, as they say, in an Epistle to *Athanasius*, attributeth to the Bishop of *Rome* authority to visit the Churches of the East, to make decrees & to reuerse the decrees of generall Councels, such as that of *Ariminum* was. Truly to say no more, the alledging of this testimony, sheweth they haue very little conscience that alledge it. For these are the circumstances of *Basil.* Epistle, whereof let the Reader iudge. *Basil* writing to *Athanasius* (whom he highly commendeth, for that, whereas other thinke it well if they take care of their owne particular churches, his care was no lesse for the whole church, then for that which

c *Epiphan. hæres.* 68.
d *Athanas. in Apolog.* 2.
e *Apolog. præ. dict.*
f Defence of the Chaleng. Artic. of the Supremacie.
g *Basil. Epist.* 52. & 48.

which was ſpecially committed to him) aduiſeth him, that the only way to ſettle things put out of order in the Eaſterne churches by the *Arrians*, were the procuring of the conſent of the Weſterne Biſhops, if it were poſſible to intreat them to interpoſe themſelues: for that vndoubtedly the rulers would greatly regard, & much reuerence the credit of their multitude: and people euery where would follow thē without gainſaying. But ſeeing this, which was rather to be deſired, would not in likelihood eaſily be obtained, he wiſheth that the Biſhop of *Rome* might be induced to ſend ſome of good diſcretion & moderation, who by gentle admonitiōs might pacifie the mindes of men; and might haue all things in readineſſe that concerned the *Arimine* Councel, neceſſary for the diſſoluing & ſhewing the inualidity of the acts of that councell. I doubt not but the reader, vpon the bare view of theſe circumſtances, will eaſily perceiue, that this Epiſtle of *Baſil* maketh very much againſt their opinion that alledge it: For he preferreth, and rather wiſheth a Councell then the Popes owne interpoſing of himſelfe, if there had bene any hope of a Councell. Beſides, theſe whom the Pope was to ſend, were not to proceed iudicially, & by way of authority, but by intreaty and gentle admonitions to pacifie the mindes of men; and therefore heere is nothing of viſiting the Churches of the Eaſt, or voiding the acts of the Councell of *Arimirum* by way of ſentence & formall proceeding, as *Bellarmine* vntruly reporteth; but onely a reaching forth of the hand of helpe to the diſtreſſed parts of the Church, by them that were in better ſtate, and the manifeſting or declaring of the inualidity of that Councell, the vnlawful proceedings of it, and the reaſons why it neither was, nor euer ought to be admitted.

The ſixth *Greeke* Father brought to be a witneſſe of the Popes ſupremacie, is *Gregorie Nazianzen*,[h] who ſaith, that the *Romane* Church did euer hold the right profeſſion, as it becommeth the citty which is ouer all the world. This teſtimony is no leſſe abuſed then the former, as it wil eaſily appeare to him that will take the paines to view the places alledged. *Nature* (ſaith *Nazianzene*) *doth not affoord two Suns, yet are there two Romes, the lights of the whole world: the old and the new ſeate of the Empire. The one of theſe lights appeareth at the riſing, and the other at the ſetting of the Sunne, and both iointly ſend forth a moſt excellent glittering brightneſſe. The faith of the one was a long time, and now is right, knitting, and ioyning the Weſt to the ſauing word of Life, as it is fit the Miſtreſſe and Lady of the world ſhould be.*

h *Nazianz. in Carm. de vitâ ſuâ.*

In which words it is euident, that hee ſpeaketh of the greatneſſe of the cittie of *Rome*, in reſpect of her ciuill and temporall ſoueraignty, and not in reſpect of the ſpirituall power of the Church; and therefore it is ſtrange that *Bellarmine* ſhould deny the ſame. For though in the time of *Nazianzen*, the Emperour made his abode, for the moſt part, at *Conſtantinople*, and not at *Rome*, yet hee calleth *Rome* the Miſtreſſe of

of the world, in respect of the ciuill state thereof, as appeareth in that he speaketh of two famous cities, two lights of the world; and nameth the one the old Seate, and the other the new Seate of the Empire.

The seuenth *Greeke* Father is *Chrysostome*, who (if we may beleeue *Bellarmine*) being deposed by *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and put from the Bishoprique of *Constantinople* in a Councell of Bishops, [i] writeth to the Bishop of *Rome*, by his authority to void the sentence of *Theophilus*, and to punish him: whence it wil follow, that *Chrysostome* acknowledged the *Romane* Bishop to bee supreme Iudge of the *Greeke* or Easterne Bishops, and consequently of all the world. For the better manifesting of the bad dealing of the Cardinall in alledging this testimony, I will briefly set downe all the most material and principall circumstances, of the narration of the most vniust deposition of *Chrysostome*, that worthy and renowned Bishop of *Constantinople*. Thus therefore the case stood.

i *Chrysost. Epist. 1. ad Innocentiũ.*

[k] There arose a question in the Churches of *Ægypt*, whether God were ἀνθρωπομορφος; that is, had the shape of a man. Some of the simpler sort of Monkes thought, that God hath a bodily forme or shape: others thought otherwise, and condemned such as so thought, as blasphemous: *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, was of opinion, that GOD is not ἀνθρωπομορφος, that is, that God hath no bodily shape or forme: which the Monkes that thought otherwise greatly disliking, came to *Alexandria* with a full purpose to kill and destroy him, as a wicked and godlesse person. But he perceiuing their affection, presented himselfe speedily vnto them saying, *I haue seene you, and looked vpon you, as vpon the face of God*; and thereby pacified them for the present, supposing he had bene of their opinion, and had thought God to haue a face and countenance like man. But afterwards, hauing vpon some dislikes excommunicated *Isidorus*, a Presbyter of his Church, *Isidorus* goeth to the Monkes, and thereupon *Ammonius* with certaine other come to *Theophilus*, desiring him to receiue such to the communion, as he had excommunicated, which he promised to doe, but performed not. Heereupon farther quarrels grew, and *Theophilus* perceiuing that these Monkes were in opinion contrary to the *Anthropomorphites*, ioyned himselfe with the *Anthropomorphites*, and intended some ill to the other; whereupon *Ammonius*, *Dioscorus*, and *Isidore*, came to *Constantinople*, and desired that the Emperour and *Chrysostome* might heare the matter betweene them. *Chrysostome* vsed them kindly, and suffered them to be present at the common praiers, but admitted them not to the communion: he wrote to *Theophilus*, to restore them to the communion as being right beleeuers, and desired him, if hee thoughe fit to haue their cause heard and examined at *Constantinople*, to send some to follow the busines for him: Whereunto *Theophilus* returned no answere; which moued the complainants to sue to the Empresse, that a Councell might be called, which shee promised to procure: but

k *Sozomen. lib. 8. cap. 11. & seq. Socrates, lib. 6. Pallad. & Gregorius Alexandr. in vitâ Chrysostomi. Nicephorus lib. 13. Baron. an. 404 numero 2. & Binnius, Concil. Tom. 1. pag. 589.*

in

in the meane while there being a rumor raiſed, that *Chryſoſtome* had receiued *Dioſcorus* and the reſt to the communion, and that hee ſought to ſteed them what he could, *Theophilus* enraged againſt him, began to deuiſe how he might put him from his Biſhoprique. To this purpoſe hee writeth to ſundry Biſhops, reprehending the bookes of *Origen*, wherein the error of the *Anthropomorphites* was condemned. Amongſt other, he drew into his faction by this means *Epiphanius*, a man erring in that point, but otherwiſe of great authority for his good life and learning. *Epiphanius* calleth a Synode of the Biſhops of *Cyprus*, condemneth the bookes of *Origen*, forbiddeth the reading of them; and perſwadeth other, and amongſt them the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* to do the like. *Theophilus* likewiſe followed his example, and with his Biſhops paſſed the like decree; but *Chryſoſtome* neglected the matter: which offended *Epiphanius* and *Theophilus* not a little. Heereupon many of the great ones in *Conſtantinople*, and of the Clergie alſo, hating *Chryſoſtome*, perceiuing that *Theophilus* was bent againſt him, vrged him to go forward, and procured a great Synode to bee called at *Conſtantinople*; which opportunity he neglected not, commanding the Biſhops of *Ægypt* to go thither, & writing to *Epiphanius* and the reſt of the Eaſterne Biſhops to come thither. *Epiphanius* accordingly came thither, ſhewed himſelfe auerſe from *Chryſoſtome*, and would neither come into the ſame houſe, nor pray with him, though hee ſought him with great reſpect: Whereupon after a while, *Epiphanius* in great diſlike departed from *Conſtantinople*; at the parting of theſe Biſhops, the one of them ſaying, he hoped the other ſhould neuer returne home; the other, that he ſhould neuer dye a Biſhop; both which fell out accordingly: for *Epiphanius* died by the way, as he was returning home; and *Chryſoſtome* caſt out of his Biſhoprique, died in baniſhment. After the departing of *Epiphanius*, *Chryſoſtome* made a Sermon in reproofe and reprehenſion of women, which ſo moued and enraged the Empreſſe, that ſhe complained bitterly to her husband, and vrged him to cauſe *Theophilus* to come quickly, and to hold a Councell, which accordingly he did. *Chryſoſtome* was called to come into the Synode; but he anſwered, that he refuſed not iudgement, but deſired to know his accuſers, & what crimes he was charged with, and proteſted againſt theſe Iudges as partial, appealing to a generall Councell; whereupon he was depoſed.

Three dayes after he withdrew himſelfe; which put the people into an vp-rore, who ſtirring in very tumultuous manner, forced the Emperour to bring him backe againe, and cauſed him to take his chaire againe, thirty Biſhops bringing him to it. Heere beganne a new quarrell, for that being depoſed by a Synode, he reſumed his place without a Synode: but the matter was reaſonably well quieted, till reprehending thoſe in authority, for permitting certaine abuſes, the Empreſſe thinking her ſelfe touched, beganne againe to thinke, how ſhee might procure another

greater Counceil to be called then before; which *Chryſoſtome* vnderſtanding, made that Sermon that beginneth, *Herodias denuò inſanire, denuò commoueri, denuò ſaltare pergit, denuò caput Ioannis in diſco accipere quærit:* that is, *Herodias* proceedeth and goeth on to be mad againe, to bee moued and ſtirred againe, and to daunce againe: ſhee ſeekes once againe to haue the head of *Iohn* in a platter. It was not long after the preaching of this Sermon, before the Biſhops came together and met in Synode, by the procurement of the Empreſſe; who omitting all other things, obiected vnto him, the reſuming of his place without a Synode. He anſwered, that there were 50 Biſhops that conſented to him, and communicated with him: But they replyed, that there were more that condemned him; and that therfore by the Canon he ought not to haue reſumed his place. To whom hee anſwered, that that was a Canon of the *Arrians*, made by them when they proceeded againſt *Athanaſius*, and therefore not to be regarded. But that anſwer would not ſerue the turne: wherefore they proceeded to ſentence againſt him, and put him out of his Biſhoprique, and the Emperour immedratly ſent him into baniſhment. Being in this diſtreſſe, and thus grieuouſly wronged, he writeth to *Innocentius*, and the Weſterne Biſhops, deſiring them to do what they can to repreſſe theſe vile practiſes, & to write, that the things done againſt him be of no force, as indeed they are not; and that hee might ſtill hold communion with them, as before he had done.

The Biſhop of *Rome* vpõ this his ſuite, called a Synode of al the Biſhops of the Weſt,* held both *Theophilus* and *Chryſoſtome* in their communion; pronounced the iudgement of *Theophilus*, and his proceedings againſt *Chryſoſtome*, to be void, as being againſt the Canons; and yet told *Chryſoſtome*, there was no helpe, nor no meanes to releeue him, but in a generall Councell, which by all poſſible meanes he will labour to procure; till which time he muſt be content, and referre all to God, who taketh care of theſe thinges. But with how ill ſucceſſe hee ſought to procure a generall Counceil for the reſtoring of him to his place againe, we may finde in[1] *Sozomene*; who reporteth, that being deſirous that *Chryſoſtome* might returne, he ſent with thoſe Orientall Biſhops that came to him to intreate his helpe & aſſiſtance, fiue Biſhops & two Presbyters to *Honorius*, and *Arcadius*, to obtaine a Counceil, and to haue the time appointed: who were ſo farre from preuailing, and obtaining that they ſought, that they were ſent away with diſgrace, as forreine and outlandiſh diſturbers of the ſtate of the Empire.

* *Vide epiſt. Innocentij ad Chryſoſtom. & Theophilum, apud Binnium. Tom. 3. Concil.*

[1] *Lib. 8 cap. 28.*

Theſe are the principall, and moſt materiall circumſtances of the narration & report of the vniuſt depoſition of *Chryſoſtome*, his writing to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and the anſwer he had from him, and the other Biſhops of the Weſt, which make moſt ſtrongly againſt the pretended ſupremacy of Popes. For *Innocentius* telleth *Chryſoſtomes* friends, that it lieth not in him

him to helpe him, but in a generall Councel: And though he and the Bishops of the West pronounce the proceedings of *Theophilus* void, as against the Canons, and do make them void, as much as by their dissenting they can, yet they confesse, that the absolute voiding of them, and the punishing of *Theophilus* was not in them, but in a general Councell. But, saith *Bellarmine*, [m] *Chrysostome* in another Epistle giueth *Innocentius* thankes for his fatherly care and kindnesse, & intreateth, that his enemies may not bee excluded from the communion, if by any meanes they may bee reclaimed: therfore it seemeth *Chrysostome* thought, he had an absolute supreme commanding power. What it is in this Epistle that argueth that supreme power which *Bellarmine* dreameth of, I cannot tell. For I know no reason why *Chrysostome*, now a deposed & distressed Bishop, might not vse so respectiue a forme of speech to the Bishop of the first Sea, & esteeme of him as a father, without acknowledging him to haue any absolute supreme power ouer all. And all the other circumstances and parts of the Epistle most clearly make against the Papacie. For he saith, *Innocentius* had done what he could; but that his enemies notwithstanding went stil forward in their ill courses; & for the auoyding of greater scandals, distractions, and confusions, desireth him not to reiect them from his communion, considering the greatnesse of the worke: for that this was the contention almost of all the world; So that the Churches were brought vpon their knees, the people dispersed, the Clergie vexed, Bishops banished, and the constitutions of the holy Fathers violated and broken.

m *Inter Epistolas Innocentij supradictas.*

The eighth *Greeke* Father is *Cyril*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, out of whom *Bellarmine* alledgeth no new thing, but the very same which hee brought out of the Councell of *Ephesus*, whereof hee was president; and therefore I will make no new answer heere to this renued allegation, but referre the Reader to the [n] answer already made.

n See chap. 33.

The ninth *Greeke* Father is *Theodoret*, out of whom *Bellarmine* seeketh to confirme the Papacie, for that though he were a Bishop of *Asia*, and had vnder him 800. Churches, yet [o] he acknowledgeth the Bishop of *Rome* to be his supreme Iudge: and in an Epistle written to *Renatus*, a Presbyter of the Church of *Rome*, saith, that that holy See hath the gouernment and direction of the churches throughout the world. For answer vnto this obiection, we must obserue, that *Theodoret* being deposed, banished, and grieuously vexed for matters of faith, seeketh to haue his cause reëxamined, and heard againe by the Bishop of *Rome*, & the Bishops of the West; which thing he obtained, and was by *Leo*, and the rest of the Bishops of the West, iudged Catholique, receiued to their communion, and, as much as lay in them, restored to his Bishoprique againe; yet could he not repossesse his place, till the Councel of *Chalcedon* put him into it; [p] which, though it were enformed by the deputies of *Leo*, that he had long before receiued him to his cõmunion, yet admitted him not til he was reëxamined

o *Theodoret. in Epist. ad Leonẽ. quæ habetur in fine operum eius.*

p *Concil. Chalced. Act. 1. & 8.*

and at first many of the Fathers disliking his answeres as imperfect, cryed out aloud, that hee was a *Nestorian*, and desired that the Heretique might be cast out, censuring him as *Cyril*, and other Catholique Bishops had done before. But when he fully and peremptorily accursed *Nestorius* with all his adherents, they all with one consenting voice, pronounced him worthy of his place, and admitted him to sit in Councell with them. Whereby it appeareth, that howsoeuer the Westerne Bishops pronounced him Catholique, receiued him to their communion, and, as much as in them lay, restored him to his place, yet of themselues they neither could, nor did perfect that worke, but were forced to leaue it to the generall Councell; all which *Leo* himselfe in his Epistle to *Theodoret* acknowledgeth: [q] *Adiutorium nostrum*, saith he, *in nomine Domini, qui fecit cœlum & terram, qui nullum nos in nostris fratribus detrimentum sustinere permisit; sed quæ nostro prius ministerio definierat, vniuersa fraternitatis irretractabili firmauit assensu; vt vere à se prodijsse ostenderet, quod prius à prima omnium sede formatũ, totius Christiani orbis iudicium recepisset, vt in hoc quoque Capiti membra concordent. Nam, ne aliarum sedium, ad eam quam cæteris omnium Dominus statuit præsidere, consensus, assentatio videretur, inuenti prius sunt, qui de iudicijs nostris ambigerent*; that is, Our helpe is in the name of the Lord, who made both heauen and earth, who suffered vs not to sustaine any losse in our brethren, but confirmed, and established by the irreuocable assent of the whole brotherhood, what things he had before defined by our ministery; that he might clearely shew that thing vndoubtedly to haue proceeded from himselfe, which being formerly framed by the first See, the iudgmẽt of the whole Christian world receiued: So that heerin the head & mẽbers conspire together. For lest the consenting of other Sees to that which the Lord of all appointed to be the first of all, might seeme to be but flattery, there were some found that at first doubted of our iudgements, whether they were right or not. And he addeth, that *multũ Sacerdotalis officij meritũ splendescit, vbi sic summorũ seruatur authoritas, vt in nullo inferiorum putetur imminuta libertas*: that is, that the excellent worthines of the Priestly office doth then most appeare in shining brightnesse, when the authority of the highest is so retained, that the liberty of the inferior and lesser be thought in nothing to be diminished or empaired. Thereby insinuating, that hee and his Westerne Bishops did so goe before in their resolution touching the case of *Theodoret*, that they no way diminished, much lesse tooke away the liberty of other inferiour Sees, but that they might resist and gainsay, till they were satisfied, and made to see the equity of the iudgement of the first See: accordingly as we finde they did in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, reiecting him as an Heretique, whom the Bishop of *Rome* had receiued, till vpon more full and particular examination, they found him to be catholique, and acquited him in their owne iudgement.

[q] Leon. Epist. in fine operum Theodoreti.

So that heere we see there is nothing to proue the Pope to be an absolute supreme

ſupreme iudge of all, as *Bellarmine* vntruly alledgeth. But haply hee will ſay, that *Theodoret* intreateth *Renatus* to perſwade *Leo* to vſe his authority, and to require the Biſhops that had proceeded againſt him, to come to his Synode in the Weſt, ſeeing the See of *Rome* hath a direction of all Churches: and that therefore he ſeemeth to acknowledge an abſolute ſupreme power in the Pope.

For anſwer heereunto we ſay, that the circumſtances of this Epiſtle do clearely conuince and proue he had no ſuch conceipt. For firſt, he ſpeaketh not of *Leo* alone, as if of himſelfe he could determine the matter of difference betweene him and his Aduerſaries, but of him & his Weſterne Councell. Secondly, he doth not ſay, that he, and his Councel alone may determine the matter; but that his See being the firſt See, he and his Biſhops may call all other Biſhops to their Councell: and this is that direction or gouernement which he ſaith the firſt See, or Weſterne Church hath of other Churches; namely, in going before them, and inuiting and calling them to publique deliberations, not in peremptory and abſolute commanding without them and ouer them.

The tenth witneſſe produced out of the *Greeke* church, is *Sozomene*, out of whom two things are alledged. The firſt is, that hee ſaith [t] *Iulius* Biſhop of *Rome*, reſtored *Athanaſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, and *Paulus* Biſhop of *Coſtantinople*, to their churches, from which they were violently and vniuſtly expulſed by certaine Orientall Biſhops. The ſecond, [f] that he did this becauſe the care of all pertained to him in reſpect of the dignity of his See.

t Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 7.

f Ibidem.

How the words of *Sozomene* reporting that *Iulius* reſtored theſe Biſhops to their churches, are to bee vnderſtood, we may learne of *Iulius* himſelfe, who in his Epiſtle mentioned by *Athanaſius* in his ſecond Apologie, hauing blamed the Orientall Biſhops, for proceeding in a matter of ſo great conſequence concerning the faith, & the Biſhops of the principall Churches of the world, without him and his Biſhops, and, as he vnderſtood, very irregularly; telleth them, that he durſt not confirme that they had done, that hee communicated ſtill with *Athanaſius* and *Paulus*, not foreiudging any thing, but deſiring them to come to a Synode, where things might be fully debated and determined; and that, though he alone wrote for them, yet he wrote in the name, and with the conſent of all the Biſhops of the Weſt.

Vpon which his letter, they [t] were ſo farre from reſtoring them to their places, that they tooke it in ill part, that he did write vnto them, telling him that when he proceeded againſt certaine *Nouatians*, they intermedled not, & that therfore he ſhould not meddle with their proceedings, ſeeing the greatneſſe of citties maketh not the power of one Biſhop greater then the power of another. By which their peremptory reiecting of his motion, it appeareth that he neither did, nor could put the expulſed Biſhops

t Sozom. vbi ſupra.

into their places againe: which thing [u] *Sozomene* himselfe testifieth also, telling vs, that they could neuer recouer their places, till the Emperor by his mandatory letters preuailed. So that when hee saith, *Iulius* restored them, his meaning is, that hee restored them as much as lay in him; as likewise it may be said of *Cyril*, and *Iohn* of *Antioche*, that after many and bitter contentions, they were in the end reconciled, and [x] restored each to other their Churches, from which yet they were neuer driuen indeed, but in the censures of the one of them passed against the other. But *Sozomene* saith, the care of all Churches pertained to the Bishop of *Rome*; therefore he acknowledgeth, that he had an vniuersalitie of power ouer all.

u *Ibidem. cap. 9.*

x *Socrates. lib. 7. cap. 33. Euagrius. lib. 1. cap. 5. Vide acta Concilij Ephesini.*

Surely, this consequence will neuer be made good. For the Metropolitane, or he that is Bishop of the first See in each prouince, in respect of the dignity of his Sea, hath the care of the whole prouince, yet can he doe nothing, but as he is directed by the maior part of the Bishops. So that the care of all is said to pertaine to him, not because he hath power to dispose of all things by himselfe, but because all publique proceedings concerning the whole prouince, must take their beginning from him, & nothing of that nature may be taken in hand, without consulting him.

In like sort, and in the same sense and meaning, *Sozomene* saith, that for the dignitie of his See, the care of all pertained to the Bishop of *Rome*; not as if the absolute disposing of all things did rest in him, but for that he, as prime Bishop of the world, was first to bee consulted, before any thing concerning the common faith, & the whole state of the Christian Church, were determined; and for that by the assistance and concurrence of other Bishops, he as first in order and honor amongst them, was to begin and set forward all things of greatest consequence tending to the common good.

Three more witnesses *Bellarmine* hath yet behinde, *Acatius*, the Bishop of *Patara*; and *Iustinian* the Emperour, out of whom three things are alledged: The first, that the Bishop of *Rome* beareth about with him the care of all churches. The second, that the Pope is ouer the Church of the whole world. The third, that the Pope is the head of all holy Churches. To the first of these allegations taken out of *Acatius* his Epistle to *Simplicius* Bishop of *Rome*, I haue answered before; as likewise in what sense the Pope may be said to be ouer the Church of the whole world, to wit, in respect of a primacie of order and honour, but not of power; in which sense also, *Iustinian* the elder, writing to *Iohn* the second, saith, his See is the head of all Churches. And thus hauing examined the testimonies of the *Greeke* Fathers, we are now to proceed to the authorities of the *Latine* Church.

Chap. 36.

Of the pretended proofes of the Popes Supremacie, taken out of the writings of the Latine *Fathers.*

THE firſt among the *Latine* Fathers, that [a] *Bellarmine* produceth, is *Cyprian*; who of all other moſt clearely ouerthroweth the errour of the *Romaniſts*, touching the Papacie, and therefore is very vnaduiſedly produced by them in the firſt place, and appointed to marſhall and conduct the reſt of their witneſſes: yet let vs heare what he will ſay. Out of *Cyprian* foure places are alledged. The firſt is, in his booke *de vnitate Eccleſia*. The ſecond, in the third Epiſtle of his firſt booke written to *Cornelius*. The third, in the tenth Epiſtle of the ſecond booke to the ſame *Cornelius*. The fourth, in the eighth Epiſtle of the firſt booke *ad plebem vniuerſam*. Out of the firſt of theſe places they will proue, that he maketh *Peter* head of the whole Church. Out of the ſecond, that there is one high Prieſt, and one ſupreme Iudge in the Church, whom all men are bound to obey. Out of the third, that *Cornelius* was head of all Catholiques. Out of the fourth, that there is one ſingular Chaire in the Church, wherein he ſitteth that muſt teach all.

[a] *Bell. de Pont. lib. 2. cap. 16.*

To euery of theſe allegations, I will anſwer in order, and make it moſt cleare and euident, that none of the thinges imagined by the Cardinall, can poſſibly be concluded out of any of the forenamed places. For to begin with the firſt; whoſoeuer will but reade euer *Cyprians* booke of the vnity of the Church, ſhall moſt certainly and vndoubtedly finde, that hee ſpeaketh not in that booke, of *Peters* headſhip of the vniuerſall Church, as the Ieſuite fanſieth; but of the head, originall, and firſt beginning of Paſtorall commiſſion. Which that it may the better appeare, I will as briefely as poſſibly I can, lay downe the principall and moſt materiall circumſtances of the whole diſcourſe of that book, written vpon occaſion of the Schiſme of the *Nouatians*.

The firſt thing that occurreth in the whole diſcourſe of the booke, is the Authors obſeruation of the endleſſe malice of Sathan, who when hee found the Idols of the Gentiles, wherein he was wont to be worſhipped, to be forſaken, and his Seates and Temples deſerted, almoſt all profeſſing to beleeue in Chriſt, *Hæreſes inuenit & Schiſmata, quibus ſubuerteret fidem, veritatem corrumperet, ſcinderet vnitatem*: that is, Found out Hereſies & Schiſmes, by which he might ſubuert the Faith, corrupt the verity, and cut in ſunder the vnitie; ſo that *Quos detinere non poteſt in via veteris cœcitate, circumſcribit, & decipit noui itineris errore*: that is, Whom hee cannot hold in the blindneſſe and darkneſſe of the old way, thoſe he circumuenteth & beguileth, by making them erre, go aſide, & not hold on

the right courſe of their iourney in the new way that leadeth vnto life. In the ſecond place he ſheweth, that this ſo falleth out, and that men are ſo beguiled, and miſſe-led into Schiſmes and Hereſies, becauſe they returne not backe to the firſt origine of truth, becauſe they ſeeke not the head, nor keepe the doctrine of the heauenly Maiſter; which if a man would conſider & thinke of, he ſhould not need to ſeeke out many argumẽts, nor fetch any great compaſſe about; but the truth would eaſily without any great ſearch offer it ſelfe vnto him. For therefore did Chriſt, when hee was to lay the foundations of the Chriſtian church, ſay ſpecially to *Peter*, [b] *Thou art* Peter, *and vpon this Rocke will I build my Church, and I wil giue to thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen*: and againe after his reſurrection, [c] *Feede my Sheepe*; becauſe though riſing againe from the dead, he gaue like power to all the Apoſtles, when he ſaid [d] *As my Father ſent me, ſo ſend I you*; *whoſe ſinnes ye remit, they are remitted*; *whoſe ſins ye retaine, they are retained*; yet he would by ſpeaking ſpecially to one, and by appointing one chaire, ſhew what vnity ſhould be in the Church.

b Mat. 16. 18. 19.
c Ioh. 21. 15. 16.
d Ioh. 20. 21. & 23.

The reſt of the Apoſtles, ſaith *Cyprian*, were vndoubtedly the ſame that *Peter* was, equall in honour & power; but therefore did Chriſt in the firſt place giue, or at leaſt promiſe to giue ſpecially & particularly to one that Apoſtlique commiſſion, which he meant alſo to giue to the reſt, that hee might thereby ſhew, that the church muſt be one, & that there muſt be but one Epiſcopall chaire in the world.

All the Apoſtles, ſaith *Cyprian*, are Paſtors, but the flocke of Chriſt is but one, which they are to feed with vnanimous conſent: There is but one body of the church, one ſpirit, one hope of our calling, one Lord, one Faith, one baptiſme, one God. This vnity all men muſt endeuour to keepe, eſpecially Biſhops, that they may make it appeare that there is but one Biſhoply commiſſion in the Chriſtian church, *Cuius à ſingulis in ſolidum pars tenetur*, that is, Whereof euery one indifferently and in equall ſort hath his part.

Heere is nothing that proueth the vniuerſality of the Papall power, or that *Peter* was by Chriſt made head of the whole church. But this place moſt mainely ouerthroweth that ſuppoſed Headſhip: For *Cyprian* teacheth, that Chriſt meant to giue equall power and authority to all his Apoſtles, and that the reaſon, why intending no more to one then to the reſt, yet he more ſpecially directed his ſpeech to one then to the reſt, was, onely to ſhew, that there muſt be an vnity in the church, which he ſettled in that beginning with one, from him he proceeded to the reſt, not meaning that the reſt ſhould receiue any thing from him, but that from himſelfe immediatly they ſhould receiue that in the ſecond place, which hee had firſt, and that they ſhould receiue the ſame commiſſion together with him, into which he was firſt put, that they might know him to be the firſt of their company.

In

In this ſenſe *Innocentius* ſaith, [e] *A Petro ipſe Epiſcopatus, & tota authoritas nominis huius emerſit*; that is, The biſhoply office, and the whole authoritie of this name and title tooke beginning from *Peter*; whom, he ſaith, all Biſhops muſt reſpect, as *Sui nominis & honoris authorem*; that is, as the firſt and originall of their name and honour: And *Leo* in like ſort, [f] *Huius muneris ſacramentum ita Dominus ad omnium Apoſtolorum officium voluit pertinere, vt in beatiſsimo* Petro *Apoſtolorum omnium ſummo principaliter collocaret, vt ab ipſo, quaſi quodam capite, dona ſua velut in corpus omne diffunderet*; that is; The Lords will was, that the myſterie of this heauenly gift, commiſſion and employment, ſhould ſo pertaine to the miniſterie and office of all the Apoſtles, that yet he would firſt and principally place it in moſt bleſſed *Peter* the greateſt of the Apoſtles, that ſo beginning with him as with the head and firſt, he might proceede from him to poure forth his gifts into all the body.

[e] *Inter Epiſtolas Auguſtini, epiſt.* 91.

[f] *Leo epiſt.* 89.

But, ſaith *Bellarmine*, *Cyprian* ſpeaketh of another head of the Church beſides Chriſt, and maketh the Church that ſo enlargeth it ſelfe, and hath ſo many parts, yet to be one in this roote and head; as the beames are manie, but the light is one; as the boughes are many, but the tree is one; the riuers are many, but the fountaine is one.

It is ſtraunge that a man of his learning and iudgement ſhould ſo miſconceiue things, as he ſeemeth to doe. For it is moſt euident to any one that will but take the paines to peruſe the place, that *Cyprian* ſpeaketh not of a diſtinct head of the Church different from Chriſt, and appointed by him to gouerne the Church, but of the originall, firſt beginning, and head of the commiſſion the Paſtors of the Church haue: Which commiſſion Chriſt ſo gaue to all his Apoſtles, that yet firſt he gaue it, or at leaſt, firſt promiſed to giue it to one, and directed his ſpeech ſpecially to him, to ſhew that none can be Paſtors of the Church, but ſuch as without intruſion are conſented on by them, that, hauing this power in vnitie amongſt themſelues, may communicate it to others.

Neither doth he ſay, as the Ieſuite fanſieth, that the many parts of the Church are one in ſubiection to one head diſtinct from Chriſt, as the beames of the ſunne are one in the ſame light; but in the vnitie of the ſame maine body: For euen as, ſaith *Cyprian*, the beames of the ſunne are one in the ſame light, and the boughes of the tree are one in the ſame tree; ſo all churches muſt deriue themſelues from the firſt Church, and all Paſtors their commiſſion from the firſt commiſſion, which Chriſt gaue to all his Apoſtles; yet ſo, that he put one firſt into it, and directed his ſpeeches ſpecially vnto one, thereby to ſettle them in an orderly vnitie amongſt themſelues.

This is vndoubtedly the meaning of *Cyprian*: For it can no way ſtand, either with the truth, with the opinion of *Cyprian*, or with the opinion of our Aduerſaries themſelues, that the reſt of the Apoſtles receiued their Miniſte-

Miniſteriall power from *Peter*, and were ſubiect to him as to an head, and abſolute commander ouer them, ſeeing he ſaith expreſſely, *that they were the ſame that* Peter *was, and equall to him, both in honour and power*; and beſides, both in this booke, and in many other places, he is wont to deriue the originall of ſchiſmes and hereſies from the intruſion of men into places already full, or at the leaſt into voide places, without due admittance and allowance of them, that in a kind of coherent concord, rule and gouerne the Church; and neuer, from the reſiſtance againſt one ſupreme commaunder ſet ouer all.

g Epiſt. 52. So in his g Epiſtle to *Antonianus*, he proueth *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome* to be a true and lawfull Biſhop, becauſe hauing the teſtimonie of the Clergie, and voices of the people, the place of *Fabianus* being voide, he was ordained to ſucceede him by manie Biſhops then at *Rome*, who ſent their letters abroad, making honorable report of his due and right comming to the place, and the whole number of Biſhops throughout the world with great vnanimitie conſented; and by the want of theſe things proueth his factious oppoſites to be ſchiſmatiques.

In the ſecond allegation the Cardinall bewrayeth very groſſe ignorance: For it was not a difference betweene *Cornelius*, and the *Nouatians* refuſing to acknowledge him to be Biſhop, that gaue occaſion of writing that h Epiſtle, as he vntruly ſaith; but the calumniations of *Feliciſſimus* and *Fortunatus*, againſt *Cyprian* himſelfe: Which factious companions being put from the communion by *Cyprian*, and many of his colleagues, flying to *Rome*, were there reiected, and thereupon fell to threatning.

h Lib. 2. epiſt. 3.

Theſe threatnings *Cyprian* deſpiſeth, pronounceth them to be murtherers, ſheweth that they ſhall not eſcape the iudgement of God, and that nothing is to be remitted of the ſeueritie of church-diſcipline, for feare of theſe wicked ones, that are enemies of Prieſts, and rebels againſt Gods Church; whom God will vndoubtedly much more ſeuerely puniſh, then they were, who in the time of the law of *Moſes* deſpiſed the high Prieſt, and other Prieſts and rulers of the people; who yet anſwered ſuch their contempts with their bloud; and then addeth the words cited by *Bellarmine*, that *hence all hereſies and ſchiſmes do ariſe, for that the Prieſt of God is not obeyed, nor one Prieſt in the Church for the time, and one iudge in Chriſts ſtead for the time acknowledged: whom if men would obey according to the diuine inſtructions, no man would attempt any thing againſt the colledge of Prieſts, no man after the iudgement of God, the voices of the people, and the conſent of fellow-Biſhops, would make himſelfe a iudge, not ſo much of the Biſhops, as of God himſelfe; no man pleaſing himſelfe would bring in any new hereſie or ſchiſme to the renting and deuiding of the church; as if, when a ſparrowe falleth not to the ground, without the will of our Father, it were poſſible, that he*

who

who is ordained a Biſhop in the Church, ſhould be ordained without the will of God.

Surely, ſaith he, *I ſpeake it prouoked, I ſpeake it grieued, and conſtrained; when a Biſhop is placed in the roome of one that is dead, choſen in peace by all the people, protected by diuine helpe in the time of perſecution, faithfully conioyned with all his colleagues, approued to his people foure yeares in his Biſhoply office, in the time of peace keeping the rules of diſcipline, proſcribed in the times of trouble, ſo often euen with addition of the title of Biſhop, called for to be caſt to the Lyon, and euen in theſe verie dayes wherein I write vnto thee, called for againe to the Lyon; if ſuch a one be impugned by a few deſperate and wicked ones, it will eaſily appeare who they are, that ſo impugne him.*

All theſe things are ſpoken by *Cyprian* of his owne caſe, as moſt clearly appeareth by his 69. Epiſtle; and therefore the words are ſtraungely wreſted by *Bellarmine* to proue the Papacie, when *Cyprian* ſpeaketh of the reſpect that is due to the Biſhop of euery particular church, and, by application thereof to himſelfe, ſheweth *Cornelius*, how little hee had bene reſpected, and how grieuouſly he hath bene wronged.

But the Cardinall will proue that he ſpeaketh of the Pope, when he ſpeaketh of one Paſtour and of one Iudge in the Church for the time, and not of euerie Biſhop or Paſtour in his owne particular Church: Firſt, becauſe in the booke *De vnitate Eccleſiæ*, he maketh *Peter* head and commaunder of all the church; and ſaith, hereſies ſpring from the not ſeeking to this head; then which nothing is more vntrue. For *Cyprian* doth not make *Peter* head and commander ouer the whole church, as I haue alreadie ſhewed in anſwer to the former allegation. Secondly, for that when he ſpeaketh of one Iudge in the Church in ſtead of Chriſt, he muſt of neceſſitie by the name of the church vnderſtand the vniuerſall church, and not each particular church, becauſe in his Epiſtle he ſpeaketh of *Cornelius*.

A ſtrange kind of proofe, and ſuch as I thinke can neuer be made good: For firſt, the conſequence doth not hold, ſeeing he might ſpeake of *Cornelius*, and yet vnderſtand by the name of the church, the dioceſe of *Rome*, and not the vniuerſall church: and ſecondly, it is vntrue that he ſaith, he ſpeaketh of *Cornelius*. For it is as cleare as the Sunne at noone day, that throughout the whole Epiſtle, he complaineth of contempts, indignities, and wrongs offered to himſelfe by *Faliciſsimus* and *Fortunatus*, and not to *Cornelius*.

But that *Cyprian* neuer acknowledged the ſupremacie of power which the *Romane* Biſhops at this day claime, no better proofe can be deſired then this Epiſtle will yeeld: For theſe miſcreants, *Faliciſſimus*, *Fortunatus*, and their adherents, fled to *Cornelius*, complaining againſt *Cyprian*: whom he peremptorily condemneth for this their flying to *Rome*, as violators of the Canons, and diſturbers of the order of the Church,

Church, which requireth all matters to be heard and determined in thoſe places where the accuſers and witneſſes may be produced; *Vnleſſe*, ſaith he, *a few deſperate and wicked companions do thinke the authority of the African Biſhops to be leſſe then the authoritie of other Biſhops elſewhere, and therefore carry things out of Africa by way of appeale to other places*. So that when he calleth the church of *Rome* the principall church, whence Sacerdotall vnitie ſprang, his meaning is, that it is the principall church in order and honour, and not in abſolute, ſupreme, commaunding power; and that Sacerdotall vnitie ſprang from thence, not as if all Biſhops did receiue their power and iuriſdiction from the Biſhop of *Rome*, but for that, though all receiue their Biſhoply commiſſion immediatly from Chriſt, by the hands of the Apoſtles ordaining them, yet he is to be acknowledged as firſt in the commiſſion, ſucceeding *Peter* to whom Chriſt firſt promiſed that, which he meant afterwards in as ample ſort to giue to all the reſt.

For anſwer to the third allegation, we muſt obſerue that *Cyprian* in the [i] Epiſtle cited by *Bellarmine*, laboureth to ſatisfie *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome*, who was ſomething offended with him, for that preſently ſo ſoone as he heard of his ordination, he did not write vnto him as to his fellow Biſhop. To this purpoſe he ſheweth, that he refrained and forbare ſo to do, till he was by others aſſured of his due and orderly election, and ordination, as well as by himſelfe, becauſe he perceiued there was ſome oppoſition againſt him; but that as ſoone as his ordination was approued vnto him, hearing of ſome factious and turbulent men ſtirring againſt him, he ſent certaine of his brethren and colleagues to put to their helping hands for the bringing of the deuided members of the body to the vnitie of the Catholique church, if by any meanes it might be; but that the obſtinacie of the one part was ſuch, that they not onely refuſed the boſome of the roote, and common mother ſeeking to receiue and embrace them, but ſet vp another head or Biſhop; where it is plaine and euident, that he ſpeaketh not of the vniuerſall church, the common mother of all beleeuers, but of that particular church of *Rome*, whereof *Cornelius* was Biſhop, oppoſite to the diuiſions of ſuch as departed from the vnitie of it, who being gone out of the boſome and lap of it, choſe a Biſhop of their owne faction.

i *Lib. 2. epiſt. 10. ad Cornelium.*

The fourth and laſt allegation will eaſily be anſwered, if we doe but take a view of that which *Cyprian* writeth in the [k] Epiſtle alleaged. *There is*, ſaith he, *one God, one Chriſt, one Church, one chaire founded vpon* Peter *by the Lords owne voyce. No other Altar may be raiſed, nor other new Prieſthood appointed, beſides that one Altar and one Prieſthood already appointed. Whoſoeuer gathereth any where elſe, ſcattereth*. Surely, it is not poſſible, that the Cardinall ſhould thinke as he pretendeth to doe, that *Cyprian* ſpeaketh of one ſingular chaire ordained by Chriſt for one Biſhop to ſit in

k *Lib. 1. Epiſt. 8. ad plebem vniuer.*

in, appointed to teach all the world. For the queſtion in this place is not touching obedience to be yeelded to the Biſhop of *Rome*, that *Cyprian* ſhould neede to vrge that point, but touching certaine Schiſmatiques which oppoſed themſelues againſt him; and therefore he vrgeth the vnitie of the church and of the chaire, to ſhew, that againſt them that are lawfully placed, with conſenting allowance of the Paſtors at vnitie, others may not be admitted; and that they, who by any other meanes get into the places of Miniſterie, then by the conſenting allowance of the Paſtors at vnitie amongſt themſelues, are in truth and indeed no Biſhops at all.

So that *Cyprian* by that one chaire he mentioneth, vnderſtandeth not one particular chaire appointed for a generall teacher of all the world to ſit in, but the ioynt commiſſion, vnitie, and conſent of all Paſtors, which is and muſt be ſuch, as if they did all ſit in one chaire.

Hitherto we haue heard what can be alleaged out of *Cyprians* writings, to proue the ſupreme commaunding authority of the Pope. Now let vs heare what may be alleaged out of the ſame for the improuing thereof.

Firſt, in his booke of the vnitie of the church he ſaith, *There is one Epiſcopall office whereof euerie one equally and indifferently hath his part*; and ſecondly, in the Councell of *Carthage* holden by him and other Biſhops of *Africa*, he ſaith; [l] *None of vs maketh himſelfe a Biſhop of Biſhops, or tyrannically enforceth his colleagues to a neceſſitie of obeying, becauſe euery Biſhop hath his owne free iudgement and diſpoſition, and may neither iudge other, nor be iudged of other, but muſt all expect the iudgement of God, who onely hath power to ſet vs ouer his Church, and to iudge of our actions.* To the firſt of theſe authorities [m] *Bellarmine* anſwereth, that each Biſhop hath his part in the Epiſcopall office and commiſſion, equally, and as well as any other, but not an equall part: For *Peter* and his ſucceſſours haue that part, that is as the roote, head, and fountaine; the reſt, thoſe parts that are as the braunches, members, and riuers, and that therefore *Peters* ſucceſſours are to rule and gouerne the reſt. But this anſwer is refuted by the other place, where *Cyprian* with the whole Councell of *Carthage* ſaith: *None of vs maketh himſelfe a Biſhop of Biſhops, or goeth about tyrannically to inforce others to a neceſſity of obeying, ſeeing each Biſhop hath his libertie, and no one may iudge another, nor be iudged of another, but muſt all expect the iudgement of God.* If he replie, that this which *Cyprian* ſpeaketh of the equality of Biſhops, is to be vnderſtood of the Biſhops of *Carthage*, amongſt whom none was found, that had power to commaund ouer others, and not generally ſo as to include the Biſhop of *Rome*, he is refuted by *Cyprian* himſelfe; who in his Epiſtle to [n] *Stephen* Biſhop of *Rome*, hauing freely diſſented from him, and ſhewed the reaſons of his ſo diſſenting, *pro communi honore, & ſimplici dilectione*; that is, For the fellowſhip they haue in the ſame honorable calling and employment, and the ſimplicitie and ſingleneſſe of his loue, ſaith, he hopeth *Stephen* will approue that which is true and

l *Concil. Carthag. inter opera Cypriani.*

m *De Pont. Rom. lib. 2. cap. 16.*

n *Cypr. lib. 2. epiſt. 1.*

right,

right, and which he hath ſo ſtrongly confirmed and proued; though there be ſome (ſo taxing him in a ſort as too ſtiffely cleauing to his owne opinion) that will not eaſily alter their minds, but holding communion with their colleagues, ſtiffely maintaine what they haue once conceiued. Wherein, ſaith he, *Nec nos vim cuiquam facimus, aut legem damus, cùm habeat in Eccleſiæ adminiſtratione voluntatis ſuæ arbitrium liberum vnuſquiſque præpoſitus, rationem actus ſui Domino redditurus*; that is, Neither do we force any man, or giue a law vnto any man, whereas euerie gouernour hath the free diſpoſition of his owne will in the adminiſtration of the Church, being to giue an account of his actions vnto the Lord.

Here we ſee *Cyprian* ſpeaketh in the verie ſame ſort in the caſe betweene him and *Stephen*, as he did in the Councell of *Carthage*, and that generally he maketh all Biſhops equall, and no one ſubiect to the iudgement of another, but to the iudgement of God only, and the company of their fellow Biſhops.

And that he did not thinke the Biſhop of *Rome*, to haue an infallibility of iudgement, or a commanding authority ouer other Biſhops, it appeareth, in that writing to [o] *Pompeius* of *Stephens* anſwere to his letters, and ſending him a copy of the ſame anſwer, he telleth him, that by reading it, he may more and more note his errour in maintaining the cauſe of Heretiques againſt Chriſtians and the Church of God; and feareth not to pronounce of him, that he writeth many things proudly, impertinently, vnskilfully, improuidently, and contrarie to himſelfe; and, which more is, contemning his preſcription, that heretiques ſhould not be rebaptized, but be receiued with the impoſition of hands onely, he chargeth him with hard, ſtiffe, and inflexible obſtinacie. [p] *Firmilianus* with the Biſhops of *Phrygia*, *Galatia*, *Cilicia*, and other regions neere adioining, aſſembled in a Synode at *Iconium*, conſented with *Cyprian*; and *Firmilianus* writing to him, telleth him of their reſolution, and chargeth *Stephen* with folly, who bragging of the place of his biſhoprique, and pretending to ſucceede Saint *Peter*, on whom the church was founded, yet bringeth in many other rockes, and new buildings of many churches, in that he ſuppoſeth heretiques to be truly baptized, who are out of the communion of the true Church; whereas the church was ſpecially promiſed to be builded on *Peter*; to ſhew that it muſt be but one. And in great diſlike and reprehenſion of *Stephen*, he ſaith, he was not aſhamed in fauour of heretiques to deuide the brotherhood, and to call *Cyprian* the worthy ſeruant of God, a falſe Chriſt, a falſe Apoſtle, and a deceiptfull, and guilefull workeman; whereas all theſe things might much more truely be ſayd of him; and therefore guiltie to himſelfe, *Præuenit, vt alteri ea per mendacium obiceret, quæ ipſe ex merito audire deberet*; that is, By way of preuention, he falſely and lyingly obiected thoſe things to another, which

[o] *Epiſt. 74.*

[p] *Firmilianus in epiſt. 75. inter epiſt. Cyprian.*

which himselfe truly and deseruedly might haue had obiected to him by others.

Such and so great were the oppositions of *Cyprian* and his consorts, against *Stephen* and his adherents, in the matter of rebaptization; whereupon q *Bellarmine* saith, it seemeth that *Cyprian* sinned mortally, in that he obeyed not the commaundement of *Stephen*, nor submitted his iudgement to the iudgement of his superiour. q *De Pont. Rom. lib. 4. cap 7.*

That he erred in the matter of rebaptization, we willingly confesse; but, that he knew not the power, authoritie, and commission of the Bishop of *Rome*, or that he would euer haue dissented from him, or opposed himselfe against him in a question of faith, if he had thought his power to be vniuersall, and his iudgement infallible, we vtterly deny. For then he should not onely haue erred in the matter of rebaptization, but haue bene a damnable heretique, and haue perished euerlastingly; whereas yet the Church of God hath euer reputed him a holy Bishop, and a blessed Martyr. Thus hauing examined the testimonies of *Cyprian*, vsually alleaged, for, and against the supremacie of the Pope, let vs proceede to the rest of *Bellarmines* witnesses.

The next that followeth is *Optatus*, out of whom it is alleaged, that r there was one Episcopall Chaire in the whole Church appointed by Christ. But because this is the same which was formerly alleaged out of *Cyprian*, and alreadie answered in the answers to the allegations brought out of him, therefore without farther troubling of the Reader I referre him to that which went before. r *Optat. lib. 2. contra Parmenian.*

The next vnto *Optatus* is *Ambrose*, out of whom three seuerall places are produced; in the first, his words are these, as *Bellarmine* citeth them. s *Though the whole world be Gods, yet the Church onely is called his house, the gouernour whereof at this day is* Damasus. For answer hereunto we say, that this testimonie rather witnesseth their forgerie, then confirmeth their errour. For the commentaries attributed to *Ambrose*, wherein these words are, are not his; and besides, this addition, *(the gouernour whereof at this day is* Damasus) may be thought to haue bene put in, in fauour of their fancie touching the Papall vniuersalitie of iurisdiction; it is so sudden, causeless, and abrupt. In the second place, *Ambrose* t reporteth of *Satyrus*, that before he would receiue the sacrament of the Lords body, he asked of the Bishop, by whose hands he was to receiue it, whether he held communion with the Catholick Bishops, & namely, with the *Romane* Church? To the inference of our Aduersaries, & the conclusion they seeke to deriue and draw from these words in fauor of the Papacie, I haue answered u elsewhere, whither I referre the Reader. Wherefore let vs come to the third and last place of *Ambrose*; His words are, x *We follow the type and forme of the Romane church in all things*; and againe, *I desire to follow the Romane church in all things*. s *Ambr. in 3. cap. 1. ad Tim.* t *Ambros. in Orat. in Satyrum.* u Booke 3. chap. 21. x *Ambros. de Sacramentis, li. 3. cap. 2.*

Surely,

Surely, this place of all other moſt clearly confuteth the errour of the *Romaniſts*, touching the infallibilitie of the iudgement of the *Romane* Church, and Biſhop, and the neceſſitie of abſolute conformitie with the ſame.

For in this place S. *Ambroſe* ſheweth, that in the church of *Millaine*, whereof he was Biſhop, the manner in his time was, that the Biſhop girding himſelfe about with a towell, in imitation of Chriſt, did waſh the feete of ſuch as were newly baptized; and after great commendation of the ſame cuſtome, obiecting to himſelfe that the *Romane* church had it not; firſt he ſaith, that perhaps the church of *Rome* omitted this waſhing, becauſe of the difficultie, and great labour in performing it, by reaſon of the multitude of thoſe that were baptized. Secondly, whereas ſome ſayde in defence and excuſe of the omiſſion of this waſhing in the *Romane* church, that it is not to be vſed as a myſticall right in the regeneration of them that are new borne in Chriſt, but in the ciuill entertainement of ſtrangers (the offices of humilitie, and ciuill courteſie, being verie farre different from the myſteries and ſacred rights of ſanctification) he reproueth them for ſo ſaying, and endeauoreth to ſhewe, that this kinde of waſhing is a ſacred and myſticall right, tending to the ſanctification of them that are newly baptized, and that out of the words of Chriſt to *Peter*; *Vnleſſe I waſh thee, thou ſhalt haue no part in me*; and then addeth the words alleaged by *Bellarmine*, *I deſire in all things to follow the* Romane *Church, but notwithſtanding we alſo are men, and haue our ſenſe and iudgement: and therefore what we find to be rightly obſerued any where elſe, we alſo rightly obſerue and keepe: we follow the Apoſtle* Peter, *we cleaue faſt vnto his deuotion; and hereunto, what can the Church of* Rome *anſwer?* Whereby we may ſee with what conſcience theſe men alleage the teſtimonies of the Fathers.

Ambroſe ſaith, Other men haue iudgement to diſcerne what is fit to be done, as well as the *Romanes*; that if any where elſe they finde better obſeruations, then in the church of *Rome*, they may lawfully embrace them; that Saint *Peter* Biſhop of *Rome* was author of his aſſertion; and that the church of *Rome* hath nothing to anſwere in her owne defence, or whereby to iuſtifie her omitting of this ſacred waſhing: and they produce his teſtimonie to proue, that he thought it neceſſarie to be like in all things to the church of *Rome*.

Neither doth *Bellarmines* anſwer, that he thought it neceſſarie to follow the church of *Rome* in all things neceſſarie to ſaluation, though he diſſented in this obſeruation, ſatisfie vs; ſeeing he thought this obſeruation neceſſarie to the perfect regeneration of the baptized, and conſequently to ſaluation, as appeareth in the place it ſelfe.

Wherefore, when *Ambroſe* ſaith of himſelfe, and thoſe of *Millaine*, that they follow in all things the type and forme of the *Romane* church, it

is not to be vnderſtood without al limitation; but that as other daughter-churches do follow the cuſtomes of their mother-churches; ſo the church of *Millaine* conformeth her ſelfe to the church of *Rome* in all things, ſo far forth as ſhe can perſwade her ſelfe it is fit and right ſo to do: otherwiſe, out of her iudgement and diſcretion receiuing from other churches that which they haue in better ſort then ſhe: euen as *Gregorie* Biſhop of *Rome* y profeſſed, that he was not aſhamed to learne of thoſe churches that were meaner then his owne.

y *Greg. Epiſt lib. 7. ep. 63.*

From *Ambroſe* the Cardinall paſſeth to *Hierome*, out of whoſe writings he produceth two teſtimonies. The firſt, out of his Epiſtle to *Ageruchia, de Monogamiâ*; the other out of his Epiſtle to *Damaſus* touching the vſe of the word *Hypoſtaſis*. The firſt of theſe two teſtimonies might well haue bene ſpared. For what can any man inferre from this that *Hierome* ſaith, he did helpe *Damaſus* in writing anſweres to the Synodall conſultations of the Eaſt and Weſt? was there euer any man that doubted of the conſulting of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and his Biſhops by the Synodes of the Eaſt and Weſt, in matters concerning the faith, and ſtate of the vniuerſall Church? Or may it be concluded from hence, that the Pope hath an abſolute ſupreme power in the Church? Surely, I thinke not. Wherefore let vs paſſe to the ſecond teſtimonie. *Ego*, ſaith *Hierome* to *Damaſus*, *nullum primum niſi Chriſtum ſequens, beatitudini tuæ, id eſt, Cathedræ* Petri, *communione conſocior: ſuper illam petram ædificatam Eccleſiam ſcio. Quicunque extra hanc domum agnum comederit, profanus eſt: Si quis in arcâ Noæ non fuerit, peribit regnante diluuio*; that is, I following no firſt and chiefe but Chriſt, am ioyned in communion to your bleſſedneſſe, that is, to *Peters* chaire. Vpon that rocke I know the Church to be builded: whoſoeuer ſhall eate the Paſchall Lambe out of this houſe, he is a profane perſon: If any man ſhall be out of *Noahs* arke, he ſhall vndoubtedly periſh, when the floud preuaileth and drowneth all.

It is true, that z *Cyprian* hath obſerued in his Epiſtle to *Stephen* Biſhop of *Rome*, that therefore almightie God appointed a great number and companie of Biſhops ioyned together by the glew and bond of vnitie, that if ſome fall into hereſie, and ſeeke to waſt the flocke of Chriſt, the reſt may gather the diſperſed ſheepe into the fold againe; and therefore euen as if one hauen be dangerous, they that ſaile will ſeeke to another more ſafe; and if one Inne vpon the way be poſſeſſed by theeues and wicked perſons, wayfaring men will turne into another; ſo in the Church, when the Paſtors of one part of it are infected with errour and hereſie, men muſt flie to them that are right-beleeuers in other parts.

z *Cyp. Epiſt. 67.*

This was the caſe of *Hierome*, as it appeareth by this his Epiſtle: He liued at the time of the writing of it in the Eaſt parts, where *Arrianiſme* had ſtrangely and dangerouſly preuailed, but the Weſt churches were ſound. He was vrged to confeſſe and acknowledge, that there are three

Hypostases or subsistences in the Godhead.

This forme of speaking he suspected, as fearing some ill meaning, especially because he suspected them that tendered it to him; and therefore flieth for direction to *Damasus* and the Westerne Bishops. For it appeareth that he sought the resolution of them all, though the manner was to write onely to the chiefe amongst them. Let vs here therefore what it is that he saith, and what the *Iesuite* inferreth from his saying. He admitteth, saith *Bellarmine*, no originall teacher but Christ: yet is ioyned in communion with *Damasus*, that is, with *Peters* chaire, and professeth, that vpon that rocke the Church was builded. Therefore he acknowledgeth the vniuersalitie of Papall power and iurisdiction. This argument of the Cardinall is too weake to proue the intended conclusion. For though there be no question but that in a true sense the Church may be said to haue bene builded on *Peters* chaire, that is, vpon his office and Ministery, yet it will not follow that they who succeed him in that chaire haue vniuersality of power & iurisdiction: seeing [a] *Hierome* himselfe teacheth, that the Church is builded as well vpon the rest of the Apostles, as vpon *Peter*, and consequently that their chaires are that rocke, vpon which the Church is builded, as well as *Peters*. And yet besides all this, [b] *Gregory* sheweth, that *Peters* chaire being but one, is in three seuerall places, and three Bishops do sit in it. For *Peters* chaire is at *Alexandria*, where he taught & ruled by *Marke* his scoller; at *Antioch*, where he remained for a time; & at *Rome*, where in his body he yet still abideth, expecting the second comming of Christ. Vpon this chaire as on a rock the Church is builded. But this chaire and throne implieth not only the office and ministery of them, who most specially succed *Peter*, as the Bishops of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, but of such other also, as in ioynt commission with them gouerne the Church. Whereupon, according to the phrase of Antiquity, the iudgement of the *Romane* Sea, and the iudgement of the Bishop of *Rome* with his fellow Bishops of the West, is all one. But some man will say, that *Hierome* pronounceth him to be a profane person that eateth the lambe out of this house, speaking of the Church of *Rome*: therefore he thinketh all men & Churches bound for euer to hold communion with the *Romane* Church. For answere to this obiection, first we say, it may very probably be thought, that by the house he speaketh of, out of which the Lambe may not be eaten, he meaneth not particularly the *Romane* Church, but the true Catholique Church of Christ, which is equally builded vpon all the Apostles, in respect of the same firmenesse found in them all; but more specially vpon *Peter*, as in order and honor the chiefest of them; and then there is no question but all men are bound for euer to adhere to this church, and to eate the Lambe within the wals of this house. That this is the meaning of *Hierome*, the very forme of his words do perswade vs. *I am ioyned* (saith he) *to Peters chaire: vpon that rocke the church is builded, out*

of

a *Hierome. lib. 1. contra Iouinian.*

b *Gregor. Epist. lib. 6. Epist. ep. 37.*

c *Vide apud Binnium Epistol. Nicholai. Ignatio Constantinopolitano. tom. 3. concil. p. 2. page 879. & alteram Epist. eiusdem, page 889 et orat. Basilij Im, eratori, p. 816*

of this house (of the Church, doubtlesse) the Lambe may not be eaten. Now by the name of the Church immediatly going before, is meant the vniuersall Church: therefore by this house we must vnderstand that great house, within the wals wherof the whole houshold of faith is contained. Secondly we say, that if he speake of the *Romane* or West Church particularly, he may be thought to meane, not that he shall perpetually & alwaies be iudged a profane persō that eateth the Lambe without the wals of that house: but things so standing as they did when he wrote, no other partes of the Church being sound, safe, and free from heresies, but the Westerne parts only. Which made him say, he knew not *Paulinus*, who was then Bishop of *Antioch*, within the compasse of whose Patriarchship he liued, because there was question as well of his faith, as of the lawfulnesse of his ordination: For otherwise he ought to haue knowne him, sought to him, and respected him. Thirdly, we say it is more then probable, that the whole west Church shall neuer lose or forsake the true profession, and that therefore he may rightly be iudged a profane person that eateth the paschal Lambe out of the communion of the same; though sometimes the Bishop of *Rome* in person be an heretique, other of his colleagues continuing faithful. And that *Hierome* was of opinion, that the Bishop of *Rome* may become an heretique, it is most cleare and euident, in that [d] he saith, that both *Liberius* and *Felix* were *Arrian* heretiques. Thus haue we answered whatsoeuer may be alleaged out of *Hierome* for the Papacie, and shewed the weakenes of those allegations. Now let vs see what authorities may be brought out of his writings against the absolute supreme power of Popes. First, he saith, if we seeke authority, [e] *Orbis maior est vrbe.* The world is greater then the greatest citty in the world, and the whole Church is of greater authority then the particular Church of *Rome:* And thereupon reprehendeth the negligence or errour of the Church of *Rome*, in permitting contrary to the manner of other Churches, Deacons to grow so insolent, as to dare to sit in the presence of the Presbyters when the Bishop was away; as also in ordaining Presbyters vpon the commendation of Deacons; So that hee blamed not the Deacons only, as [f] *Bellarmine* vntruely saith, but the *Romane* Bishop, to whom the ordaining of Presbyters pertained. Neither wil it follow, that the insolency of the Deacons presuming to sit in the presence of Presbyters, was vnknowne to the Bishop, or not allowed by the Church, as *Bellarmine* collecteth, because they are said so to haue done, when the Bishop was away. For that circumstance rather insinuateth that though they had not cast off all respect to the Bishop, yet they had forgotten their duty towards the Presbyters, then that this their presuming was vnknowne to the Bishop. Secondly, he pronounceth that [g] *wheresoeuer a Bishop bee, whether at Rome or Eugubium, at Constantinople or Rhegium, at Alexandria or Tanais, he is of the same merit, and the same Priesthood; the power of riches, & the humility of poore estate not making a Bishop higher or lower.*

d *Hieronym. in Catalog. Script. in Fortunatiano & Acacio.*

e *Hierom ad Eugrium.*

f *Bel. de Pont. lib. 2. cap. 16.*

g *Hierome vbi supra.*

To this place *Bellarmine* answereth, that all Bishops are equall in the power of order, but not of iurisdiction. But it is certaine, *Hierome* thought all Bishops equall, not onely in the power of order, but of iurisdiction also. For Metropolitanes in his time, though in order and honour greater then the rest, were bound to follow what the greater part of the Bishops of the prouince consented on, and might do nothing but as the greater part should resolue; howsoeuer in processe of time, by positiue constitution, the Metropolitanes limited and directed by, Canons were trusted with the doing of many things by themselues alone, rather then the Bishops would be troubled with often meeting in Councels.

But saith *Bellarmine*, it cannot be that *Hierome* should thinke all Bishops equall in the power of iurisdiction, seeing without all question the Bishop of *Alexandria*, hauing vnder him three great prouinces, was greater in iurisdiction then the Bishop of *Tanais*, who had vnder him onely one poore little citie. For answer hereunto we say, that Patriarches haue no more power ouer the Metropolitanes subiect to them, then the Metropolitanes haue ouer the Bishops of the prouince; and that therefore howsoeuer the extent of their power reach farther, yet proportionably it is no greater then the power of Metropolitanes within their narrower precincts and compasse; and that the Metropolitane originally is not greater in the power of iurisdiction, then any other Bishop of the prouince, howsoeuer he haue a preeminence of honour, and sit as a president among the Bishops meeting to performe the acts of iurisdiction, and by common consent to manage the affaires of the prouince: so that, notwithstanding any thing the Cardinall can say to the contrarie, the testimonies and authorities of *Hierome* stand good against the Popes proud claime of vniuersall power.

Wherefore leauing *Hierome*, who witnesseth not for them but against them, let vs heare whether *Augustine* will say any thing for them. Out of *Augustine* sundry things are alleaged: as first, that he saith, [h] *The principalitie and chieftie of the Apostolicall chaire did euer flourish in the* Romane *church*: and secondly, that to *Bonifacius* he saith, [i] *Thou disdainest not to be a friend of the humble, and those of meane sort; and though thou sit in higher place, yet thou art not high minded*: And againe, [k] *The watch tower is common to vs all that are Bishops, although thou hast a higher roome in the same*. Surely it is strange to what purpose these places of *Augustine* are alleaged. For we neuer denied a principalitie or chieftie of order and honor to haue belonged anciently to the Bishops of *Rome*, whilest they rested contented therewith, & sought not to bring all vnder them by claime of vniuersall power: and this is all that can be collected out of *Augustine*. But (saith *Bellarmine*) in his [l] Epistle to *Optatus*, speaking of a meeting of Bishops at *Cæsarea*, he saith, an ecclesiastical necessity laid vpon them by the reuerend Pope *Zozimus* Bishop of the Apostolical See, drew them thither; therfore he thought the

h *August. Epist.* 162.

i *Idem lib. 2. ad Bonifac. cap. 1.*

k *Ibidem.*

l *Epist.* 157.

the Biſhop of *Rome* ſuperiour vnto other Biſhops, not in order and honour onely, but in power of commanding alſo.

For anſwer hereunto, firſt we ſay, that a great part of *Africa* was within the precincts of the Patriarchſhip of *Rome*, and that therefore the Biſhop of *Rome* might call the Biſhops of thoſe parts to a Synodall meeting, as euerie Patriarch may do the Biſhops vnder him, though he had no commaunding power ouer all the world. Secondly, that in a matter of faith concerning the whole ſtate of the Church, *Zozimus* as in order and honor firſt amongſt Biſhops, might vrge them by vertue of the Canons appointing ſuch meetings, to meete together in a Synode for the ſuppreſſing of ſuch hereſies as he found to ariſe amongſt them, and might iuſtly threaten, if they ſhould refuſe ſo to do, to reiect them from the communion of the Biſhops and churches adhering to him, and thereby lay an Eccleſiaſticall neceſſitie vpon them, without any claime of vniuerſall power.

Neither doth the next place (wherein [m] *Auguſtine*, and the Biſhops aſſembled in the Councell of *Mileuis*, deſire *Innocentius* to concurre with them in ſuppreſſing the hereſies of the *Pelagians*, which ſought to ſpread themſelues into all parts of the world, and to vſe his paſtorall care and diligence for the preuenting of the daungers of the weake members of Chriſt) yeeld any better proofe, that they reputed him vniuerſall Biſhop. For what do they here attribute to the Biſhop of *Rome*, that [n] *Cyprian* writing to *Stephen* in the caſe of *Martianus* Biſhop of *Arle*, doth not aſſume to himſelfe and other his colleagues, ſaying of himſelfe and them, that they are bound to vſe all diligence to gather together, and call backe the erring ſheepe of Chriſt, to apply the medicine of fatherly pietie for the curing of the wounds and hurts of ſuch as are fallen, to recollect and cheriſh all the ſheepe that Chriſt purchaſed with his precious bloud; and to know that though they be many Paſtours, yet they feede but one flocke.

m *Epiſt. 92. ad Innocentium.*

n *Cypr. epiſt. lib. 3. ep. 13.*

But, ſaith *Bellarmine*, why do they not rather write to the Patriarch of *Hieruſalem*, to the Metropolitane of *Palæſtina*, or to the Primate of *Africa*, in which parts of the world *Pelagianiſme* ſpecially ſeemed to preuaile, then to the Biſhop of *Rome*, if they did not thinke him to haue an vniuerſall power?

Surely, this queſtion of the Cardinall ſheweth that either he knoweth not, or careth not what he writeth; for the cauſe of *Pelagius* had bene often heard and examined by Synodes of Biſhops in *Palæſtina*; and the [o] Primate of *Africa* with his *Africane* Biſhops did write to *Innocentius* as well as *Auguſtine*, and thoſe aſſembled in the Councell of *Mileuis*; as well to informe him of the guilefull fraudulent, and ſlipperie dealings of *Pelagius*, that he might no way be induced to fauor him, (as ſome feared not to giue out that he did) as alſo that he might be perſwaded to put to his hel-

o *Vt patet. ex epiſt. Auguſt. ſupradict.*

ping hand for the ſuppreſſing of this heretique, who though condemned by many Synodes, ceaſed not to flie from place to place, ſeeking to ſpred his hereſies, and therefore there was no cauſe that they ſhould write to either of theſe. Thus haue our Aduerſaries found nothing in *Auguſtine* and the *Africanes*, that any way fauoureth the Popes proud claime of vniuerſall power. Neither do the reſt of the witneſſes who are next brought forth to giue teſtimonie for the Pope, depoſe any more to the purpoſe then the former haue done. For that *Proſper* ſaith, p *Rome* the Sea of *Peter* being made the head of Paſtorall honour to the world, holdeth by religion whatſoeuer it poſſeſſeth, not by force of armes; and q that by reaſon of the principalitie of Prieſtly or Biſhoply dignitie, it became greater in reſpect of the high tower of religion, then the throne of princely power; that *Victor Vticenſis* r calleth the church of *Rome* the head of all churches; and *Hugo de S. Victore* ſaith, s the Apoſtolique See is preferred before all the churches in the world; is no more then that which we euer granted. For they all ſpeake of a chiefte and principalitie of order and honour, and not of abſolute commanding power. And the place which our Aduerſaries bring out of *Vincentius Lirinenſis* t to proue the Pope to be head of the world, is ſtrangely miſ-alleaged. For hauing ſpoken of the letters of *Felix* the Martyr, and holy *Iulius* Biſhop of *Rome*, he addeth, that bleſſed *Cyprian* was produced out of the South, & holy *Ambroſe* out of the North, that ſo not only *Caput orbis*, the head of the world, but the ſides of it alſo might giue teſtimony to that iudgement, by the head & ſides of the world vnderſtanding the partes of the world, whence theſe witneſſes were produced, and not the witneſſes themſelues: So that there is no more reaſon to inferre from hence, that the Biſhop of *Rome* is head of all the world, then that *Cyprian* and *Ambroſe* were the ſides of the world. Neither doe the teſtimonies of *Caſſiodore* u who attributeth to the Biſhop of *Rome* a generall care of the whole Chriſtian world, and *Beda* who ſaith, x *Leo* exerciſed the Prieſtly office in the Chriſtian world, make any more for proofe of the Popes vniuerſall iuriſdiction then the reſt that went before. For their ſayings argue not an abſolute vniuerſal commanding power ouer al, but ſuch a care of the whole, as beſeemeth him that is in order and honour the chiefe of Biſhops, from whom all actions generally concerning the Chriſtian Church, are either to take beginning, or at leaſt to be referred before finall ending, that ſo his aduice may be had therein.

And ſurely howſoeuer *Anſelmus* y ſaith, the cuſtody of the faith of Chriſtians, & the regiment of the Church is committed to the Biſhop of *Rome*; and *Bernard* z writeth of him, that he is chiefe of Biſhops, heire of the Apoſtles, in primacie *Abel*, in gouernement *Noah*, in Patriarchicall honour *Abraham*, in order *Melchizedek*, in dignity *Aaron*, in authority *Moſes*, in iudgement *Samuel*, in power *Peter*, and in vnction Chriſt; that others haue particular flocks aſſigned to them, but that his charge hath no limits, with ſuch

p *Proſper lib. de ingratis.*
q *Idem lib. 2. de vocatione gentium cap. 6.*
r *Lib. 2. de perſec. Wandalicâ.*
s *De Sacrament. lib. 2. part. 3. cap. 15.*
t *Vinc. Lirinenſ. in ſuo commonit.*
u *Caſſiod lib. 11. Epiſt. 2. ad Ioannem Papam.*
x *Beda hiſt. gent. Anglor. lib. 2. cap. 1.*
y *Anſ. de incar. verbi. cap. 1.*
z *Bern lib. 2. de conſideratione.*

ſuch like Hyperbolical amplifications of the Popes greatneſſe, ſauoring of the corruption of thoſe late times wherein he liued; yet wil it neuer be proued, that either he or diuers others ſpeaking as he did, were of the Papall faction, or beleeued that the Pope hath that vniuerſall power & iuriſdiction, that is by the *Ieſuits*, and other *Romaniſts* at this day giuen vnto him. For as *Iohn Bacon* [a] a learned ſchooleman, and countriman of ours, hath fitly noted, ſome attributed all thoſe things whereof *Bernard*, and *Anſelmus* ſpeake to the Pope, as thinking all fulneſſe of Eccleſiaſticall power and iuriſdiction to be originally found in him, and that by himſelfe alone he might doe all things in the gouernement of the Church, and all other were to receiue of his fulneſſe; which is the opinion of our aduerſaries at this day: Other attributed theſe things vnto him, not as hauing all power in himſelfe alone, but as head and chiefe of Biſhops, together with their ioint concurrence and aſſent: So that he had power to iudge of the faith, to determine controuerſies in religion, as Patriarch of the Weſt, with the ioint conſent of his Weſterne Biſhops, and as prime Biſhop of the world with an Oecumenicall Synode, wherein he was to ſit as an honorable preſident and moderatour, pronouncing according to the reſolution of the Biſhops, and not abſolutly diſpoſing things according to his owne liking. Neither is it to be doubted but that very many followed this latter opinion, & conſequently neuer gaue that fulneſſe of power to the Pope that is now claimed, howſoeuer they attributed that vnto him as preſident of Eccleſiaſtical meetings, which reſted not in him alone, but in the whole meetings and Aſſemblies; as it is an ordinary thing to attribute that to the preſident of any company that is done by the whole company: and as all the great actions of State are attributed to the Duke of *Venice*, whereas yet he can doe nothing but as he is ſwayed and directed by the noble Senatours of that State.

[a] *Iohn Bacon ſup. Sen. prolog. queſt. 10. art. 2.*

Chap. 37.

Of the pretended proofes of the Popes vniuerſall power, taken from his intermedling in ancient times in confirming, depoſing, or reſtoring Biſhops depoſed.

Hauing examined the teſtimonies of Councels, Popes, & Fathers *Greeke* and *Latine*, brought to proue the vniuerſality of Eccleſiaſtical power claimed by the Pope, and found their inſufficiency and weakeneſſe; let vs proceed to ſee, by what other proofes our Aduerſaries endeauor to dmonſtrate and confirme the ſame. The abſolute, ſupreme power of Popes, they labour to proue, by the authority they exerciſed ouer other Biſhops; by their lawes, diſpenſations, and cenſures; by their Vicegerents which they appointed in places far remote from them; by Appeales brought vnto them; by their exemption from being ſubiect to any iudgement; and

by the names and titles that are giuen vnto them. Of all these I will entreat in order, and first of the authority the Bishops of *Rome* are supposed to haue exercised ouer other Bishops, in confirming, deposing, or restoring them.

a Bellar. de Pont. lib. 2. cap. 18.

Of confirmation [a] *Bellarmine* bringeth some few examples, but such as will neuer confirme the thing he desireth to proue.

b Conc. Chalced. Actione 7.

For touching the confirmation of [b] *Maximus* in the Bishopricke of *Antioch*, which is the first example that he bringeth first, it was not any confirmation of himselfe in his Bishoply office, but onely the determining of certaine differences betweene him and *Iuuenall*, about their limits, and the confirmation of the same end and conclusion: Secondly, this end was not made by *Leo* alone, but by the whole Councell of *Chalcedon*. Neither is the second proofe, that the confirmation of the chiefe Bishops of the world pertained anciently to the Pope, any better then this. For these are the circumstances of that [c] *Leo* writeth, whom *Bellarmine* citeth in the second place, as challenging the right of confirming the Bishop of *Constantinople*.

c Leo Epist. 54. ad Marcianum.

Anatolius the Bishop of *Constantinople*, ambitiously aspired to be greater then was fit, as *Leo* thought: *Leo* writeth to the Emperour in reprehension of his presumption; and saith, that he might haue forborne thus ambitiously to aspire higher, seeing he obtained the Bishoprique of *Constantinople* by the Emperours helpe, and his fauourable assent. The fauour that *Leo* speaketh of, was in that *Anatolius* not hauing passed through the lower degrees of Ecclesiasticall Ministery, was somewhat irregularly preferred to be Bishop of so great a citty, which he was content to winke at, at the Emperours entreaty. And as the manner was that the foure Patriarches should (vpon notice giuen of their due ordination, & Synodall letters containinga profession of their faith) mutually giue assent one to another before they were accoũted Patriarches, & fully possessed of their places: by his alowance, in the same sort as others were to allow of him, as much as in him lay he was content to confirme and make good his ordination, though somewhat irregular and defectiue; which no way proueth that the confirming of the great Bishops of the world pertained any otherwise to the Bishop of *Rome*, then the right of confirming him pertained vnto them.

d Epist. 84. ad Anastas. Thessalon.

e Epist. 87. ad Episc. Afric.

f Greg. lib. 4. Epist. 34.

Yet this is in effect all they can say: For that [d] *Leo* willeth the Bishop of *Thessalonica* to take knowledge of the Metropolitanes chosen in the prouinces subiect to him, as Vicegerent to the Patriarch of *Rome*, and by his assent to confirme their ordination; as likewise, that [e] writing to the Bishops of *Africa*, subiect to him as Parriarch, he telleth them, he is content the Bishop of *Salicen* turned from Nouatianisme, shall keep his place, if he send vnto him the confession of his faith; and that [f] *Gregorie* complaineth, that the Bishop of *Salona* within his Patriarchship was ordained with-

without his priuity and consent, doth no more proue the Pope to bee vniuersall Bishop, then the other Patriarches, without whose assent none of the Metropolitanes subiect to them, might be ordained.

And this was it that so much grieued *Gregory*; namely, that his Bishops (thereby putting a difference betweene such as were subiect to him, in that he was Patriarch of the West, and others) should so despise & contemn him. But let our Aduersaries proue, that either *Gregory*, or any of his predecessours euer challenged the confirmation of Metropolitanes subiect to any of the other Patriarches, and wee will confesse they say something: Otherwise all that they bring is idle and to no purpose, prouing nothing that we euer doubted of. For we know the Bishop of *Rome* had the right of confirming the Metropolitanes within the precincts of his owne Patriarchship, as likewise euery other Patriarch had: & that therefore he might send the Pall to sundry parts of *Greece*, *France*, and *Spaine*, as *Bellarmine* alledgeth, being all within the compasse of his Patriarchship, and yet not bee vniuersall Bishop, as *Bellarmine* would willingly from hence inferre.

Wherefore seeing our aduersaries haue so little to say for the Popes right of confirming Bishops, let vs proceed to see what proofes they can produce of his power and authority in deposing them.

Their first allegation is touching g *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*, deposing as they suppose *Martianus*, Bishop of *Arle* in *France*, who had ioyned himselfe with *Nouatianus*, denying reconciliation, & the Churches peace to such as hauing fallen and denied the faith, afterwards repented and turned againe vnto God. g *Cyprian. lib. 3. Epist. 13.*

This allegation is too weake to proue their intended conclusion: For it is most certaine by all the circumstances of the Epistle of *Cyprian* cited by *Bellarmine*, that *Stephen* the Bishop of *Rome*, did not depose *Martianus* by himselfe alone: and therefore *Cyprian* doth not say to *Stephen*, therefore hath God appointed thee to be ouer all Bishops, that if they fall into heresie, or faile in the performance of their duty, thou mightst set all right againe: but, *therefore hath God appointed a great number of Bishops, that if any one of that company and society fal into heresie, and begin to teare, rent, and waste the flocke of Christ, the rest may helpe, and as good and pittifull Pastours gather the scattered sheepe of Christ into the fold againe*: Neither doth he say to *Stephen*, that he should suspend *Martianus*, but *that hee should write to the Bishops of France to do it*, and not to suffer him any longer to insult vpon the company of Catholique Bishops, for that hee was not yet suspended, and reiected from their communion.

But some man perhaps will aske why *Cyprian* desireth *Stephen* to write to the Bishops of *France*, and writeth not himselfe, as if the power of deposing *Martianus* were no more in *Stephen* then in himselfe.

Surely there may be three reasons giuen of his so doing: the first, because

cauſe he was neerer to them then *Cyprian*. The ſecond, becauſe he as Patriarch of the Weſt, with his Biſhops, was more likely to preuaile then *Cyprian* with his *Africanes* alone. The third, for that (as *Cyprian* himſelfe obſerueth in the end of this Epiſtle) it more concerned him then any other to maintaine the reputation of *Lucius* and *Cornelius* his predeceſſours, and to oppoſe himſelfe againſt *Martianus*, who ioyned himſelfe with *Nouatianus*, that had ſchiſmatically and heretically rent and diuided himſelfe from them, and made a ſchiſme in their Church.

Neither doth that which followeth (where he deſireth *Stephen* to write vnto him, who is appointed in the roome of *Martianus*, that ſo hee may know whom to write vnto, and with whom to communicate) import, that he ſhould by himſelfe alone cõſtitute the Biſhop of *Arle*; but that writing to the people to chooſe, & the Biſhops of the prouince to direct them in chooſing, & to conſecrate him they ſhould chooſe, hee ſhould require to be certified from them of their proceedings accordingly, that ſo he might impart the ſame vnto him. The next proofe that the Pope hath authority to depoſe any Biſhop of the world, deſeruing to be depoſed, is out of the Epiſtle of *Nicholas* the firſt to *Michaël* the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*.

But whoſoeuer ſhall peruſe the place, ſhal finde, that no ſuch thing can be concluded out of it. For the drift of *Nicolas* in that Epiſtle, is to ſhew, that the inferiours may not iudge their ſuperiours, as the prouinciall Biſhops their Metropolitanes, or the Metropolitanes their Patriarch; but that ſtil the greater muſt iudge the leſſer. If a Clerke, ſaith the Councell of *Chalcedon*, haue ought againſt his Biſhop, let the matter be heard in the Synode of the prouince: but if a Biſhop or Clerke, haue a complaint againſt the Metropolitan, let him go to the Primate of the Dioceſe, or to the Sea of *Conſtantinople*: So that euer the greater muſt iudge the leſſer, and the leſſer may neuer preſume to iudge the greater, ſo long as there is any greater to flye vnto. And therfore *Iohn* of *Antioche* in the Councell of *Epheſus* was reproued, for that being but Biſhop of the third Sea, he preſumed to iudge *Cyril*, Biſhop of the ſecond Sea; & *Dioſcorus* Biſhop of the ſecond See was condemned in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, for that he iudged *Leo*, Biſhop of the firſt Sea. This he inſiſteth vpon, to ſhew, that the Biſhops ſubiect to *Ignatius*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, had vniuſtly proceeded againſt him: & then to ſhew, that this their proceeding was ſtrange and new, he ſaith, there hath ſcarce bene any of the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople* depoſed, whoſe depoſition hath bene holden iuſt and good, without the concurrence of the Sea of *Rome*.

h *Canone.* 9.

Now how will this proue that the Pope hath power in himſelfe alone to depoſe all Biſhops worthy to be depoſed? Is it conſequent, that if the Biſhops of Patriarchicall Sees may not be iudged by their owne Biſhops alone, nor by thoſe that are in degree of honour inferiour to them, and that the Patriarches of higher Sees, with their Biſhops, muſt concurre with

with the Biſhops of thoſe Patriarches that are iudged, and that neuer any Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, being next in honour to the Biſhop of *Rome*, was depoſed but by ſuch a Synode, whereof the Biſhop of *Rome* was preſident, that the Biſhop of *Rome* hath in himſelfe alone the fulneſſe of all Eccleſiaſticall power? Surely, I thinke not, our Aduerſaries themſelues being Iudges. But *Gelaſius* in his Epiſtle to the Biſhops of *Dardania*, ſaith, the Sea Apoſtolique by her authority condemned *Dioſcorus*, Biſhop of the ſecond Sea: therefore the Pope hath all Eccleſiaſticall power originally ſeated in himſelfe alone.

Truly this conſequence is no better then the former. For by the See Apoſtolique *Gelaſius* vnderſtandeth the *Romane* Biſhop, and the Biſhops of the Weſt ſubiect to him, who Synodally condemned *Dioſcorus*, and yet not without the concurrence of many other Biſhops: nor ſo as that the iudgment was thought perfect, till an [i] Oecumenicall Synode confirmed it, as it appeareth by the courſe of hiſtories.

i *Vide acta Concilij Chalcedon.*

The next example is the depoſition of [k] *Flauianus*, Biſhop of *Antioche*, by *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome*. But this example might well haue bene ſpared. For it is moſt certaine, that *Damaſus* did not depoſe *Flauianus*. The circumſtances of the hiſtory are theſe: *Euſtathius* that worthy Biſhop of *Antioche*, who [l] made that excellent Oration in the praiſe of *Conſtantine* in the Councell of *Nice*, and was ſo earneſt and zealous a defender of the true faith againſt the *Arrians*, being by certaine *Arrians* [m] caſt out of his Biſhoprique, and baniſhed, vpon the accuſation of a lewd woman; charging him to haue committed adultery with her, but afterward confeſſing ſhee had wronged him, and that ſhe had bene ſuborned by thoſe *Arrians*, ſo to accuſe him, *Eulalius* was choſen into his place, whom *Euphronius* ſucceeded, & after him, *Placitus* obtained the Biſhoprique. All theſe did ſecretly fauour *Arrianiſme*, & therfore many, both of the people & Prieſts, forſaking the publique aſſemblies, had their priuate meetings, and were called *Euſtathians*; for that after the baniſhment of *Euſtathius*, they began thus to aſſemble together. [n] *Stephen* ſucceded *Placitus*, *Leontius Stephen*, and [o] *Endoxius Leontius*; who [p] obtainining to bee Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, left the Church of *Antioche* voide: Whereupon the Biſhops of the prouince aſſembled together, and choſe *Mileſius* to bee Biſhop, ſome of them hoping that hee would fauour *Arrianiſme*, and other knowing that he was an Orthodoxe; the error of the one ſide miſ-perſwaded of the man, and the true knowledge the other had of him, made both willingly to conſent to his election and ordination. But ſo ſoone as the *Arrians* perceiued what he was, they depoſed him, and ſent him into baniſhment, placing *Euzoius* in his place: which when the people and Prieſts that were Catholique perceiued, who had long endured the inſolencies of the *Arrians*, they diuided themſelues, and refuſed to communicate with him.

k *Bell. ex Theodoret hiſt. Eccl. lib. 5. cap. 23.*

l *Theodoret. hiſt. lib. 1. cap. 7.*

m *Ibid. cap 20. 21.*

n *Idem. l. 2. c. 24.*

o *Ibid. cap. 25.*

p *Cap. 31.*

After

q Lib. 3. cap. 4. After a while q *Milesius*, in the time of *Iulian*, returneth from banishment; to whom though such Catholiques as diuided themselues vpon dislike of *Euzoius*, presently cleaued; yet would not they that first diuided themselues in respect of *Eustathius*, neither at the first ordination of *Milesius*, though *Eustathius* were then dead, nor now vpon his returne by any meanes be induced to hold communion with him and his; which *Lucifer*, one of them that had bene in banishment with *Athanasius* seeing, & pitying, laboured with them what he could to bring them to vnity. But when he saw they would not be induced to ioyne with *Milesius*, & that *Paulinus* was their leader, he made him their Bishop; which act of his, made the Schisme more dangerous then before, and of longer continuance, then otherwise haply it would haue bene: for it r continued 85. yeares. s *Milesius* perceiuing *Paulinus* to be ordained Bishop ouer them that were diuided from his communion, seemed no whit therewith to bee offended or displeased, but spake peaceably to *Paulinus* desiring him that they might ioyne their flockes, and feede them together; and if, said hee, the throne diuide vs, let me lay the Gospell in it, and then do thou sit in it sometimes, and I will sit in it at other times; and if I dye before thee, thou shalt haue the care and charge of all: if thou dye before me, the care and charge of all shall be deuolued to me.

r Ibid. cap. 5.

s Lib. 5. cap. 3.

This counsaile, *Paulinus* would not hearken vnto, and therefore the Emperours officer adiudged the Churches to *Milesius*, and the guiding of the diuided sheepe to *Paulinus*. Whereupon, when *Milesius* dyed, t though *Paulinus* would haue had the place, yet he was refused, because he had refused to hearken to the counsel of *Milesius*; & the Bishops chose *Flauianus*, a man very conspicuous for his great labours, and one that had exposed himselfe to many dagers for the good of the Church. Yet this ordination greatly displeased the *Ægyptians* and *Romanes*. u The reason of which their so great dislike, was for that when there was much contention betweene *Milesius* and *Paulinus*, it was so agreed, that all they that were fit for that Bishoprike, or might in likelyhood be in any hope or expectation of it, should sweare neither to seeke it nor accept it, while either of these liued; nor no way to hinder but that after the death of the one, the other might haue the full & entire gouernment of the whole: of which number it was thought that *Flauianus* was one, & that therefore not without periury, contrary to his vow and oath, he had hindred the reuniting of the diuided parts of the Church.

t Ibid. cap. 23.

u Sozomen. lib. 7. cap. 2. & 11. Socrates, lib. 5. cap. 15.

x Theodoret. lib. 5 cap. 23. x This dislike conceiued against *Flauianus*, dyed not when *Paulinus* dyed; but though *Euagrius* most vnlawfully, and against the Canons had gotten the Bishoprique, hauing no ordination but from his predecessour, (whereas the Canons allow no such nomination of a Successour, and besides require the presence of the Bishops of the prouince) yet would they that at first disliked the ordination of *Flauianus*, take no knowledge of a-

ny

ny of these things, but communicated with *Euagrius*, and incited the Emperour against *Flauianus*; who being vrged continually by the Bishop of *Rome*, & others, no longer to suffer *Flauianus* to enioy his place; and told, that suppressing Tyrants, he did ill to suffer the violatours of the lawes of the Church to escape vnpunished; sent for *Flauianus*, thinking to send him to *Rome*, there to be iudged in a Synode of Bishops: who when hee came into the presence of the Emperour, told him confidently, that if any man would obiect against his doctrine or life, he would desire to be tryed by no other Iudges but his greatest enemies; but if the matter were for his Episcopall chaire, he would willingly relinquish it, that the Emperour might commit it to whom he would; vpon which his confident answer, the Emperour dismissed him, & bade him to go home, and feed the flocke committed to him.

Yet long after, many complaints were againe renewed against him to the Emperor by sundry Bishops being at *Rome*, fearing not to taxe the Emperor himselfe for that he suppressed not the tyranny of *Flauianus*: but the Emperour bade them say, what that tyranny was, as if he were *Flauianus*, for that he had vndertaken the defence of him. Which when they refused to doe, professing themselues vnwilling to stand vpon termes with the Emperour, he exhorted them to lay aside their fooliſh quarrellings, and to reunite the Churches that had long without cause bene diuided: for that *Paulinus* was now dead, and *Euagrius* came vniustly to the Bishoprique; and the ordination of *Flauianus* was so farre forth allowed of, that all the Churches of the East, with the Churches of *Asia*, *Pontus*, *Thracia*, and *Illyricum*, helde *Flauianus* to bee lawfull Bishop of the East.

Heerupon the Bishops promised to surcease, and that if *Flauianus* would send Legates vnto them, they would kindly intreate them, and hold communion with him. Howsoeuer it appeareth by [y] *Socrates*, that after the death of *Euagrius*, he procured there should be no Bishop chosen in opposition to him: and first pacified *Theophilus*, and afterwards by his meanes *Damasus*: [z] *Sozomen* reporteth, that *Chrysostome*, after hee was made Bishop of *Constantinople*, finding that the *Ægyptian* and Westerne Bishops dissented from those of the East, in respect of *Flauianus*, and that all the Churches throughout the whole Empire were diuided about him, besought *Theophilus* to be pacified towards him, and to assist him for the reconciling of *Damasus* also. To this suite of *Chrysostome*, *Theophilus* yeelded, and sent certaine to *Rome*; who preuailing, sailed into *Ægypt*, and from thence, as also from *Rome*, brought letters of reconciliation, and peace, both from the *Ægyptian* and Westerne Bishops.

y *Socrates. lib. 5. cap. 15.*

z *Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 3.*

This history I thinke will neuer proue, that the Bishop of *Rome* deposed *Flauianus*, Bishop of *Antioche*, and that he could not hold his Bishopricke till the Bishop of *Rome* consented to him. For the thing that was

sought, was not his holding of his Bishoprique, as *Bellarmine* vntruly reporteth, but the peace and concord of the Churches, diuided about him. Neither was the difference onely betweene him and *Damasus*, but all the Bishops of *Ægypt*, and the West dissented from him likewise: and therefore [a] *Ambrose* sheweth, that the examining of the matter betweene *Euagrius* and him, was committed to *Theophilus*, and the Bishops of *Ægypt*, and desireth him to make relation of the end he should make, to the Bishop of *Rome*, that he also agreeing thereunto, an vniuersall peace might be concluded. So that nothing can bee concluded out of this history, for proofe of the vniuersal power of Popes: Seeing *Damasus* could neither of himselfe alone, nor with the concurrence of the westerne Bishops depose *Flauianus*, nor by any meanes perswade the Emperour to thrust him out of his place, but was sharply reproued by the Emperour for quarreling with him, and required to be at peace with him, that so the Churches formerly diuided without cause, might be reunited.

a *Ambros. Epist.* 78.

The next instance of the Popes deposing Bishops, is that of [b] *Sixtus* the third, who deposed *Polychronius*, Bishop of *Hierusalem*, if we may beleeue *Bellarmine*: but in truth there was neuer any such thing. The circumstances of the whole proceeding against *Polychronius*, Bishop of *Hierusalem*, (if there be any credit in the report of Pope [c] *Nicholas*, and the acts of the Councell vnder *Sixtus* the third) were these. Two things specially were obiected to him: the one, that he went about to violate the ancient bounds of the Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction of Bishops, set and limited by the Fathers, to preferre himselfe before the other principal Bishops, & to make his See the first, whereas in truth it was the last amongst the Patriarchicall Sees; the other that Simoniacally he conferred Ecclesiasticall honours vpon such as would purchase the same. Hereupon the Bishops subiect to him, not willing to proceede against him themselues alone, complained to the Bishop of *Rome*, and shewed him how much hee was wronged by the vndue claimes of this Bishop.

b *Acta Sixti.* 3. *in primo Tomo Conciliorum.*

c *Nicholaus* 1. *in Epist. ad Michael. Imp.*

The Bishop of *Rome* tooke not vpon him to do any thing of himselfe, but called a Synode of the Bishops of the West, and by their aduice, with the concurrence of the Emperour, directed certaine out of the West, authorized by the whole Synode, to goe, and sit in Councell with the Bishops of those parts: who together with them examining the crimes obiected to *Polychronius*, and finding that he was truly charged with them, deposed him from his Bishoprique; so that the Bishop of *Rome* did not depose him of himselfe, but onely called a Synode, (as in such a case it was fit he should) and the Synode deposed him; but in truth it is rather to be thought, that the acts of the Councell vnder *Sixtus* the third, are counterfeit, and of no credite. For [d] *Binnius* sheweth, that there was no such *Polychronius* Bishop of *Hierusalem* in those times, and bringeth many other reasons to disproue the acts of this supposed Councell,

d *Binnius, annot. in illud Concil.*

cell, beſides that the abſurditie in the proceedings bewrayeth them to be counterfeit. For what can bee more abſurd, then that the accuſer of *Polychronius*, making good his accuſation, ſhould bee condemned for accuſing him, and hee firſt condemned; and then preſently vpon ſlender or no reaſons at all, reſtored againe? Thus we ſee how little our Aduerſaries are able to ſay for proofe of the Popes vniuerſall power, exerciſed in depoſing Biſhops. Wherefore let vs now proceede to ſee if they can produce any better proofes of his reſtoring ſuch as were depoſed by others.

The firſt example they bring, is the reſtitutiō of [e] *Baſilides*, a Biſhop in *Spaine*, but they know right wel that the Biſhop of *Rome* did not reſtore him to his Biſhoprique, & that therefore this allegation ſerueth to no purpoſe, but to abuſe the Reader, & to make him beleeue they ſay ſomthing, when they ſay nothing. The circūſtances of the matter concerning *Baſilides*, are theſe, layed downe in *Cyprians* Epiſtles. *Baſilides* & *Martialis*, had defiled themſelues with ſome kind of conſenting to idolatry, & therefore the Clergy and people ſubiect to them, fearefull to communicate with them, write to *Cyprian*, and the *African* Biſhops, for counſaile and helpe: they returne anſwer, that they are to withdraw themſelues from them, and to proceede to the election of new Biſhops.

[e] *Cyprian. lib. 1. Epiſt. 4.*

Heereupon the Biſhops of the prouince comming to the place where *Baſilides* was Biſhop, *Sabinus* was elected Biſhop by the Clergy, & people, with the liking of al the Biſhops of the prouince, & ordained by them Biſhop in the place of *Baſilides*. After this *Baſilides* goeth to *Rome*, miſ-informeth *Stephen* the Biſhop, and ſeeketh by his meanes, & the help of his Biſhops to recouer his place againe: they communicate with him; & ſo as much as in them lyeth, reſtore him to his former place & dignity againe. *Cyprian* condemneth the falſe and ill dealing of *Baſilides*, and reproueth alſo the negligence of *Stephen*, that ſuffered himſelfe ſo eaſily to bee miſled, taxing him, and ſuch as conſented with him, for communicating with ſuch wicked ones; and ſhewing, that they are partakers of their ſins, and that they violate the Canon of the Church, which the Biſhops of *Africa*, and all the Biſhops of the world, yea euen *Cornelius* the predeceſſour of this *Stephen*, had conſented on: to wit, that men ſo defiled with idolatry as *Martialis* and *Baſilides* were, ſhould be receiued to penitency, but be kept from al Eccleſiaſticall honour.

Heereupon he exhorteth the brethren not to be moued, if in theſe laſt times the faith of ſome men bee ſhaken, or the feare of GOD faile in them, or if they hold not peaceable concord with their brethren: for that both the Apoſtle, and the Lord himſelfe foretold, that ſuch thinges ſhould come to paſſe in the laſt times, the world decaying, & Antichriſts reuelatiō drawing on; & cōforteth & encourageth them to hold on in the good courſe they were in, for that the vigor of the Goſpel, & the ſtrength of

of Christian vertue, & faith, do not so wholly fal away in these last times, *vt non supersit portio Sacerdotũ, qua minimè ad has rerum ruinas & fidei naufragia succũbat:* that is, that no remnant of Bishops should remaine which should no way sinke or fall in these ouerthrowes of things, & shipwracks of faith, but ful of the feare of God, couragiously maintaine the honor of the diuine maiesty, and the dignity of the Priests. *We know*, saith he, *that when the rest yeelded*, Mattathias *valiantly maintained the law of God; and that* Elias *stood & stroue zealously, when others forsooke the law of his God. Wherefore let them that either violate the Canons, or treacherously behaue themselues, looke to it: there are many, who still retaine a sincere and good minde. What if some haue fallen away from the faith? doth their infidelity make the truth of God of none effect? God forbid. For God is true, and euery man a lyer; and if euery man be a lyer, and God onely true, what should the seruants & Priests of God do, but leaue the errours and lyes of men, and keepe the precepts of the Lord, and remaine in the truth of God? Wherefore, though some of our Brethren, and Colleagues thinke, they may neglect the discipline of God, and rashly communicate with Basilides and Martialis; let it not trouble nor shake our faith, seeing the Spirit of God threatneth such in the Psalmes, saying, Thou hast hated discipline, and cast my words behinde thy backe. If thou sawest a thiefe, thou ranneſt with him, and hadst thy portion with the adulterers.*

These are the circumstances of *Cyprians* Epistle, wherein hee relateth the proceedings against *Basilides* and *Martialis*, and the inconsiderate course helde by the Bishop of *Rome*, hastily communicating with them. whereby we may see how wisely and aduisedly our Aduersaries alledge *Cyprian* to proue, that in ancient times, the Bishops of *Rome* had power to restore such Bishops to their places againe, as were deposed by other. For thus they must reason from this place of *Cyprian*, if they will make any vse of it: *Basilides* and *Martialis* iustly put from their office and dignity, and others rightly and in due sort chosen into their places, flye to *Stephen*, Bishop of *Rome*, hoping by his meanes to procure the reuersing of that which was done against them. Hee, with such as adhered to him, though they could not restore them to their places, yet communicated with them.

Cyprian offended heerewith, chargeth *Basilides* and *Martialis* with execrable wickednesse, for abusing *Stephen*, and mis-informing him: and *Stephen* with intollerable negligence, and vnexcuseable violation of the Canons, for partaking with such wicked persons; and wisheth all his Brethren and colleagues constantly to hold on their course against them, notwithstanding the failing of *Stephen* and his adherents. Therefore the ancient Bishops of *Rome* restored to their places such as were iudicially deposed by others; and were thought by the Fathers to haue power and authority so to do. Which kinde of reasoning I thinke the Reader will not much like of.

Touching

Touching *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, *Paule* Bishop of *Constantinople*, and *Marcellus* Bishop of *Ancyra*, deposed by the Orientall Synode, their complaints to the Bishop of *Rome*, and other Bishops of the West, of the wrongs done vnto them; how the Bishop of *Rome* with the Westerne Bishops sought to releeue them, with how ill successe, and how little this instance serueth to proue the thinge in question, I haue shewed [f] before: as likewise *Theodorets* desiring *Leo*, with his Westerne Synodes to take knowledge of his cause. So that it is a vaine bragge of *Bellarmine*, that to these, and the like testimonies of Antiquity, nothing is, nor can be answered.

[f] *Supra, chap.* 35.

Chap. 38.

Of the weakenesse of such proofes of the supreme power of Popes, as are taken from their Lawes, Censures, Dispensations, and the Vicegerents they had in places farre remote from them.

HAVING examined the pretended proofes of the illimited vniuersality of the Popes authority and iurisdiction, taken from the power they are supposed to haue exercised in former times ouer other Bishops, by cõfirming, deposing, or restoring them; let vs come to their Lawes, Dispensations, and Censures, and see if from thence any thing may bee concluded. If they could as strongly proue, as they confidently vndertake, that Popes in ancient times made Lawes to binde the whole Christian Church, dispensed with such as were made by generall Councels, and censured all men as subiect to them; of necessity we must bee forced to acknowledge the fulnesse of all power to rest in the *Romane* Bishops. But their proofes are too weake to make vs beleeue any such thing.

For first, touching the decrees of Popes, they did not binde the whole Christian Church, but the Westerne Prouinces onely, that were subiect to them, as Patriarches of the West.

And secondly, they were not made by them, without the consent, and ioynt concurrence of the other Bishops of the West, assembled in Synodes, and sitting with them as their fellow Iudges, with equall power of defining and determining thinges concerning the state of the Church; as appeareth by the Decrees of [a] *Gregory* the first, who sitting in Councell with all the Bishops of the *Romane* Church, (the Deacons and inferiour Clergy-men standing before them) made Decrees, and confirmed them by their subscriptions, the rest of the Bishops and the Presbyters also, who sate in Councel with them, subscribing in the very same sort that *Gregory* did.

[a] *Gregor. lib. 4. Epist. cap. 88.*

b Leo Epist. 1.

And of Decrees in such sort made, *Leo* speaketh, when he[b] requireth the Bishops of *Campania*, *Picene*, and *Thuscia*, to keepe and obserue the Decretall constitutions of *Innocentius*, and all other his predecessours, which they had ordained as well touching Ecclesiasticall orders, as the Discipline of the Canons, or otherwise to looke for no fauour or pardon. And in the very same sort are the words of[c] *Hilarius* to be vnderstood, when hee saith: That no man may violate either the diuine constitutions, or the Decrees of the Apostolique See, without danger of losing his place. For this hee spake sitting as President in a Councell of Bishops assembled at *Rome*, of thinges decreed by Synodes of Bishops, wherein his predecessours were Presidents and moderators, as hee was now, but not absolute commanders.

c Citat. à Bellar. de Pont. Rom. lib. 2. cap. 19.

d Ibidem.

But[d] *Bellarmine* saith, that Pope *Anastasius* the yonger, in his Epistle to *Anastasius* the Emperour, willeth him not to resist the Apostolicall precepts, but obediently to performe what by the Church of *Rome* and Apostolicall authority shall bee prescribed vnto him, if hee desire to hold communion with the same holy Church of GOD, which is his head. Therefore the Pope had power to command and giue lawes to the Emperour, and consequently had an absolute supreme authority in the Church.

Surely this allegation of the Cardinall is like the rest. For *Anastasius* doth not speake in any such peremptory and threatning manner to the Emperour, but acknowledging his breast to bee a Sanctuary of happinesse, and that hee is Gods Vicar on earth, telleth him in modest and humble sort, that hee hopeth he will not suffer the insolency of those of *Constantinople*, proudly to resist against the Euangelicall and Apostolicall precepts in the cause of *Acatius*, but that hee will force them to performe & do what is fit; & in like humble sort beseecheth him, when he shall vnderstand the cause of them of *Alexandria*, to force them to returne to the vnity of the Church.

The last instance of the Popes Law-giuing power, brought by *Bellarmine*, is the priuiledge granted to the Monastery of Saint *Medardus*, by[e] *Gregory* the first; in the end whereof we finde these words: *Whatsoeuer Kings, Bishops, Iudges, or secular persons, shal violate the Decrees of this Apostolicall authority, and our commandement, shall bee depriued of their honour, driuen from the society of Christians, put from the communion of the Lords body and blond, and subiected to Anathema, and all the wofull curses that Infidels and Heretikes haue bene subiect to, from the beginning of the world, to this present time.*

e Ad finem epist. Gregorij.

A strong confirmatiō of the priuiledges granted is found in these words, but a weake confirmation of the thing in question: for the priuiledges were granted & confirmed in this sort, not by *Gregory* alone out of the fulnesse of his power, but by the consenting voyce of all the Bishops of

of *Italy* and *France*, by the authority of the Senate of *Rome*, by *Theodoricus* the King, and *Brunichildis* the Queene. So that from hence no proofe possibly can be drawne of the Popes absolute power of making lawes by himselfe alone, to binde any part of the Christian Church, much lesse the whole Christian world.

Wherefore let vs passe from the Popes power of making lawes, to see by what right they claime authority to dispense with the lawes of the Church, and the Canons of generall Councels.

The first that is alledged to haue dispensed with the Canons of Councels, is [f] *Gelasius*. But this allegation is idle, and to no purpose. For first, it cannot be proued that by dispensing he sought to free any from the necessity of doing that the strictnesse of the Canon required, but those onely that were subiect to him as Patriarch of the West. f *Gelas. epist. 1.*

And secondly, hee did not dispense but vpon very vrgent cause, and driuen by necessity so to doe; and yet not of himselfe alone, but with the concurrence of other Bishops of the West, assembled in Synode.

The other instances that are brought of the dispensations of [g] *Gregory* the first, are nothing else but the instances of the ill consciences of them that bring them. For *Gregory* did not dispense with the *English*, to marry within the degrees prohibited (as the Cardinall vntruly reporteth) but onely aduised *Austine*, not to put them that were newly conuerted, from such wiues as they had marryed within some of the degrees prohibited, in the time of their infidelity, lest hee might seeme to punish them for faults committed in the daies of their ignorance, and to discourage other from becomming Christians. g *Gregor. lib. 12. Epist. 31.*

Neither did he dispense with them of *Sicilia*, for the not keeping of the canon of the *Nicene* councell, requiring prouinciall Synodes to be holden twice euery yeare; but whereas they held not such Councels so much as once in the yeare, he commanded that they should not faile to meet in Councell once at the least euery yeare; seeing the Canons require that these meetings should be twice.

These truly are very weake and insufficient proofes of the Papall power in dispensing with the lawes of the Church and the canons of generall Councels: and yet these are the best, nay these are all that they can make shew to bring out of all Antiquity.

Let vs therefore proceede to the censures that the ancient Bishops of *Rome* are reported to haue exercised, and see if they proue the vniuersality of power now claimed. The first allegation to this purpose, is the intent of [h] *Victor*, Bishop of *Rome*, resoluing to haue reiected from his cõmunion all the Churches of *Asia*, for keeping the feast of *Easter* on the same day the *Iewes* did. For, saith [i] *Bellarmine*, howsoeuer *Irenaus* and others disswaded him from executing that hee intended, yet it appeareth his obseruation h *Euseb. histor. Eccl. lib. 5. cap. 23.* i *Bellar. de Font. li. 2. cap. 19.*

was right, in that it was afterwards confirmed by the *Nicene* Councell, and that he had authority ouer all; in that hee went about to excommunicate those of *Asia* for dissenting from him in the obseruation of that Feast, and keeping it with the *Iewes*, though hee were content, for the auoiding of some inconueniencies, at the intreaty of *Ireneus* to forbeare proceeding against them.

For answer hereunto we must obserue, that by reason of the custome of those of *Asia*, that kept the feast of *Easter* precisely at the same time the *Iewes* did; there was moued not a little contention throughout the whole world, and many Synods in euery place called. For [k] in *Palestina* a Synode was holden, whereof *Theophilus* of *Cæsarea*, and *Narcissus* of *Hierusalem*, were Presidents; another at *Rome*, whereof *Victor* was President; and another, of the Bishops of *Pontus*, whereof *Palmas* as most ancient, was President: and in sundry other places, other Synodes were called.

k *Euseb. Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. 5. cap. 21. 22. 23.*

But the Synode of the Bishops in *Asia*, whereof *Polycrates* was President, stiffely maintained the ancient custome that had long preuailed in those parts, & wrote an Epistle to *Victor*, and those of the *Romane* Church, to iustifie themselues in this behalfe. *Victor* and his Bishops much offended with this their pertinacy (as they construed it) would for this cause, haue reiected them from their communion. But *Ireneus*, with some other of a milder spirit, and better temper, staied them from such rash and violent proceedings; and *Irenæus* wrote his letters to this purpose to the Bishop of *Rome*, & other his colleagues: so that heere is nothing to proue the power of the Pope. For what was resolued on, both touching the right of the obseruation, & the proceedings against thē that disliked it, was resolued by the Synodes of Bishops, and not by *Victor* alone: as likewise *Irenæus* was not alone, but many other ioyned with him in the reprehension of *Victor*, whose number and multitude preuailed much with him, & stayed his proceedings as well as the perswasions of *Ireneus*. And yet did not the Westerne Bishops take vpon them to excommunicate those of *Asia*, as the Cardinall vntruly affirmeth, but only to reiect them from their communion & fellowship; there being a very great difference betweene excōmunication properly so named, and the reiecting of men from our communion or fellowship. For excommunication properly so named, is a resolution to deny the Sacraments to such as are to receiue them of vs, the abandoning of all fellowship with them, and the requiring and commanding of others to refraine from all communicating with them in priuate or publike, & argueth him that so excōmunicateth, to be superior in authority, and greater in place then they are whom hee excommunicateth. But reiecting from communion, or refusing to communicate with men, may be found among them that are equall. So [l] *Cyril* wrote to *Nestorius*, that if he reuoked not certaine dangerous positions, hee would communicate no longer with him.

l *Act. Concil. Ephes. tom. 1. cap. 24.*

So

So the [m] Bishops of the East told *Iulius* Bishop of *Rome*, that if he communicated with *Athanasius*, they would no longer communicate with him. And such was the proceeding that *Victor* intended against those of *Asia*; and therefore proueth not that hee was their superiour, or had a commanding authority ouer them. And yet surely, howsoeuer it be true, that his manner of obseruation was better then theirs, whom he disliked, his intention vpon such an occasiō to haue made a breach in the Christian Churches, was iustly with some bitternesse reprehended by *Irenaus*, and his brethren. For howsoeuer *Bellarmine* would make the Reader beleeue by alledging that of [n] *Blastus*, who vrged the keeping of *Easter* with the *Iewes*, and sought to bring in *Iudaisme*; that *Victor* had reason to bee violent as he was, as perceiuing some ill meaning in them that helde the Iewish obseruation; yet farre be it from vs to thinke that *Polycarpus*, and so many worthy and holy men, as anciently kept that obseruation, were any way inclinable to *Iudaisme*. But this differēce may be thought to haue growne not from any diuersity of Iudgement touching matters of faith, but for that in some places they thought it fit to keepe this feast on the Lords day, for very important reasons mouing them so to do; and in other places, though they could haue bene cōtent to haue done so likewise vpon the same reasons, yet kept they it after the old manner, for the auoyding of the scandall of the *Iewes*, for the easier winning of them that were not yet gained to Christianity, & the holding of them in the loue & liking of Christian profession, that were already of *Iewes* become Christians. The next instance is of [o] *Innocētius* the first, who after that he heard of the death of *Chrysostome*, whom *Theophilus* had deposed, & the Emperour *Arcadius* banished, excommunicated the Emperour & Empresse, & anathematized *Theophilus* in such sort that he should vtterly be excluded, & haue no place among Christians. But this report may very iustly bee doubted of, the credit thereof resting onely on the authority of *Nicephorus*. Seeing the ancient [p] *Historians*, that report the proceedings of *Theophilus* and *Arcadius* against *Chrysostome*, and his complaints to the Bishop of *Rome*, and other Bishops of the West, of the wronges that had bene done vnto him, report also the answer of the *Romane* Bishop to haue bene, that he greatly pitty'd his case, but saw no hope of remedy, nor meanes to releeue him, vnlesse a generall Councell might bee called, to which purpose he would do his best with the Emperour; and that *Chrysostome* himselfe wished him not to proceede so farre as to reiect them from his communion that were his aduersaries, for feare of further inconueuiences; this being the contention almost of the whole world, and the Churches by occasion heereof euery where brought vpon their knees. Yea all ancient *Historians* are silent, and say nothing of this excommunication, but report the * repulse, which the messengers, the *Romane* Bishop sent to the Emperour to procure a Councell, receiued, and

m *Sozom. lib 3. cap. 7.*

n *Tertullian. de prescript. in fine.*

o *Nicephorus. lib. 13. cap. 34.*

p *Vide supra. cap. 35.*

* *Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 18.*

q Theodoret speaking of the iniury done to *Chrysostome*, hath these words. *Alias virtutes authorum illius venereri cogor; quæ de causa animatur, vt ipsorum nomina occultem. lib. 5. hist. Eccl. cap. 34.*

r Hierome wrote sundry Epistles to *Theophilus*, full of all due respects, and turned his 3. Paschall books into Latine. *Vide epistolas Hieron. Tom. 2.*

s *Rhegino lib. 2. Otho. Frisingens. lib. 6. cap. 3. Sigibert. in Chronico. An. 862.*

q *Theophilus* (for ought I know) was euer holden a catholicke Bishop, both by r *Hierome* & others to his dying day; notwithstanding these quarrels betweene him and *Chrysostome*. The excommunication of *Leo* the Emperour, by *Gregory* the third, whereof *Zonaras* writeth in the life of *Leo Isaurus* (which is a third instance of Papall censures, against the great men of the world) proueth not the matter in question: For *Gregory* did not anathematize *Leo* of himselfe alone, but with a Synode of Bishops; neither was he able by his owne authority to stay the Tribute that was wont to be payd to the Emperour, but by his sollicitation procured a confederacy of the *French* and *Germans* against the Emperours of *Constantinople*, and by their meanes staied the Tribute that was wont to be paid; whereupon the *Germanes* and *French* possessed *Rome*, and became Lords of it.

The last example is that of s *Nicholas* the first, excommunicating *Lotharius* King of *France*, and his concubine *Valdrada*, together with the Arch-bishops of *Coleyn* & *Treuers*. But the answer heereunto is easie. For first, this example proueth not the thing in question, to wit, that the Pope hath an vniuersall power ouer all the world, seeing all these were within the Patriarchship of the Bishop of *Rome*. And secondly we say, these circumstances of this proceeding are vntruly reported by *Bellarmine*. For this is the true report which wee finde in *Rhegino* and others. *Lotharius* king of *Lorrayne*, falling in loue with *Valdrada*, which had bene his concubine while he was yet a yong man in his fathers house, began to dislike *Thietberga* his wife.

Heereupon he laboureth with the Bishops of *Treuers* and *Coleyn*, to finde some meanes to put her away. They call a Synode, wherein *Thietberga* is charged to haue committed incest with her owne brother, and thereupon pronounced an vnfit wife for the King. The King thus freed from his wife, professeth hee cannot liue single; they pronounce it lawfull for him to marry another wife, and he taketh *Valdrada* to wife, whom he had formerly kept as his concubine. *Nicholas* the first, Bishop of *Rome*, hearing of this, sendeth into *France* to learne the certainty. The Legates hee sendeth, come to the King to expostulate the matter with him. The King answereth, that he did nothing but what the Bishops of his kingdome in a generall Councell had assured him was lawfull to bee done. Whereupon the Bishops of *Coleyn* and *Treuers* were sent for to *Rome*, and the Pope called a Councell, in which the opinions and proceedings of these Bishops were condemned, and they degraded by all the Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons that were assembled in Councel.

In all which narration there is no circumstance found, that any way proueth the Pope to haue the fulnesse of all Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction; but the contrary rather may from hence be concluded, because nothing is done against these two Bishops, but by a Synode of Bishops assembled by

by their owne Patriarch.

But, saith *Bellarmine*, Pope *Nicholas* excommunicated the King, and *Valdrada* his supposed wife; therefore he is vniuersall Bishop. The former part of this saying is most vntrue; for the Pope did not excommunicate the King, but *Valdrada* onely. And I thinke the excommunicating of one silly harlot, that had so grieuously scandalized the Church of God, and whose cause was iudged before in a Synode, beeing brought thither, and there examined, by reason of the vniust proceedings of the Bishops of *Coleyn* and *Treuers*, against a lawfull Queene, in fauour of her, will neuer by any good consequence proue the Pope to bee vniuersall Bishop; and yet these are all the proofes the Cardinall can bring from the censures the ancient Bishops of *Rome* are reported to haue vsed: and therefore he [t] proceedeth to shew and demonstrate the Amplitude of the Popes illimited power and iurisdiction by the Vicegerents hee appointed in all partes of the Christian world, that were farre remote from him, to doe things in his name, and by his authority.

t *De Pontif. li. 2. cap. 20.*

But for answer hereunto, we say, that neither this Cardinall, nor any other can proue, that the Bishops of *Rome* had any such Vicars, Vicegerents, or Substitutes, but onely within the compasse of their owne Patriarchships: and that therefore from the hauing of them, nothing can be inferred for confirmation of their illimited power and authority.

So *Leo* (as we reade in his [u] Epistles) constituted *Anastasius* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, his Vicegerent for the parts thereabouts, as other his predecessours had done former Bishops of that Church. Which causing great resort thither vpon diuers occasions, may bee thought to haue bene the reason why the Councell of [x] *Sardica* prouideth that the Clergy-men of other churches shall not make too long stay at *Thessalonica*.

u *Leo Epist. 84.*

x *Canone 20.*

So the same [y] *Leo* made *Potentius* the Bishop his Vicegerēt in the parts of *Africa*; [z] *Hormisda*, *Sallustius* Bishop of *Hispalis*, in *Bœtica* and *Lusitania*; and [a] *Gregory*, *Virgilius* Bishop of *Arle*, in the regions of *France*: all these places being within the compasse of the Patriarchship of *Rome*, as [b] *Cusanus* sheweth. And the same may be sayd of the Bishop of *Iustiniana* the first, who was appointed the Bishop of *Romes* Vicegerent in those parts, vpon signification of the [c] Emperours will and desire that it should be so.

y *Epist. 87.*

z *Hormisd. in ep. ad Salust.*

a *Gregor. lib. 4. ep. 32.*

b *Cusan. lib. 2. concord. cathol. cap. 7. en Dist. 18. cap. Quis nescit. & dist. 43. cap. Iuxta.*

c *Iustinian. Authent. collat. 9. Tit. 6. siue Nouella Const. 131.*

Neither doth the Cardinall proue any other thing, whatsoeuer he maketh shew of. For though *Cyril*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, were the Vicegerent of *Celestinus*, in the cause of *Nestorius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, yet was he not his Vicegerent in such sort as they were that were within his own Patriarchship, as if he had had none authority of his own but that

onely which *Cælestinus* gaue vnto him. But [d] *Cælestinus* hauing bene informed by *Cyril* of the impieties of *Nestorius*, and hauing in his Synodes of the West condemned the same, ioyned his authority with the authority of *Cyril*, that so he might proceed against him, not onely as of himselfe, and out of the iudgements of his owne Bishops, but also out of the consenting resolutions of them of the West.

d *Celest. ep. ad Cyril. Act. Concil. Ephes. tom. 1. cap. 16. Cyril. epist. ad Nestorium Ibid. cap. 14.*

And therefore [e] *Euagrius* sheweth, that at or before the time appointed by the Emperour, *Nestorius* and *Cyril* came to *Ephesus*, where a Councell was to be holden; and that *Iohn* of *Antioche* with his Bishops, being not come, after fifteene dayes stay, *Cyril* Bishop of *Alexandria*, the greatest of all the Bishops that were present (who also supplied the place of *Cælestinus*) with the rest of the Bishops thought good to send for *Nestorius*, and to require him to appeare in the Synode, to answer to the crimes obiected to him. Whereby it is euident, that (*Nestorius* being to be iudged in a generall Councell) *Cyril* being the greatest of the Bishops that were present, (the Bishop of *Rome* neither comming nor sending at the first) was in his owne right [f] President of that Assembly. But the Bishop of *Rome*, who could not come, (but hauing assembled his Bishops in the West, had iudged and condemned him) ioyned his authority with *Cyril*, the principall of the Bishops that were present, that so nothing might bee wanting to the perfection of a generall Councell. So that it is most certaine, that *Cyril* was president of the Councell of *Ephesus*, not as a Vicegerent onely to the Bishop of *Rome*, but in his owne right, though hee had the authority, direction, and consenting concurrence of the Bishop of *Rome*, and all the Westerne Bishops ioyned with the power and authority, which he and the rest of the Bishops present had of themselues.

e *Euagr. lib. 1 cap. 4.*

f *Relat. sanctæ Synodi ad pientiss. Imp inter Epist. Synodales vocat Cyrillum caput congregatorum Episcoporum*

And therefore [g] *Leo* saith in expresse wordes, that *Cyril* was President of the Councell of *Ephesus*, as likewise [h] *Photius* and others affirme.

g *Leo Epist. 47.*
h *Photius, de 7. Synodis.*

The same answer may serue for *Acacius*. For [i] hee was not Vicegerent of the Bishop of *Rome*, in hearing and determining the cause of *Peter* Bishop of *Alexandria* (who was an *Eutychian* Heretique) as hauing none authority of his owne; but there was a ioynt concurrence of the Bishop of *Rome*, and the Bishop of *Constantinople*, the later hauing besides his owne right and interest, the full power and authority of the other; and being likewise to vse the helpe of the Emperour for the reducing of the Church of *Alexandria*, to the vnity of the faith againe; in which businesse he failed: for though at first hee condemned *Peter*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, yet afterwards he was content to communicate with him. For which cause he was iustly reprehended as not answering the trust that was reposed in him, and as being a fauourer of heretiques and so in a sort an heretique himselfe.

i *Epist. 13. Gelas. ad Episc. Dardan.*

To

To these allegations which we haue already heard, [k] *Harding* in his answer to Bishop *Iewels* challenge addeth another, of a Bishop of *Alexandria* being Vicegerent to the Bishop of *Rome*, out of the Epistle of *Bonifacius* the second, to *Eulalius* or *Eulabius*. But [l] *Bellarmine* refuteth that Epistle, and sheweth that it is counterfeit, and that there neuer was any such *Eulabius*, to whom *Bonifacius* might write; and therefore we will no longer insist vpon the examination of the same, but proceed to the proofes, which our Aduersaries bring from appeales made to *Rome*.

k *Apud. Iuell*, pag. 277.

l *De Pontif. lib. 2. cap. 25.*

CHAP. 39.
Of Appeales to Rome.

FOr clearing of the matter of Appeales, we must obserue, that they are of three sorts: Of lay-men, of inferiour clergy-men, and of Bishops. Of the appeales of Lay-men there is no mention in all Antiquitie: and yet now the Bishops of *Rome* reserue all the greater causes euen concerning the Laity to themselues alone, forbidding the ordinarie guides of the Church to intermeddle with them: and very ordinarily admit appeales of Lay-men to the infinite vexation of men, and the great hinderance of the course of all Iustice. Whereas it is most wisely and rightly ordered, each Bishop hauing his portion of the flocke of Christ committed to him, as [a] *Cyprian* obserueth, that they that are committed to their charge should not be permitted to runne hither and thither, but be iudged there, where the things, for which they are called in question, were done, and where the accusers and witnesses may bee present.

a *Cypr. lib. 1. epist. 3.*

Concerning inferiour Clergi-men the holy Bishops in the Councel of *Milevis* speake in this sort: [b] *It hath seemed good vnto vs, that if Presbyters, Deacons, and other inferiour Clergimen complaine of the iudgements of their owne Bishops, the neighbour Bishops intreated by them, with the consent of their Bishops shall heare them and make an end; and if they thinke good to appeale from their iudgement, it shall not be lawfull for them to appeale, but onely to the Councels of Africa, or to the Primates of their owne Prouinces. And if they shall make their appeale beyond the seas, no man in Africa shall receiue them to the Communion* This whole Councell *Innocentius* the first approued, as it appeareth by his [c] Epistle, which we find in the booke of the Epistles of S. *Augustine*.

b *Conc. Milevit. canone 22.*

c *Epist. 93. inter Epistolas Augustin.*

Hereunto, *Bellarmine* [d] saith, some answer with [e] *Gratian*: who addeth to the Canon of this Councell, forbidding appeales to be made beyond the seas, an exception, *vnlesse it be to the Sea Apostolique*. But this exception, saith *Bellarmine*, seemeth not fitting, seeing the *Africanes* made this decree, that men should not appeale beyond the seas, specially in respect of the

d *de Rom. Pont. lib. 2. cap 24.*

e *Gratian 2. quæst. 6. cap. placuit.*

the church of *Rome*, and to reſtraine the making of appeales thither; there neuer being any appeale from the *Africans* to any other church but to the church of *Rome* onely.

f *Controu. 3. de prim. ſubiect. pote ſt. eccleſ. queſt. 7. explicat. art.* g *Canone* 17. h *Bellar. vbi ſupra.*

And yet f *Stapleton* anſwereth the authoritie of this Councell as *Gratian* doth, and that out of *Iulius* and *Fabianus*, Biſhops of *Rome*, as he ſaith. The Councell of g *Sardica* (ſaith *Bellarmine*) decreed, that the cauſes of Presbyters and inferiour clergy-men appealing from the iudgements of their owne Biſhops, ſhould be determined and ended by the neighbour-Biſhops: and Pope *Zozimus*, as appeareth by the ſixth Councell of *Carthage*, and the Epiſtle of the ſame Councell to *Bonifacius* the Pope, required the ſame canon to be reuiued. i *Auguſtine* likewiſe ſheweth, that it was not lawfull for thoſe of the clergie vnder the degree of Biſhops, to appeale out of *Africa*. Neither was this the peculiar priuiledge of *Africa* alone. For the Councell of k *Chalcedon* ordained; that if a clergie-man haue ought againſt another of the clergy, the matter ſhall be heard by the Biſhop, or by arbitrators choſen by both parties, with the Biſhops allowance. But if he haue ought againſt his Biſhop, he ſhall proſecute the ſame complaint in the Synode of the prouince.

i *Auguſt. Epiſt.* 162.

k *Canone* 9.

l *Iuſtin. Nouell. Conſt.* 123. *ca.* 22

This canon of the Councell of *Chalcedon* the l Emperour confirmed, ſaying, if any of the clergie complaine againſt his Biſhop for any matter, let the cauſe be iudged by the Metropolitane, according to the ſacred rules, and the imperiall lawes. And if any man appeale from his ſentence, let the cauſe be brought to the Arch-biſhop or Patriarch of that dioceſe, and let him according to the canons, make a finall end.

m *Vt patet ex Epiſt. Concilij Africani ad Cœleſtinum.*

And yet, notwithſtanding theſe canons aboue recited preciſely forbidding inferior clergy-men to appeale to *Rome*, we finde that the m Biſhops of *Rome* admitted the appeale of one *Apiarius*, iudged & condemned in *Africa*; which cauſed a great difference betweene the *Africans* and him. Whereupon the Fathers in the Councel of *Africa*, wiſh the Biſhop of *Rome* (as it beſeemeth him) to reiect & repel the wicked and vnlawful appeales, as well of Presbyters, as of other inferior clergy-men; ſeeing the ending and determining of their cauſes, is by no decree of any Synode denied to the church of *Africa*, & the *Nicene* canons moſt clearly commit both inferior clergy-men & Biſhops to their own Metropolitanes. n *Bellarmine*, to cleare the Pope from intruſion, & to auoid the teſtimonies & authorities of the holy Biſhops and Paſtors of the church, which we haue produced to ſhew the vnlawfulneſſe of appeales to *Rome*; anſwereth firſt: that though they of the inferior clergy were prohibited to appeale to the Pope, yet he was not forbidden to admit their appeales; which is a moſt ſtrange anſwer. For if they in appealing did ill, and violated the canons, he could not but offend, in admitting ſuch their appeales. And therfore o they of *Africa*, tell the Pope, that it beſeemeth him to repell ſuch appeales; and that to admit them, is to bring in the ſmoaky puffe of worldly pride into the church;

n *Vt ſupra.*

o *Epiſt. prædict. Concil. Afric. ca.* 105.

profeſ-

profeſſing, that the ending of ſuch matters belõgeth to the church of *Africa*; and complaining of intollerable wrongs and iniuries done vnto them, when ſuch appeales are admitted; whence it is conſequent, that the Pope may not admit them. Secondly he anſwereth, that the Biſhop of *Rome* admitted not the appeale of *Apiarius*, but heard his complaints, & commanded them of *Africa* more diligently to examine his cauſe: wheras it is moſt plaine and euident, that the Pope vpon his appeale, vnaduiſedly receiued him to his communion, and reſtored him to his degree and place againe.

Beſides that, to heare complaints, and to cõmand a reuiew, is in the iudgment of all men of ſence and vnderſtanding, a kind of admitting of an appeale; ſeeing no ſuch things can be done but by him that hath power to iudge of their iudgement, whom he commandeth to reuiew & reëxamine that they haue formerly iudged. Concerning Biſhops, the p Councell of *Chalcedon* decreed, that if a Biſhop haue ought againſt the Metropolitane, he ſhall go to the Primate of the dioceſe, or to the Sea of the princely city of *Conſtantinople*, that there the matter may be examined and heard. And the q Emperour confirming the ſame canon, decreed, that if the Biſhops of one Synode haue any matter of variance among themſelues, either for Eccleſiaſticall right, or any other occaſions; firſt the Metropolitane & the other Biſhops of the Synode ſhall examine and determine the cauſe; and if either part diſlike the iudgement, then the Patriarch of that dioceſe ſhall giue them audience according to the Eccleſiaſticall Canons, & Imperiall lawes, neither ſide hauing libertie to contradict his iudgement. This decree of the Emperour r *Gregory* the firſt reciteth, & alloweth; only adding, that if there be neither Metropolitane nor Patriarch, then the matter muſt be ended by the Apoſtolicke Sea, which is the head of all churches. So that euen in his iudgement, when there is a Patriarch, no Biſhop may appeale from him to *Rome*, but euery one is bound to ſtand to the end that he ſhall make. The 8 ſ generall Councell in like ſort appointeth Biſhops cõplaining of their Metropolitanes, to go to the Patriarch, that he may make an end; and requireth either ſide to ſtand to the end that he ſhall make, ſeeing the more honorable Biſhops out of ſundry Prouinces called together by him, ſit in councell with him. Yet t *Zozimus*, *Bonifacius*, & *Celeſtinus* Biſhops of *Rome*, by their agents in the Councels of *Africa* vrged & claimed a pretended right, to admit appeales of Biſhops frõ any part of the world, and from the Canons of the *Nicene* Councell. But the worthy Biſhops there preſent, looking into the decrees of that Councell, and finding no ſuch thing as was alleaged, leaſt haply thoſe coppies of the Councell which they had, might be defectiue, imperfect, or corrupted, ſent to the moſt reuerend Patriarches of *Conſtantinople*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, for the authenticall and indubitate coppies; but could find no ſuch thing in them, when they came, as was alleaged by the agents of the Biſhop of *Rome*. And therefore they wrote vnto him, and prayed him, no more

p *Canone 9.*

q *Nouel. 123. cap. 22.*

r *Greg. Epiſt. lib. 11. ep. 54.*

ſ *Canone 26.*

t Epiſt. citat. à *Concil. Afric. ſiue Carthag. 6.*

ſo,

so easily to admit men comming to him with appeales and complaints, nor to receiue to his communion such as they should excommunicate, because the Nicene Councell hath forbidden all such admission, commiting not onely Lay-men and inferiour Clergi-men * but Bishops also to their owne Metropolitanes: & requiring that Bishops put from the communion in their owne Prouinces, should not be by other, hastily, sodainely, or vnduely restored to the communion. And farther, they besought the *Romane* Bishops to repell as beseemeth them, the wicked appeales of Presbyters, and other inferiour Clergi-men, because no decree of any Councell hath preiudiced the Church of *Africa* in this behalfe, but all the Fathers most prudently and iustly decreed and determined, that all matters should be ended in the place where they arise, seeing no Prouince can lacke the grace of the holy Ghost, whereby the Bishops of Christ may bee able both wisely to see, and constantly to maintaine the right; and especially for that it is lawfull for euery one, that shall mislike the iudgement of them that haue the hearing of his cause, to appeale to the Councels of his prouince, or to a generall Councell; vnlesse haply any man will thinke, that God will inspire the tryall of iustice into one man alone, & that he wil deny the same to a great number of Bishops assembled in Councel: & farther they adde, that these beyond-sea iudgements cannot be thought good, and of force, whereunto the persons of the witnesses necessary for the finding out of the truth, cannot be brought, either in respect of the infirmity of their sexe or age, or by reason of some other impediment. And thus wee see, that the Bishops of *Rome* could not demonstrate their right to receiue Appeales of Bishops, refusing to stand to the iudgements of their owne Metropolitanes and Synodes, out of the *Nicene* Councell, but failed in the issue.

* The Africanes though within the Patriarchship of Rome, disliked the Appeals of Bishops to *Rome*, because they might haue right against their Metropotanes, if they wronged them, in a generall Synode of Africk; wherin the Primare sate as president: for otherwise Bishops wronged by their Metropolitanes, might by the canons appeale to their owne Patriarch.

Yet may we not hereupon charge them with falsification or mistaking, say the worthy [u] Proctors of the *Romane* Church. But we must rather say with counterfeit *Athanasius*, in his Epistle to *Felix*, that the coppies of the *Nicene* Councell were corrupted; or in his Epistle to *Marke* the Bishop of *Rome*, that they were burned; then that we should yeeld any such thing. And yet surely if they were corrupted, they were not burned; and if they were burnt, they were not corrupted; and that the *Arrians* should corrupt the coppies of the *Nicene* Councel in other things, and leaue it inviolable in that part that toucheth them most, and condemneth their heresy, as strange and vnlikely. [x] *Bellarmine* saith, the *Magdeburgians* do laugh at the report of the burning of those coppies of the *Nicene* Councel that were kept at *Alexandria*, and seemeth to confesse they haue reason so to doe.

u *Bell. de Rom. Pont. lib. 1. cap. 25.*

x *Ibidem.*

For (saith he) the supposed burning happened in the time of *Constantius* the Emperour, when as *Athanasius* being driuen from thence, *George* the *Arrian* had gotten into his place (as *Athanasius* testifieth) in his Epistle

stle *ad omnes Orthodoxos*; whereas it may be clearely proued out of the Chronicle of *Hierome*, that *Marke* the Pope was dead at that time. Besides, if *Marke* the Pope had sent the true coppies to *Alexandria* vpon this letter of *Athanasius* (as is pretended) why should not the copies that were found at *Rome*, and they that were brought from *Alexandria* into *Africa*, haue agreed together? How came it to passe that the canon vrged for the Popes aduantage in the Councels of *Africa*, was not found in the coppies sent from *Alexandria*? but that that coppy altogether agreed with the other that came from *Constantinople* and *Antioche*. *Bellarmine* therefore passing by these Epistles, as being of no great credit, alleageth sundrie things mentioned by the Ancient, as decreed by the Councell of *Nice*, which yet are not found in those twentie Canons now extant; to proue that it followeth not, that the Bishops of *Rome* falsified the Councell of *Nice*, because they could not finde the things they vrged in the copies sent out of the East, seeing they might be in some other, as well as those things that are mentioned by the Ancient, which are not found in these twentie canons.

The things alleaged by him out of the Ancient, as decreed by the *Nicene* Councell, which yet are not found in the canons now extant, are in number seuen, whereof some were neither decreed in that Councell, nor reported by the Ancient to haue bene decreed there. For [y] *Hierome* doth not say that the Councell of *Nice* reckoned the booke of *Iudith* among the bookes of the Canon, but onely that some sayd it did; but that it did not, Bishop *Lindan* bringeth very good reasons, as I haue [z] elsewhere shewed.

y *Hier. prefat. in Iudith.*

z Booke 4. Chap. 23.

The like may be sayd of the permitting of clergy-men hauing wiues, to liue with their wiues. For the [a] histories do not say, the Councell passed a decree to that purpose; but that whereas the Fathers of the Councell were about to haue made a decree for the restraining of clergy-men from Matrimoniall societie with their wiues, they were by *Paphnutius* a worthie Bishop and holy Confessor, dissuaded from so doing, and induced to leaue it free as they found it. The obseruation of the feast of Easter vpon the Lords day, is the third instance giuen by the Cardinall. But if *Zozimus*, *Bonifacius* and *Celestinus* could haue brought as good proofe, that the decree they vrged was passed in the Councell of *Nice*, as may be brought for the decree touching the keeping of Easter onely on the Lords day, they had neuer bene resisted, though they could not haue found it in the canons. For the order that the Councell tooke for vniformitie in the keeping of this feast, is mentioned in the Epistle of the Councell to the churches of *Ægypt*, *Lybia* and *Pentapolis*; and all histories and writers do agree on it.

a *Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 8.*

Touching the hauing of two Bishops in one city, which [b] *Augustine* saith, *Valerius* his predecessor knew not to be forbidden by the Councell

b *August. epist.* 110.

of

of *Nice*, when he cauſed him to be ordained Biſhop, and to ſit together with him, while he yet liued; it is ſtrange that *Bellarmine* ſhould deny it to be found among the twenty Canons we ſpeake of, when as in the eighth Canon it is expreſſely prouided, that if a *Nouatian* Biſhop returne to the vnitie of the Church in any city where there is a Catholique Biſhop alreadie, the Catholique Biſhop ſhall looke out for him ſome place, in his Dioceſe, that he may be a Chorepiſcopus, or ſhall appoint him to be a Presbyter; that both hee may remaine in the clergie, and that yet there may not ſeeme to be two Biſhops in one citie.

That *Atticus* in the end of the Councell of *Chalcedon* ſaith, the manner of writing thoſe letters, that were called *Litteræ formatæ*, was deuiſed in the Councell of *Nice*, no way proueth the thing in queſtion: For we inquire not, what was there deuiſed, but what was there decreed.

c *Canone 14.* Laſtly, that which the [c] Councell of *Africa* hath, as out of the Councell of *Nice*, that none ſhould celebrate the holy Sacrament of the Euchariſt, but ſuch as are faſting; and [d] *Ambroſe*, that none ſhould be taken into the clergie that haue beene twiſe maried, might by them be taken vpon vncertaine report, as that touching the booke of *Iudith* was by *Hierome*.

d *Ambroſ epiſt. 82.*

But to what purpoſe doth *Bellarmine* inſiſt vpon theſe allegations? and why doth he ſo carefully labour to ſhew that all the decrees of the *Nicene* Councell, are not compriſed within the twentie Canons now extant? Is it becauſe he would thereby make vs thinke, the *Nicene* Councell did decree any ſuch thing concerning appeales, as was alleaged in the Councell of *Africa* by the Popes Agents? Surely no. For he profeſſeth, he thinketh it very probable, that the pretended Canons were neuer made by the *Nicene* Councell, but that they were the Canons of the Councell of *Sardica*; and his reaſon is, becauſe theſe Canons are in the Councell of *Sardica*, in the very words alleaged. And it is not likely the Fathers in that Councell would make the ſame Canons, the Councell of *Nice* did, and no way expreſſe it, that they did not make new, but renewe ſuch as were made before. Which if it be ſo, it muſt needes bee confeſſed, that the Biſhops of *Rome* were deceiued and miſtooke, when they alleaged Canons as made in the Councell of *Nice*, that were not made there but in the Councell of *Sardica*.

Yet *Bellarmine* is vnwilling to yeelde ſo much vnto the trueth, though it be verie mighry and readie to preuaile with him; and therefore rather then hee will confeſſe any errour or miſtaking, hee affirmeth, that both theſe are to bee eſteemed but as one Councell; becauſe many of the ſame Biſhops were preſent in them both, and confirmed the ſame faith.

A ſtrange ſaying doubtleſſe, and contradicted by himſelfe. For in his

his booke e *De Concilijs*, sorting Councels into three rankes, accounting some wholly reiected, some wholly approued, and some in part reiected, and in part approued; he reckoneth the Councell of *Nice* among those of the second sort, and the Councell of *Sardica* among those of the third sort: becauſe conſiſting of three hundreth ſeuentie and ſixe Biſhops, the three hundreth Occidentall Biſhops confirmed the Catholique faith; and they of the Eaſt diuiding themſelues from them, confirmed the hereſie of the *Arrians:* whereas here he will haue it to bee the ſame with the Councell of *Nice*, for that it was a generall Councell approued, and not reckoned in number the ſecond.

e De Concil. lib. 1. cap. 4. 5. & 7.

But let vs pardon them this errour and miſtaking, and ſee what it was the Councell of *Sardica* decreed. The words of the Fathers of the Councell are theſe: f *It hath ſeemed good vnto vs, that if a Biſhop ſhall bee accuſed, and the Biſhops of the ſame region ſhall iudge him and degrade him; if hee that is ſo depoſed or degraded, ſhall appeale and flie to the Biſhop of* Rome, *and deſire to be heard, if he thinke good to renew the iudgement, let him be pleaſed to write to the Biſhops that are in the next Prouince, that they may diligently enquire into things, and iudge according to truth and equitie. But if he that deſireth to haue his cauſe heard againe, ſhall moue the Biſhop of* Rome *to ſend a Presbyter from his owne ſide, let him do what he thinketh fit. And if he ſhall thinke fit to ſend ſome, who being preſent with the Biſhops may iudge together with them, hauing his authoritie from whom they are ſent, let him doe as hee pleaſeth. And if he thinke the Biſhops to be ſufficient to put an ende to the matter, let him vſe his owne diſcretion.*

f Concil. Sardic. Canone 3. & 7.

For the clearing of this matter, and that we may the better diſcerne the force of this decree; firſt, we muſt marke that it was made after the diuiſion and parting of the Biſhops of the Eaſt from them of the Weſt, and ſo by the Weſterne Biſhops alone, and, as it may ſeeme, reſpectiuely to the Prouinces of the Weſt, ouer which the Biſhop of *Rome* was Patriarche.

Secondly, that the *Africans* tooke no notice of it; and yet there were Biſhops of *Africa* at the Councell, ſo that in likeli-hood this decree was not confirmed by ſubſequent acceptation, execution, and practiſe.

Thirdly, that the Councell of *Chalcedon*, which was abſolutely Oecumenicall, and wholly approued, and ſo of greater authoritie then this, that was not an approued Generall Councell, but in a ſort onely, g decreeth the contrarie, and referreth the finall determination of all cauſes of Biſhops, to the Primate or Patriarche; which the Emperour alſo confirmeth, and will haue no man to haue power to contradict the ende which the Primate or Patriarche ſhall make.

g Canone 9.

Laſtly, that this Canon maketh rather againſt them that alleage it, then any way for them.

For

For by this Canon all matters must be ended at home, or in the next Prouince to that wherein they arise; and the Pope may not call matters to *Rome* there to be heard, but is onely permitted in some cases to send a Presbyter hauing his authoritie, and to put him in commission with the Bishops of the Prouince, that so he and they ioyntly may reëxamine things formerly iudged. If this Canon were now obserued, I thinke, there would not be so great exception taken to the court of *Rome*, in respect of appeales, as now there is.

h *Bernard. lib. 3. de considerat. ad Eugenium.*

h *Quousque* (saith Saint *Bernard* to *Eugenius*) *non euigilat consideratio tua ad tantam appellationum confusionem? Ambitio in Ecclesia per te regnare molitur. Præter ius & fas, præter morem & ordinem fiunt: repertum ad remediũ, reperitur ad mortem. Antidotum versum est in venenum: murmur loquor & querimoniam communem Ecclesiarũ. Truncari se clamant & demembrari. Vel nulla, vel pauca admodum sunt, quæ plagam istam aut non doleant, aut non timeant*; that is, How long will it be before thou awake to consider this so great confusion of appeales? Ambition striueth and seeketh busily to reigne in the Church by thy meanes. They are entred, prosecuted, and admitted, beside right and law, besides custome and order. That which was first found out for a remedie, is now found to be vnto death. I do but expresse the murmuring and common complaint of the churches. They cry out that they are mangled and dismembred, and there are few or none found that do not either alreadie grieue at this plague, or feare the smart of this euill. Yet would not the *Africans* admit the Canon of the Counceil of *Sardica*, but willed the Pope to send no more any of his clerkes, to dispatch causes at any mans suite.

For that this was to bring in the smoakie puffe of worldly pride into the church, and in very earnest sort besought him not to be too easie in admitting any appeales brought from them. If within a little time after, the Bishops of *Rome* preuailed so farre, as that Bishops were suffered to appeale out of *Africa* to *Rome*, which was the thing claimed by *Zozimus*, but denied vnto him by the *Africans*; it is not to be maruailed at, seeing they still enlarged the extent of their power, till they had ouerthrowne the iurisdiction of all the Bishops of the West, and alienated the affections of all other from them. So that there was a schisme in the church, the other foure Patriarches deuiding themselues from the Bishop of *Rome*, and at their parting vsing these or the like words, as it is reported. i *Thy greatnesse we know, thy couetousnesse we cannot satisfie, thy encroaching we can no longer endure, liue by thy selfe.*

i *Gerson part. 4 serm. de pace & vnitate Græcorum, considerat. 6.*

But here we shall find a very great contrarietie of iudgement among the greatest *Rabbies* of the *Romish* church, touching these *Africans* that thus withstood the claimes of *Zozimus*, *Bonifacius* and *Cælestinus*. For k *Harding* against Bishop *Iewels* challenge in the Article of the supremacy, saith, that the whole church of *Africa* withdrew it selfe from the church

k *Harding apud Iuell. pag. 220.*

of

of *Rome* by reaſon of this difference, through the enticement of *Aurelius* Archbiſhop of *Carthage*, and continued in ſchiſme by the ſpace of an hundreth yeares; during which time by Gods puniſhment, they were brought into miſerable captiuitie, by the barbarous and cruell *Vandales*, who were *Arrians*; till at length when it pleaſed almightie God of his goodneſſe to haue pity of his people of that prouince, he ſent them *Beliſarius*, that valiant Captaine, that vanquiſhed and deſtroyed the *Vandales*; and *Eulabius*, that godly Biſhop of *Carthage*, that brought home the *Africans* againe, and ioyned thoſe deuided members to the whole bodie of the Catholique church.

A publique inſtrument containing their ſubmiſſion, being made, and offered to *Bonifacius* the ſecond, by *Eulabius* in the name of the whole Prouince. Which was ioyfully receiued; and whereof *Bonifacius* writeth to *Eulabius* Biſhop of *Theſſalonica*, deſiring him to giue thankes to God for the ſame.

But [l] *Bellarmine* proueth at large, that notwithſtanding this reſiſtance and oppoſition of the *Africans* againſt the claimes of *Zozimus*, *Bonifacius* and *Celeſtinus*, yet there neuer was any apparant breach betweene the *Romanes* and them. And for the Epiſtle of *Bonifacius* the ſecond to *Eulabius*, wherein he ſaith very harſhly (as [m] *Cuſanus* well noteth) that *Aurelius* ſometimes Biſhop of the Church of *Carthage*, with his colleagues began to waxe proude and inſolent againſt the Church of *Rome*, by the inſtigation of the diuell in the dayes of his predeceſſours, (ſo condemning *Auguſtine Alipius*, and two hundreth twentie fiue Biſhops more, as ſet on by the diuell to reſiſt the claimes of his predeceſſors) and the Epiſtle of *Eulabius* Biſhop of *Carthage*, wherein he condemneth his predeceſſours, and ſubmitteth himſelfe to the Biſhop of *Rome*) he profeſſeth he greatly ſuſpecteth they are forged and counterfeit.

l *De Pont. l. 2. cap. 25.*

m *De Concord. Cathol. li. 2. c. 15. & lib. eod. c. 17.*

Firſt, becauſe that which is contained in them cannot ſtand with that which is moſt certainely proued and knowne to be true touching the amitie and friendſhip that was betweene the *Romane* Church and *Auguſtine*, *Eugenius*, *Fulgentius*, and other *Africans*, after the oppoſition about the matters of appeales.

Secondly, for that there was no ſuch *Eulabius* Biſhop of *Alexandria* at that time, to whom *Bonifacius* might write, as it appeareth by the Chronologie of *Nicephorus* of *Conſtantinople*.

Thirdly, for that *Bonifacius* in his Epiſtle doth ſignifie that hee wrote in the time of *Iuſtinus* the Emperour; whereas *Iuſtinus* was dead before *Bonifacius* was Biſhop, as appeareth by all hiſtories.

So that we may ſee what groſſe forgeries there haue beene in former times deuiſed onely to abuſe the ſimple, and make the world beleeue, that all Biſhops and Churches ſubiected themſelues vnto the Church of *Rome*.

And how ſhameleſſe a defender of Antichriſtian tyrannie Doctour *Harding* was, that could not eſcape this cenſure of *Bellarmine* the Ieſuite.

But it is the leſſe to be maruailed at, that he ſhould ſo harden his forehead, as not to bluſh when he brought into the light, and preſented to the view of the world ſuch rotten forgeries, that was not aſhamed to become a proctor of the filthie ſtewes. Wherefore, leauing him and his counterfeit and apocryphall ſtuffe, which hee ſought to vent vnto the world, let vs proceede from the appeales of Lay-men, inferiour Clergymen and Biſhops, to ſpeake of the appeales of the chiefe Primates or Patriarches.

For the clearing of which point, we muſt obſerue, that it is a rule in Church-gouernment, that the leſſer and inferior, may not iudge the greater and ſuperiour. And therefore the Biſhops of the Prouince, may not iudge the Metropolitane, but may onely declare in what caſes he is iudged, excommunicated, ſuſpended, or depoſed, *ipſo facto*, by the ſentence of the Canon it ſelfe, and by ſeparating themſelues from him, and withdrawing themſelues from being ſubiect to him, put him in a ſort from his place, and depoſe him.

But otherwiſe, if any Biſhop haue ought againſt his Metropolitane, he muſt go (as I ſhewed before) to the Patriarche, and his Synode to complaine, as to fit and competent Iudges. For againſt the greater perſon we complaine, to the greater Iudge we muſt flie.

If a Clerke haue ought againſt a Biſhop, the matter may bee iudged in the Synode of the Prouince; but if Clerke or Biſhop haue any complaint againſt the Metropolitane, the Canon of the Councell of *Chalcedon* prouideth (as I noted before) that they ſhall go to the Primate of the Dioceſe, or to the Sea of the Princely City of *Conſtantinople*.

From whence in like proportion it is conſequent, that though the Metropolitanes and Biſhops ſubiect to a Patriarche, may declare in what caſes he incurreth the ſentence of ſuſpenſion, excommunication, depoſition, or degradation, pronounced by the very Law and Canon it ſelfe, and ſo withdrawe themſelues from his obedience; yet may they not by way of authoritie proceede againſt him, but muſt flie to another Patriarche, who in a Synode conſiſting of his owne Biſhops, and the Biſhops of that Patriarche that is complained of, may iudge and cenſure him, ſo that hee bee a Patriarche, in order and honour greater then hee againſt whom they complaine; ſeeing the leſſer may not iudge the greater. And therefore [n] we finde that in the differences that fell out, betweene *Cyrill* of *Alexandria*, and *Iohn* of *Antioche*, *Iohn* was blamed, for that beeing but Biſhop or Patriarche of the third Sea, hee tooke vpon him to iudge *Cyrill*, that was Patriarche of the ſecond; and hauing but a fewe

n See theſe things at large in the Epiſtle of *Nicholas* the firſt to *Michael* the Emperour, Epiſtle 8.

fewe Bishops ioyned with him, to iudge *Cyrill* with many.

So likewise *Dioscorus* was condemned, not onely for fauouring the wicked heresie of *Eutyches*, and his violent proceedings in the second Councell of *Ephesus*; but specially for that being but Bishop of the second Sea hee tooke vpon him to iudge *Leo*, that was Bishop of the first Sea.

And this was that which *Iulius* in his Epistle reported by *Athanasius*, in his second Apologie, blamed in the Bishops of the East; namely, that they proceeded to the iudging of Bishops of such Seas, as were *Athanasius* of *Alexandria*, and *Paulus* of *Constantinople*, without making him first acquainted with the same; that so their proceedings might haue taken beginning from him, as beeing in order the first among the Patriarches.

And hence it was, that [o] *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Alexandria* taking himselfe to be Bishop of the second Sea, came to *Constantinople*, and there with other Bishops iudged *Chrysostome*; and that *Chrysostome*, as beeing by vertue of the Canon of the Councell of *Constantinople* made Bishop of the second Sea, and set in order and honour before the Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Antioche*, would haue taken vpon him to iudge some matters concerning *Theophilus*: and in this sort did sundrie Bishops of *Rome* in Synodes consisting of their owne Bishops, and the Bishops subiect to the Patriarche of *Constantinople*, iudge and depose certaine Bishops of *Constantinople*.

o *Vide supra, chap. 35.*

Whereupon *Nicholas* the first in his [p] Epistle to *Michael* the Emperour sayth, that scarse any Bishop of *Constantinople* can be found that was orderly deposed and driuen from his Bishopricke, and whose deposition held as good and lawfull, without the consent of the Bishop of *Rome*; and therefore protesteth against the deposition of *Ignatius* as vnlawfull and vniust, for that he was condemned by his owne Bishops: comparing the Synode that deposed him to the second of *Ephesus*, and affirming that it was much worse then that. For that there *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Alexandria* with his colleagues iudged *Flauianus*, though most violently and disorderedly.

p *Epist. 8.*

But here there was none of the Patriarches, nor any one Bishop of any the meanest citie, that was not his owne Suffragan.

By that which hath beene sayde it is euident, that the great Patriarches of the Christian Church, are not to be iudged but by some other of their owne ranke in order before them, assisted by inferiour Bishops; that the Bishop of *Rome*, as first in order among the Patriarches, assisted with his owne Bishops, and the Bishops of him that is thought faultie, may iudge any of the other Patriarches; that such as haue complaintes against them, may flie to him and the Synodes of Bishops

q *Gelas. epist. 13 ad Epis. Dardania.*

subiect to him; and that the Patriarches themselues in their distresses may flie to him and such Synodes for relieſe and helpe, though of himselfe alone he haue no power to do any thing.

Wherefore let vs proceede from the distinction and explication of the diuerse and different kinds of appeales, lawfull, and vnlawfull, permitted and forbidden, to examine the allegations of our aduersaries, and to see whether from any allowed practise and approued course of appeales made to *Rome* in the Primitiue church, they can inferre the Vniuersality of Papall power and iurisdiction.

r *De Pontif. lib. 2. cap. 21.*

The first example that r *Bellarmine* bringeth, is very impertinent. For whereas he should proue, that the Bishops subiect to any of the foure Patriarches might lawfully appeale to *Rome*, and that there lay appeales from any part of the world thither; he bringeth forth the testimonie of

s *Leo. epist. 89. ad Episc. Gallia.*

s *Leo* telling the Bishops of *Fraunce*, subiect to him as Patriarche of the West, that of ancient time appeales were wont to be made out of *France* to *Rome*; which no way proueth the Bishop of *Rome* to be vniuersall Bishop, vnlesse we will acknowledge euerie one of the Patriarches to haue beene so too, it being lawfull to appeale vnto them, out of any the remotest Prouinces subiect to them.

t *Epiphan. heras. 42.*

From this ill-chosen example, he proceedeth to a worse of t *Marcion* the heretique, who being excommunicated by his owne Bishop in *Pontus*, fled to *Rome* that he might be absolued of the *Romane* Church; as he telleth vs out of *Epiphanius*.

But surely it is most strange, that he can be content thus to abuse himselfe and others. For he knoweth right well, that *Marcion* did not appeale to *Rome*, and that if he had so done, the act of a vile and execrable heretique should not be drawne into example.

The historie of *Marcion* (as we finde it in *Epiphanius*) is this: *Marcion* was the sonne of a Bishop in *Pontus*, he embraced virginitie in his first times, and seemed to liue a retired, solitarie and Monasticall kinde of life; but in the end, casting the feare of God behind his backe, he abused a certaine virgin, and not onely fell himselfe, but drew her also away from the course of vertue and well-doing, into the fellowship of sinfull wickednesse.

Hereupon, he was excommunicated and put out of the Church by his owne father. For his father was a right good and vertuous man, and carefull of the things that concerned his calling: and though after he was put out of his Church, he sought very earnestly to be admitted to penitencie, that so he might be restored to the Church againe; yet his father exceedingly grieued, not onely in respect of his fall, but also in respect of the dishonour and shame hee had brought on him, would by no meanes bee induced to yeelde vnto it. Whereupon hee leſte that Cittie whereof his father was Bishop, and went to *Rome* in the time

time of the vacancy of that Sea, after the death of *Hyginus*; and after he had ſtayed there a certaine ſpace, and conferred with the Presbyters of that church, he deſired to be admitted to their aſſemblies. But they told him, they could not ſo do without the conſent of his honourable father: For (ſay they) we haue one faith, and one conſent, and we may not contrary our good fellow-miniſter thy father. Which their anſwere when he heard, he was filled with furie and madneſſe; and profeſſed in great rage, that he would rent their church in peeces, and caſt a ſchiſme into it that ſhould neuer haue end.

This is the narration we find in *Epiphanius* concerning *Marcion* his going to *Rome*. Wherein there is nothing that any way proueth, that it was alwayes lawfull to appeale from all other Biſhops to the Biſhop of *Rome*.

For firſt, it doth not appeare that *Marcion* went thither to complaine of his father, but being put from the communion by him, and not obtaining reconciliation by any intreaty, as a runnagate he ſought to other places, and among other went to *Rome*, hoping there to be receiued into the church. But the guides of that church knowing the Canon, which forbiddeth one church to admit them another hath reiected and caſt out, vtterly refuſed to permit and ſuffer him to communicate with them.

And ſecondly, if he had gone to *Rome* by way of appeale, it would moſt ſtrongly ouerthrow all ſuch courſes, and proue that the *Romane* Biſhop may not reuerſe and make voide the Acts and proceedings of other Biſhops, ſeeing the gouernours of the *Romane* church at that time, freely profeſſed vnto *Marcion*, and told him peremptorily, that it was not lawfull for them to admit him to their communion without his fathers conſent, by whom hee was excommunicated. But the truth is, he did not ſeeke by their authoritie, as ſuperiors, to reuerſe his fathers cenſure, and iudgement, or to be reſtored to the communion of that church, out of which he was ejected (which had bene to appeale:) but beeing in *Rome*, deſired onely to be admitted to ioyne in prayers and other exerciſes of religion with them of that church; which yet (as *Epiphanius* reporteth) was denied vnto him.

The next example is of [u] *Fortunatus* and *Felix* in *Africa*, depoſed by *Cyprian* (as *Bellarmine* would make vs beleeue) and appealing to *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome* for releeſe. But there is no word of trueth in that which this Cardinall writeth. For theſe men did not go to *Rome*, to complaine that they were vniuſtly depoſed (as he vntruely reporteth) but theſe are the circumſtances of the matter, as we may reade in the Epiſtles of *Cyprian*.

u *Cyprian. lib.* 1. *epiſt.* 3.

A company of wicked ones hauing made *Fortunatus* (one of the Preſbyters that were ſuſpended by *Cyprian*, and a great number of other Biſhops) a Biſhop in oppoſition to *Cyprian*, haſten to *Rome*, to *Cornelius*

with falſe reports of the number of Biſhops that concurred in the ordination of *Fortunatus*; that ſo he might be induced to admit of him, as a true Biſhop, and to hold communion with him. Which when *Cornelius* wiſely refuſed to do, he feared not to threaten grieuous things vnto him.

With the ſuddenneſſe and ſtrangeneſſe whereof *Cornelius* much moued, maruailed greatly that *Cyprian* had not before certified him of this ſchiſmaticall ordination, that ſo he might haue bene the better prepared. Whereunto *Cyprian* anſwered: That it was not neceſſarie to be ſo careſull about the vaine proceedings of heretiques; that he had before giuen him the names of ſuch Biſhops as were found, to whom, and from whom he might write and receiue letters. And that howſoeuer falſe and ill dealing by haſt and preuention thinketh to gaine all, yet that is but for a little time, till truth ouertake it, and diſcouer it, euen as the darkneſſe of the night continueth till the Sunne ariſe.

And farther he ſheweth, that theſe ſchiſmaticall companions had no reaſon to make ſuch haſt to *Rome*, to publiſh it and make it knowne, that they had ſet vp a falſe Biſhop againſt a true. For that either it pleaſed them that they had ſo done, and then they continued, and went forward in their wickedneſſe; or they repented of that they had done, and then they knew whither to returne, and needed not to haue gone to *Rome*. *For* (ſaith he) *whereas it is agreed among vs, and it is both iuſt and right, that euery man ſhall be heard there where his fault was committed; and all Paſtors haue a part of the flocke of Chriſt aſſigned to them, which euerie one is to rule & gouerne, as being to giue an account vnto the Lord of his actions; it is not fit, nor to be ſuffered, that they ouer whom we are ſet ſhould runne vp and downe, and by craftie and deceiptfull raſhneſſe ſhake in ſunder the coherent concord of brethren, but that they ſhould haue their cauſes handled where they may haue both accuſers and witneſſes of their crimes. Vnleſſe, a few deſperate and wicked companions do thinke, the Biſhops of* Africa *that iudged them, haue leſſer authority then others.*

A more cleare teſtimonie or pregnant proofe againſt appeales to *Rome* then this, cannot be had. And yet this is one of the principall authorities, the Cardinall bringeth to proue the lawfulneſſe of appeales to *Rome*.

To the next place alleaged out of[x] *Cyprian*, touching *Baſilides* and *Martialis* Biſhops of *Spaine*, I haue anſwered[y] alreadie, and made it moſt cleare, that nothing could be alleaged more preiudiciall to the Popes claimes, and more for the aduantage of the truth of that cauſe, which we defend.

x *Lib. 1. epiſt. 4.*
y *Chap. 37.*

So that it ſeemeth our Aduerſaries haue turned their weapons againſt themſelues, and whetted their ſwords, and made readie their arrowes, to wound themſelues to death.

How the facts of *Athanaſius*, *Chryſoſtome*, *Flauianus* and, *Theodoret*, appealing

pealing to the Biſhop of *Rome* with his Weſterne Synodes, for releiſe and helpe, when they were oppreſſed and wronged by the Eaſterne Biſhops, proue not the illimited and vniuerſall power of the Pope, I haue at large ſhewed [z] before, to the ſatisfaction (I doubt not) of all indifferent Readers.

z *Supra, chap.* 35. & 37.

And therefore there remaineth but onely one allegation of *Bellarmine* touching appeales to be examined. [a] *Gregory* the firſt (ſaith he) put *Iohn* the Biſhop of *Iuſtiniana* the firſt, from the communion, for that he preſumed to iudge the Biſhop of *Thebes* hauing appealed to *Rome*. The caſe was this.

a *Epiſt. lib.* 2. *ep.* 6.

The Biſhop of *Thebes* wronged by his fellow-Biſhops, made his appeale to *Rome*. Hereupon *Iohn* Biſhop of *Iuſtiniana* the firſt, who was the Biſhop of *Romes* Vicegerent for certaine Prouinces neare adioyning, was appointed by the Emperour to heare the cauſe; which he did accordingly. But without all indifferencie, and (in ſort) contrarie to the Canons; and though vpon the diſcerning of his vniuſt and partiall proceeding an appeale were tendered to him, yet gaue he ſentence againſt the poore diſtreſſed Biſhop. *Gregory* hearing hereof, putteth him from the communion for thirtie dayes ſpace, inioyning him to bewaile his fault with ſorrowfull repentance and teares.

Truly this allegation maketh a very faire ſhew at the firſt ſight. But if we remember that the Biſhop of *Iuſtiniana* the firſt, and the diſtreſſed Biſhop of *Thebes*, wronged by him, were within the Patriarchſhip of *Rome* (as [b] *Cuſanus* ſheweth they were) you ſhal find, it was no more that the Biſhop of *Rome* did, then any other Patriarch in like caſe might haue done, within his owne precincts and limits.

b *Cuſan. lib.* 2. *Concord. Cathol. cap.* 7.

Neither can the Cardinall euer proue that the Biſhop of *Rome* had any ſuch Vicegerent as the Biſhop of *Iuſtiniana* the firſt was; but onely within the compaſſe of his owne Patriarchſhip. But (ſaith he) it was a *Greeke* Biſhop, that *Gregory* thus proceeded againſt. It is true, it was ſo. But what will he inferre from thence? Is it not knowne that many *Greeke* Biſhops were ſubiect to the Biſhop of *Rome*, as Patriarche of the Weſt? was not the Biſhop of *Theſſalonica* a *Greeke* Biſhop? and yet I thinke no man doubteth, but that he was within the compaſſe of the Patriarchſhip of *Rome*, as many other alſo were, howſoeuer in time they fell from it, and adhered to the Church of *Conſtantinople*, after the diuiſion of the *Greeke* and *Latine* Churches.

Chap. 40.

Of the Popes ſuppoſed exemption from all humane Iudgement, as being reſerued to the Iudgement of Chriſt onely.

OVR Aduerſaries finding their proofes of the Popes illimited power, taken from ſuch appeales as were wont in auncient time to be made to *Rome*, to be too weake, flie to another, wherein they put more confidence; which is his exemption from all humane Iudgement: Chriſt (whoſe Vicar he is) hauing reſerued him to his owne iudgement onely.

If this exemption could be as ſtrongly proued, as it is confidently affirmed, it would be an vnanſwerable proofe of the thing in queſtion. But the proofe hereof will be more hard, then of the principall thing in controuerſie betweene vs.

a *Bellar. lib. 2. de Pont. Rom. cap. 30.*

Touching this point, I find [a] great contrarietie of opinions among Papiſts, as men at their wits ends, not knowing what to affirme, nor what to denie. For firſt, there are ſome among them that thinke that the Pope, though he violate all lawes diuine and humane, though he become publickly ſcandalous, and therein ſhew himſelfe incorrigible, yea though he be a profeſſed and damnable heretique; yet neither is depoſed *ipſo facto*, by the ſentence of the Canon, nor may be depoſed by all the men in the world. Which opinion if we admit to be true, the condition of the church, the beloued ſpouſe of Chriſt and mother of vs all, is moſt wofull and miſerable, in that hereby ſhe is forced to acknowledge a deuouring wolfe, making hauocke of the ſheepe of Chriſt redeemed with his precious bloud, to be her Paſtor and guide.

Secondly, ſome are of opinion, that the Pope, if he become an open and profeſſed heretique, is depoſed *ipſo facto*, by the ſentence of the Canon, and that the church may declare, that he is ſo depoſed.

Thirdly, there are that thinke that an hereticall Pope is not depoſed *ipſo facto*, but that he may be depoſed by the church.

Fourthly, many worthy Diuines in the *Romane* church heretofore haue beene of opinion, that the Church or generall Councell may depoſe the Pope, not onely for hereſie, hut alſo for other enormous crimes. Of this opinion was Cardinall [b] *Cuſanus*, Cardinall [c] *Cameracenſis*, [d] *Gerſon* Chauncellour of *Paris*, *Almaine*, and all the *Pariſians*, with [e] all the worthy Biſhops and Diuines in the Councels of *Conſtance* and *Baſill*. Yet the Papiſts at this day for the moſt part diſſike and condemne this opinion, and acknowledge no depoſition of any Pope how ill ſoeuer, vnleſſe it be for hereſie. And *Bellarmine* (to make all ſure) telleth vs farther, that the church doth not by any authoritie depoſe an hereticall Pope, but whereas he

b *De Concord. Cathol. lib. 2. c. 17.*
c *Camerac. in Concilio Conſtant.*
d *Gerſ. de auferibilit. Papæ. conſider. 16.*
e *Vid. acta Concilii Conſtantienſ. & Baſilienſ.*

he is deposed *ipso facto*, in that hee falleth into heresie, onely declareth the same; and thereupon largely refuteth the opinion of Cardinall *Caietane*, f who thinketh that the Pope when he falleth into heresie, is not deposed *ipso facto*, but that deseruing to be deposed, the Church doth truly, and out of her authority depose him.

f *Caiet. in tract. de authorit. Pap. & Concil cap. 20. & 21.*

First, because (as he saith) if the Church or Councell may depose the Pope from his Papal dignity, against his will, for what cause soeuer, it will follow, that the Church is aboue the Pope, which yet *Caietane* denieth. For as it will follow, that the Pope is aboue other Bishops, and of more authority then they, if he may depose them; so if the Councell of Bishops may depose the Pope, they are greater then he.

Secondly, he saith, to be put from the Papacy vnwillingly, is a punishment; so that if the Church may depose the Pope, though vnwilling to leaue his place, it may punish him, and consequently is aboue him. For hee that hath power to punish, hath the place of a Superiour and Iudge.

Thirdly, he that may restraine and limit a man, in the vse and exercise of his ministery and office, is in authority aboue him; therefore much more he that may put him from it.

By these reasons it is clearely demonstrated and proued, that if the Church or generall Councell haue authority in case of heresie to depose the Pope, at least in some sort, it is of greater authority then the Pope. And therefore to auoid this consequence (as g *Gerson* rightly noteth) they that too much magnifie the greatnesse and amplitude of Papall power, say, that an hereticall Pope, in that he is an hereticke, ceaseth to be Pope, & is deposed by almighty God. So that the Church doth not by vertue of her authority and iurisdiction depose him, but onely denounce and declare that he is so deposed by God, and to be taken for such a one by men, and not to be obeyed.

g *Gerson loco supra citato.*

This they endeuour to proue, because all h *Heretickes are condemned by their owne iudgement*, as the Apostle speaketh, and stay not as other euill doers, till the Church cast them out, but voluntarily depart of themselues from the fellowship of Gods people, and cut themselues off from the vnity of the body of the Church; thereby ceasing to be members of it, and consequently losing all authority and command they formerly had. For the clearing of this point, we are to obserue, that there are some who run into errours so directly contrary to all Christianity, and the sence and iudgement of all Christians, that by the very proposing thereof, they abandon and driue from them all such as dissent; and are abandoned of all.

h Titus. 3. 11.

Secondly, there are some that runne not into errours so directly contrary to the sence and iudgement of all Christians as the former, but with such fury, madnesse, and pertinacy, that they vtterly reiect, forsake, and depart

depart from all such as do dissent, or are otherwise minded.

Thirdly, there are some, who though they be not carried with such violent fury into errour, as to condemne, reiect, and depart from all that dissent, yet they runne into old heresies formerly condemned, and so by force of the former condemnation, are reiected and put out of the lap and bosome of the Church.

Fourthly, there are some who fall into hereticall and dangerous errours, but neither directly contrary to the common sence of all right beleeuing Christians, nor formerly condemned by the consenting voice of the whole Church of GOD; nor with such pertinacy, as either to refuse to communicate with them that thinke otherwise, or to seeke to depriue, depose, degrade, or otherwise violently vexe and molest them that are vnder them, for not consenting to them in their errour.

The three former sorts of men falling into errour and heresie, voluntarily cut themselues off from the vnity of the body of the Church, depart from the fellowship of Gods people, and *ipso facto* cease to bee members of the Church, and lose all authority and command they formerly had. So that they neede not the Churches censure or sentence to cast them out, departing of themselues; but it sufficeth that their breaches and diuisions from the maine body of the Christian Church, be published and made knowne, that so they may be auoided.

So [i] *Celestinus* in his Epistle to *Iohn* of *Antioch*, saith, that if any one haue bene excommunicated, or depriued by *Nestorius*, or any of his adherents, since the time they first began to publish their impieties, hee still continueth in the communion of his Churches, neither doth hee iudge him to be remoued from his place: and the like he hath in his [k] Epistle to the Clergie of *Constantinople*.

But the fourth sort of men erring, doe not cease to be members of the Church, nor lose their places by so erring, till both the point of doctrine wherein they are deceiued be tryed and examined, and by lawfull and highest authority found faulty; and their pertinacy such, as rather to suffer themselues to be reiected, and put from the communion of all that are otherwise minded, then to alter their iudgements. [l] *Cyprian* fell into an hereticall opinion, that the Baptisme of Heretickes is voyde, and that all that haue bene baptized by heretickes, are to be rebaptized.

Yet because this point was not examined and condemned in a generall Councell, nor his pertinacie therein vpon such examination & condemnation, found such, as rather to suffer himselfe to be reiected from the communion of all them that thought otherwise, then to giue way and alter his iudgment, hee was no hereticke, neither did hee lose his place of ministery

i *Act. Concil. Ephes. Tom. 1. cap. 19.*

k *Ibidem.*

l *August. lib. de Baptism. cap. 18.*

miniſtery in the Church of God.

The queſtion therefore is, whether if the Pope fell into ſuch an errour, as that of *Cyprian*, by which he doth not actually, and *ipſo facto* diuide and cut off himſelfe, the Church may examine it, and iudge him to be reiected and put from the communion, if he alter not his iudgement. If they ſay it may, then hath the Church power to iudge a Pope that is not an Hereticke. For hee is not an hereticke till after ſuch determination, he chooſeth rather to be reiected from the communion of the faithfull, then to alter his iudgement. If it may not iudge the Pope ſo erring, then might the Popes in former times haue taught rebaptization with *Cyprian*; the errour of the *Chiliaſtes*, with ſundry of the Fathers: *that all right beleeuers, how wickedly ſoeuer they liue, ſhall in the end be ſaued*; with ſome of the Ancient, that the iuſt ſhall not ſee God till the reſurrection, and the like: and yet the Church haue had no power to force them to forſake and condemne ſuch errours, or to ceaſe from perſwading and inducing men, both by doctrine and example to erre in like ſort. And then we may runne into their errour, who thinke, that though the Pope be an hereticke, yet he is neither depoſed *ipſo facto*, nor may bee depoſed, but that the Church muſt acknowledge a deuouring wolfe making hauock of the flocke of Chriſt, to be her Paſtor; which *Bellarmine* himſelfe thinketh to be very abſurd.

Thus then we ſee, that all who fall into hereſies, doe not cut off themſelues from the vnity of the body of the Church, nor loſe the iuriſdiction and authority they formerly had, *ipſo facto*, as the Papiſts (to auoyde the depoſing of Popes by the authority of the Church) ſeeme to imagine; but that many doe ſo fall into hereſies, that they goe not out of themſelues till they be reiected and caſt out.

But howſoeuer our Aduerſaries muſt not defend, that Popes falling into hereſies are depoſed *ipſo facto*, (for if they doe, they ouerthrow the whole building and fabricke of Popery) the conſtant opinion of almoſt all later Papiſts is, [m] that howſoeuer the Pope may perſonally erre and fall into hereſie, or become an Hereticke, yet the prouidence of GOD ouer him is ſuch, (becauſe hee is Chriſts Vicar, *Peters* Succeſſour, heire of the Apoſtles, and head of the vniuerſall Church) that hee cannot define or decree any hereſie, or preſcribe vnto all Chriſtians to beleeue amiſſe. Which conceit cannot ſtand, but falleth to the ground, and is clearly ouerthrowne, if the Pope, by becomming an hereticke, bee depoſed *ipſo facto*. For doubtleſſe if the Pope becomming an hereticke, *ipſo facto* ceaſe to bee Pope, and to be ſo much as a member of the Church, then doth not the praier of Chriſt, for the not failing of *Peters* faith extend to him any longer, neither is hee any longer any way priuiledged, by vertue of his ſucceeding

m *Bellar. de Rom. Pont. lib. 4. cap. 3. Stapleton. Relect. Controu. 3. quæſt. 4.*

ſucceeding bleſſed *Peter*, but that hee may runne into all extremities in moſt damnable ſort, ſeeke to ſubuert the faith, to force all to beleeue as he doth, & define and determine that all ſhall profeſſe the ſame doctrine of Diuels, that himſelfe doth; ſeeing when God forſaketh him, and putteth him out of his protection, the Diuell entreth into him as hee did into *Iudas* the traytor. And how violent and ſtrange the mouings of the euill ſpirit are, we are not ignorant; for [n] *ſometimes he caſteth them that are poſſeſſed by him into the fire, and ſometimes into the water*: ſometimes into one extremity, and ſometimes into another. Wherefore either the Papiſts muſt confeſſe, that the Pope may define for hereſie, & then al their religion is ouerthrowne; or elſe they muſt acknowledge, that hee is not depoſed *ipſo facto*, by becomming an hereticke, but that he is to be depoſed by the authority of the Church, and ſo make the Church of greater authority then the Pope; and then they are in worſe caſe then before. For then, as the Church by her authority cenſureth him for hereſie, leſt hee ſubuert the faith, miſſe-leade the people of God, and ouerthrow religion; ſo ſhe may likewiſe cenſure him in other caſes for auoyding of the like danger: Seeing ſuch may be his prodigious and helliſh conuerſation, and his execrable corruption and violence in doing wrong, in peruerting iuſtice, in turning iudgement into wormewood, in violating all lawes and canons, in ouerthrowing the iuriſdiction of al other Biſhops, and in making a ſcorne of all religion, as may be as hurtfull to the Church as hereſie.

n Mark. 2. 22.

Now that wee ſpeake not of an impoſſible or ſtrange thing, or neuer heard of before, when wee ſpeake of monſters, prodigious, and helliſh monſters, intruding themſelues by ſiniſter meanes into the holy chaire of bleſſed *Peter*, let the Reader peruſe the [o] Hiſtories written of the Popes, by their owne friends, and by the louers of the Church of *Rome*, which are full of the villanies of this kinde of men, in which nothing is more ordinary, or more often repeated then thoſe honorable titles of moſt wicked Popes, *Monſtra, teterrima monſtra*: monſters, moſt hydeous and ougly monſters. Let him caſt his eyes vpon the 50 Popes mentioned by [p] *Genebrard* (that vaſſall of the Pope, and ſworne enemy of all honeſt and good men) which are by him acknowledged to haue bene monſters, and Apoſtaticall, rather then Apoſtolicall; and among them vpon that monſter of monſters, *Iohn* the welfth, then whom, a viler hell-hound neuer breathed vpon the earth, and who ſeemed to be a very Diuell incarnate.

o *Platina. in Ioanne 10. Benedicto 4. Sergio 3. & Chriſtophor. 1. Sigon. de Regno Italiæ. li. 6. in vita Formoſi.*

p *Genebr. Chronol. lib. 4. Saculo 10.*

Wherefore let vs paſſe from the caſe of hereſie, to ſee whether the Pope may not bee depoſed for other enormous crimes publikely ſcandalous.

The chiefe and principal reaſon brought by our Aduerſaries, to proue that he may not bee iudged of any, whatſoeuer hee do, is becauſe hee hath ſoueraigne authority ouer all, and is Prince of the whole Church.

But

But this reason (as q *Bellarmine* confesseth) is *Petitio principij*, that is, a grosse begging of that which is in question; and besides, they who bring this proofe, run round in a circle, and make themselues giddy by sophisticall circulation. For thus they dispute. q *de Rom Pont. lib. 2. cap. 26.*

The Pope hath an absolute soueraignty ouer all, and is Prince of the whole Church, because no man may iudge him; and if any man doubt, whether he may be iudged or not, they proue full wisely that he may not; because he hath an absolute soueraignty. Wherefore the Cardinall leaueth the prouing of this point by reason, and vndertaketh to demonstrate the same by authorities. But they are such as are not much to be esteemed. For either they proue not the point in question, or else they may iustly be suspected of forgery and corruption.

The first testimony hee alledgeth, is out of the councell of *Sinuessa*, which was called (as it is supposed) by the Clergy of *Rome*, in the time of *Diocletian* the Emperour, to examine the fact of *Marcellinus*, that had sacrificed vnto idols. Of the acts of this Councel, *Binnius* in his Annotations vpon the same, in the first Tome of the Councels, saith: That very many of the best learned Diuines, do thinke them to be meere counterfeits, and of no esteeme or credit, and that they were but the deuice of the *Donatists*, seeking to blemish the blessed memory of *Marcellinus*, whom all antiquity much esteemed and honoured.

Whereupon Saint r *Augustine* saith, that certaine *Donatists* obiected the fall of *Marcellinus* to the Catholickes, but that they could neuer yet proue any such crime to haue bene committed by him, as they charged him with. Howsoeuer there are many most strong and forcible arguments to proue, that the acts of this Councell are meere forgeries. r *Aug. de vnico Baptismo contra Petilian. l. 1. c. 16*

For first, whereas this Councell is said to haue bene holden at *Sinuessa*, in a certaine vault or caue vnder the ground, that was named the vault or caue of *Cleopatra*, there is no History, nor no Writer that mentioneth any such caue, nor any man that can tell of any the least memoriall of any such thing. Neither doth that answer satisfie men, that many famous cities haue bene made desolate by Earth-quakes, and many mountaines and plaines haue changed both their situation, place, and name. For howsoeuer they lost their old names, and are called by new, yet their old names remaine still in those ancient Writers, wherin formerly they were; but the name of this caue or vault cannot be found in any ancient Writer whatsoeuer.

Secondly, it is very strange, that in the time of *Diocletian*, when the persecution was hottest, and the flame of that fire consumed and wasted all that came neere it, three hundred Bishops should be assembled together, and meete in such a caue, whereinto they could not all enter; and so hide themselues, but onely 50 at a time, leauing the rest abroad to bee spied and apprehended: then which, what can bee more vnlikely?

For

For they are reported to haue made choice of a caue to meete in, that by hiding themselues they might decline the fury of their bloudy enemies, and yet this caue is described to haue bene in a citty, and of so small receipt and narrow compasse, that onely 50. could enter into it at a time. So that 250. were alwaies in open view abrode in the citty.

Thirdly, in the accusation that is brought against *Marcellinus*, it is sayd, that *Diocleſian* brought him into the Temple of *Vesta* and *Isis*, and that hee caused him to sacrifice to *Saturne* and *Iupiter*; whereas it is certaine that diuers Gods and Goddesses among the heathen had their diuers Temples, so that they neuer vsed to sacrifice to *Iupiter* in the Temple of *Vesta*, or to *Vesta* in the Temple of *Iupiter* or *Mars*.

Fourthly, the Author of the *Pontificall*, saith, *Marcellinus* did sacrifice, and a few dayes after repenting of that he had done, was martyred. Now how 300. Bishops in so fewe dayes could bee brought together, I thinke neither the Authors nor the patrons of these forgeries can easily tell vs.

These and the like reasons, are brought by Cardinall [f] *Baronius* and others, who (thinking that to acknowledge that *Marcellinus* did sacrifice to idols, doth more disaduantage their cause, then any thing decreed in it doth helpe it) incline to say, that the acts of this Councell are counterfeit, and that all these thinges were deuised by the enemies of the Sea Apostolicke. But others thinking that the fact of this Pope may bee excused, and supposing that the Decree of this Councell, that *the first Sea is to bee iudged of none*, may much helpe their helplesse cause: and [t] for that otherwise they shall bee driuen to discredit it, their *Martyrologyes*, and their *Breuiaries*, and Pope *Nicholas* the first, who vrgeth the saying of these supposed Bishops in his Epistle to *Michael* the Emperour, admit this Councell as if it were of credit, and vrge the authority of it, to confirme thinges questioned betweene them and vs; though they bee not able to answer the reasons of the other side, to the satisfaction of any indifferent man; for this is the manner of these Iesuited Papists, to reiect or admit nothing otherwise, then as they thinke it may make for them or against them.

[f] *Baron. Annaſ. Tom. 2. anno. 303.*

[t] *Binnius annot. in Concil. Sinueſſ. 6. num.*

But to leaue them thus striuing and contending one with another, and to come to the saying alledged by *Bellarmine* out of this supposed Councell, it no way maketh for them, but against them, and cannot stand with the groundes of their owne Diuinity, vnlesse they will be of their opinion, who thinke that the Church must endure an hereticall Pope, and that hee must bee still taken to bee a Sheepheard of the sheepe of Christ, though as a deuouring Wolfe, he make hauocke of the flocke of Christ. For is not infidelity as badde as heresie? And did not *Marcellinus* as much endanger the Church of *Rome*, and the religion of Christians in

making

making friendſhip with *Diocleſian*, by ſacrificing to his idols, as *Liberius* did by ſubſcribing to the *Arrians* wicked proceedings againſt *Athanaſius*, and communicating with heretickes? Was it lawfull for the Clergy of *Rome*, vpon the knowledge of *Liberius* his fact to depoſe him, and might not the ſame Clergy aſſiſted with three hundred Biſhops, iudge and depoſe *Marcellinus*? But heere wee may ſee the partiality of theſe Papiſts, and that they write without all conſcience. For *Bellarmine* [u] being to iuſtifie *Felix* to bee a true Pope, who poſſeſſed the place while *Liberius* liued, ſaith, that in his entrance hee was a Schiſmaticke (*Liberius* yet liuing, and continuing a catholicke Biſhop:) but that after the fall of *Liberius*, for which the Church did lawfully depoſe him, hee was by the ſame Church admitted and taken for a true Biſhop. Yea though *Liberius* were not in heart an Hereticke, but was preſumed to be an Hereticke, onely becauſe hee made peace with the *Arrians*, and ſo was an hereticke in his outward courſes and acts, of which men are to iudge, and not of the heart.

u *De Pontif. lib. 4. cap. 9.*

And yet touching [x] *Marcellinus*, hee ſaith, hee thinketh hee loſt not his Popedome, nor might not be depoſed from it for that moſt execrable externe act of idolatry and infidelity, becauſe it might be thought he did it out of feare. Shall the vncertaine coniecture of the motiue that made him do ſo vile an act, excuſe him from being proceeded againſt, as an infidell that doth the workes of an infidell? and ſhall not the like coniectures ſtay the proceedings againſt men as heretickes, vpon their outward concurring with heretickes in ſome thinges? Shall feare excuſe *Marcellinus*? and ſhall not the impatience of *Liberius* (no longer able to endure ſuch intollerable vexations as he was ſubiect to) excuſe him? was it not as ſtrongly preſumed, that impatience moued the one to do that he did, as feare the other? Yes ſurely much more. For if wee may beleeue the acts of this faigned Councell, *Marcellinus* was rather wonne with flattery and faire promiſes, then forced with terrours, the Emperour ſeeking to winne him with kindneſſe, and not to force him with ſeuerity and extremitie, being perſwaded by *Alexander*, and *Romanus* ſo to doe. For that if hee could inſinuate himſelfe into the affection of the Biſhop, and aſſure him vnto himſelfe, hee might thereby eaſily gaine the whole citty.

x *Ibid. cap. 8.*

Thus hauing examined the firſt teſtimony produced by the *Romaniſts* to proue that the Biſhops of the *Romane* Sea may not be iudged, & found it to be of no credit, let vs ſee if the next will be any better.

The next is taken out of the *Romane* Councel vnder Pope *Sylueſter*, conſiſting of 284. Biſhops, wherein we find theſe words: [y] *Neq; ab Auguſto, neq; à Regibus, neq; ab omni Clero, neq; à populo iudicabitur prima ſedes*: that is, The firſt Sea ſhall not be iudged, neither by *Auguſtus*, neither by Kinges, neither by the whole Clergie, neither by the people.

y *Cap. 20.*

Before

Before we come to answer this authority we must obserue, that many things are most fondly and fabulously deuised & attributed to this *Syluester*, vnder whom this imagined *Romane* Councel is supposed to haue bin holden. For whereas [z] *Eusebius* [a] *Zozomen*, and other Historians of credit report, that the conuersion of *Constantine* the great was partly out of those good lessons he had learned of his father, and partly by a strange apparition of the signe of the Crosse, with an inscription in it: *In hoc vince*, that is, in this ouercome, appearing to him in the aire when preparing himselfe to the warre against *Maxentius*, he carefully bethought himselfe to what God hee should betake him, and whose helpe among the Gods he should specially seeke; and partly by a vision of Christ appearing to him; whereupon hee sent for the Priests of that God that had so manifested himselfe vnto him, and learned of them what God hee was. Those fond men, [b] that published the faigned acts of *Syluester*, report, that *Constantine* after many horrible murthers of his neerest Kinsmen, and the parricide of his owne sonne *Crispus*, being stricken with leprosie, was wished by the Sooth-sayers to whom he sought for counsell and aduice, to take the bloud of Innocents, and to bathe himselfe in it for the curing of his leprosie; but that discouraged from the effusion thereof by the piteous cries of their tender mothers, hee bethought himselfe better, and sought expiation of his grieuous crimes, which all other denying to him, for so grieuous offences, *Hosius* of *Corduba* told him, that the Christians could purge him, & *Peter* and *Paul* appearing to him, told him, he must recall *Syluester* out of his hiding place, whither he was gone for feare, and seeke Baptisme of him; and that then he should be purged both from the impurity of his soule and body, which accordingly was done, and he recouered.

z *Euseb. de vita Constantini. lib. 1. cap. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26.*

a *Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 3.*

b *Vide Acta Syluestri quæ extant in epist. quadam decretali, Tomo. 2. Epist. Pontif. item act. 1. Concil. Niceni 2. & Baronium anno 324. num. 32. & Seq. & Binnium in notis in vita Sylvestri.*

In thankfull requitall whereof he cast downe the Temples of the false Gods, builded many Christian Churches, and gaue to *Syluester* the citty of *Rome*, with all *Italy*, and many other prouinces besides, making him temporall Lord of all those places. Whereas it is most certaine, that *Constantine* was not baptized till a little before his death, as it appeareth by [c] *Eusebius*, by [d] *Hierome*, and by the Synodall Epistle of the Councel of *Ariminum*, written to *Constantius*, reported by [e] *Theodoret*, [f] *Socrates*, and [g] *Zozomen*; and as certaine, that *Constantine* was a Christian Emperour, before *Syluester* was Bishop. For [h] in the dayes of *Melchiades* his predecessour, hee tooke notice of the differences among Bishops, in respect of *Cæcilianus*, and rested not till he had composed them; professing that he so honoured the catholicke Church, that he could not endure any schisme to be in it.

c *Euseb. lib. 4. de vita Constantini. cap. 61. 62.*

d *Hieronym. in Chrono.*

e *Theodor. hist. lib 1. cap. 26.*

f *Socrates lib. 2. cap. 29.*

g *Sozom. lib. 4. cap. 17.*

h *Euseb. hist. lib. 10. cap. 5.*

Notwithstanding the same authors of lyes go forward, and tell vs, after the Baptisme of *Constantine* by *Syluester*, of a Councell holden at *Rome*, by the same *Syluester*, consisting of 284. Bishops, brought thither, and maintained

maintained there at the Emperours charges. But there are many thinges that bewray it to be a meere counterfeit.

For firſt, it hath a ſenceleſſe title; for it is named another *Romane* Councell vnder *Sylueſter* the firſt, whereas no man can tell of any beſides this.

Secondly, it is fronted with a briefe Epilogue in ſteed of a Preface.

Thirdly, there is ſcarcely any ſence to be made of any one ſentence throughout the whole.

Fourthly, it is ſaid to conſiſt of 139. Biſhops out of the citty of *Rome*, or not farre from it, and the reſt out of *Greece*; whereas all men know the citty of *Rome* had but one Biſhop, ſo that it was ſenceleſſe to ſay, there were in that Councell 139. Biſhops out of the citty of *Rome*, or not farre from it. And beſides, all men ſee, how ſilly a thing it was to muſter ſo many names of Biſhops, without ſpecifying the places wherof they were Biſhops.

Fifthly, whereas it is ſaid to haue conſiſted of 284. Biſhops out of the citty of *Rome*, and places neere to it, and out of *Greece*, as if it had bene a generall Concell; it is ſtrange that the Hiſtories reporting farre meaner Councels then this is ſuppoſed to haue bene, ſhold neuer make any mention of this, nor the occaſion of calling it.

Sixthly, whereas the ſuppoſed Fathers of this Councell, doe condemne (though in very ſenceleſſe manner) certaine vnknowne heretickes, it is ſtrange they ſhould make no mention of the *Arrians*, who were famous, and * at that time troubled all the Eaſt.

* This Councell was holden after the ending of the *Nicene* Councell, if we may beleeue the Epilogue before it.

Seuenthly, the end why theſe ſuppoſed Fathers met, was ridiculous. For thus it is expreſſed,[i] *Vt Eccleſiæ regiæ non vaticinentur, ſed ſit firma, & claudat oſtium propter perſecutorem.* Or, as another Edition hath it: *Vt Eccleſia regia non vacilletur, ſed ſit firma, & claudat oſtium, propter perſecutorem.* For why ſhould theſe good men forbid the kingly Churches to prophecy? or why ſhould they feare the ſhaking or tottering of them? or ſhut the doore for feare of the perſecutor, after *Conſtantine* was become a Chriſtian, baptized by *Sylueſter*, and, in requital of his kindneſſe, had giuen him all the Empire of the Weſt?

i *Cap.* 1.

Laſtly, whereas the manner of Councels was, that the Biſhops ſate round in a compaſſe, the Presbyters ſate behinde them, and the Deacons ſtood before them, the [k] Councell of *Carthage* forbiddeth a Biſhop to ſit, and to ſuffer a Presbyter to ſtand; and [l] *Hierome* ſheweth, that euen in *Rome* the manner was, that Presbyters did ſit, and Deacons ſtand; heere it is noted, that none ſate but Biſhops.

k *Concil. Carthag. 4. Canone* 34.

l *Hierony. Epiſt. 85. ad Euagrium.*

Theſe things being obſerued touching the credit of this Councell, let vs come to the Decrees of it, by which the Pope would exempt himſelfe from all iudgement of men, whatſoeuer villanyes hee ſhould chance to commit.

Thus then the Decrees of this ſacred Synode are paſſed in fauour of

the Pope. Fiſt it is decreed, [m] *that no Presbyter à die onus Presbyterij* (latine fitter for Hog-heards then Biſhops) *ſhall marry, and that if he do, he ſhall loſe his honour for* 12. *yeares.*

[m] *Cap.* 19.

Secondly, it is ordered thus: [n] *That if any one ſhall doe againſt this preſent hand-writing, hee ſhall be condemned for euer. For let no man iudge the firſt Sea: for neither ſhall the Iudge be iudged of Auguſtus, nor of all the Clergy, nor of Kings, nor People.* Theſe ſenceleſſe Decrees of a faigned and ridiculous Synode our Aduerſaries (ſuch is their pouerty in this cauſe) bring forth, as good authorities for the Pope. But I thinke the reader will not much be moued with thē, vnleſſe it be to pitty thoſe that liued before vs, who were abuſed with ſuch fooleries, & ſhameleſſe forgeries; & to giue thankes to God that hath giuen vs meanes to deſcry the cozening deuices of Satans Agēts. Neither doth it any thing aſſure vs of the truth of this Councel, that Pope *Nicholas* was content to make vſe of it in his Epiſtle to *Michael* the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, ſeeing he citeth alſo in the ſame Epiſtle the *Romane* Synode vnder *Sixtus* the third, in the cauſe of *Polychronius* Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, whereas yet notwithſtanding [o] *Binnius* ſaith confidently, that euery learned man wil prounce the acts of it to be counterfeit, if he attend the names of the Conſuls, in whoſe times it is ſuppoſed to haue bene holden; the name of him that was accuſed, & other things deſcribed in thoſe ſuppoſed and pretended acts. To theſe they adde another authority (as it may ſeeme) of the ſame ſtamp, out of the [p] Councell of *Rome* vnder *Sixtus* the third, which they endeuor to ſtrengthen with certaine ſayings out of a booke of one *Enodius* a Deacon admitted, & allowed in the fifth Councell vnder *Symmachus*. The *Romane* Councel vnder *Sixtus* was called to examine a very foule fact, wherwith *Sixtus* was charged, which was the abuſing of one *Chryſogonet*, a profeſſed & conſecrated virgin. In this Councel *Sixtus* preſented himſelfe, & profeſſed that it was in his power & choice either to ſubmit himſelfe to the iudgement of the Councel, or to refuſe it; & yet voluntarily referred his cauſe to be there heard: whence our Aduerſaries ſuppoſe, they may inferre that all the world may not iudge the Pope againſt his will. The *Barbariſmes*, & manifold ſenceles abſurdities that are found in this Councell, may iuſtly make vs ſuſpect it of forgery. But admiting it to haue bene a lawful Synode, no ſuch thing can be cōcluded out of it, as our aduerſaries dreame of. For it was but a *Dioceſan* Synode, and there was neuer a Biſhop in it, beſides *Sixtus*, whom they went about to iudge. And therfore it was not to be marualled at, if *Sixtus* ſaid, it was in his power & choice whether hee would be iudged by the Presbyters and Deacons of his owne Church, or not; ſeeing no Biſhop, bee hee neuer ſo meane, may be iudged by the Clergy of his owne Church, but by the Synode of the Biſhops of the prouince; and therefore I greatly feare they wil hardly draw a good argument from hence, to proue, that the Pope may not at all be iudged. For I think it wil not follow: *Maximus* the Exconſul

[n] *Cap.* 19. & 20.

[o] *Annot. in acta de Synodali accuſat. & expurg. Polychronij. To.* 1. *Concil.*

[p] *Tomo* 1. *Conciliorum.*

ſaid,

ſaid, it was not lawful for thoſe Lay-men, & inferior Clergy-men then aſſembled, to giue ſentence againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*; & the Biſhop himſelfe proteſted, that he might chuſe, whether he would be iudged by them or not; therefore the whole Chriſtian world may not iudge the Pope. Wherefore let vs come to the ſayings of *Enodius*, & ſee whether they confirme the *Romiſh* conceipt any better. The occaſion of the writing of this booke of *Enodius*, was this: q *Symmachus* the Biſhop of *Rome*, being charged with certaine grieuous crimes, was to be iudged in a Synode called by *Theodoricus* the king, not without his owne conſent. To this Councell he was willing to come, & to ſubmit himſelfe to the iudgement of it; only he deſired reſtitution of ſuch things as had bene taken from him, til he were conuicted: which hee could not obtaine, and yet preſented himſelfe in the Synode. But ſuch was the fury & violence of his enemies preſſing in vpon him, that he was in very great danger of his life; and therfore after the firſt time, would come no more to the place where the Biſhops ſate. Whereupon they not knowing what to do (for it was not fit to iudge him being abſent, & there was no reaſon to proceed againſt him as contumacious in refuſing to come vnto them, ſeeing his refuſall ſeemed to proceed from iuſt feare of danger) vtterly refuſed and diſclaimed the trying of his cauſe, and the iudging of it; moued not a little ſo to do, becauſe great multitudes of the people communicated with him, and they had no preſident of ſuch procedings againſt former Biſhops.

q *Synod. Romana 3. ſub Symmacho. in 2. Tom. Concil.*

The King ſomewhat offended heerewith, told them, that if they did not diſcuſſe the cauſe, they would giue an ill example to all Biſhops to liue wickedly, and at their pleaſure, in hope of impunity; and yet left the matter wholly to them, who did nothing in it, but onely perſwaded to vnity.

Heereupon there grew ſome diſtraction among the Clergy and people of *Rome*, & ſome thought the Biſhops had done ill in leauing the matter vnexamined. Vpon which occaſion one *Enodius* a Deacon, writeth a booke in defence of their proceedings, which they approue in their fifth Synode or meeting, wherein among other thinges he hath theſe words: *Lex probitatis & mentis eſt, quæ hominem viuentem ſine lege caſtigat: propriè moribus impendit qui neceſsitati non debet diſciplinam. Aliorum fortè hominum cauſas Deus voluit homines terminare, ſed ſedis iſtius Præſulis ſuo ſine quæſtione reſeruauit arbitrio. Voluit beati Petri Apoſtoli ſucceſſores cœlo tantùm debere innocentiam, & ſublimiſſimi diſcuſſoris indagini inuiolatam exhibere conſcientiam.* That is, The Law of vertue and of the minde keepeth them in awe, who liue without any other law. He that is not otherwiſe inforced to liue well, will liue orderly for the loue of order and good life. Haply God would haue the cauſes of other men ended by men, but the cauſes of the Biſhop of this Sea he reſerued no doubt to his owne iudgement: & his pleaſure was, that the ſucceſſors

of blessed *Peter* should be accountable for their good or ill liuing to heauen onely, and present and exhibite their consciences kept inuiolable to the examination of the most exquisite examiner.

For answer to this allegation wee say, that neither the credit of *Enodius* is so great, that vppon his bare word wee should bee bound to beleeue him, nor the authority of these Fathers such, that whatsoeuer they approue and allow, must bee holden for good. Notwithstanding, admitting these sayings to bee true, [r] their owne Canonists and Diuines in their Glosses, do limit and restraine them with certaine exceptions.

r *Vide Ockam. Dialog. lib. 6. part. 1. cap. 62.*

For first they say, the case of heresie must be excepted, there being no question, but that the Pope may bee iudged and condemned by men, if he become an heretieke.

Secondly, the case of Penitential confession, wherein he yeeldeth himselfe, as in duty bound so to doe, to bee iudged, directed, and commanded for his soules good, by him to whom hee is pleased to reueale the estate of the same.

Thirdly, the case of voluntary submission. It is in my power (saith Pope *Sixtus*) to be iudged or not, but let matters bee examined, and the truth found out. And in like sort, *Symmachus* submitted himselfe to be iudged by the Councell of Bishops.

Fourthly, the case of incorrigible wickednesse, when the Church is grieuously scandalized by the notorious ill life and wickednesse of the Pope, & he is found incorrigible in the same. This case the Glosse excepteth, warranted so to do by the very light of naturall reason, which teacheth vs, that when any member of the body, after the cutting off whereof the body may liue and continue, infecteth and endangereth the rest, and is incurable, it may, and ought to be cut off. Now though the Pope should in a sort be acknowledged to haue the proportion of the head in the body of the Church, yet is he herein vnlike vnto a natural head, for that the body of the Church dieth not when he is taken away from it, and therfore to stop the deadly infection of his impiety, & outragious wickednesse from spreading it selfe any further, he may bee cut off. So that this is the onely difference betweene the Pope & other Bishops, that other may bee iudged, though they be not incorrigible, but he is not to be iudged of any other, without his owne consent and concurrence, when he may be induced to reforme and correct what is amisse, as being the chiefe of that company that is to iudge of ill doers; but if hee be incorrigible, hee may be proceeded against, euen against his will, as wee see by the example of [s] *Iohn* the twelfth, who being prodigiously wicked, and after many and most earnest admonitions, intreaties and perswasions, of the Emperour & others, refusing any way to reforme himselfe, the Emperor called a Councell, and deposed him, and chose another to succeed him; and that this

s *Sigebert. Anno. 963. Otho. Frisingens. lib. 6. cap. 23.*

deposition

depoſition was lawful & good, it is euident, in that the ſucceeding Pope was holden to be a true and lawfull Pope while hee yet liued. But concerning *Gregory* the Pope, *Henry* the third, did rather perſwade him to yeeld, and to relinquiſh his place, then depoſe him, becauſe hee found him tractable. t *Otho. Friſing. lib. cap. 32.*

Two other authorities our Aduerſaries haue yet behind, to proue that the Pope may not be iudged.

The firſt, is out of the Councell of u *Chalcedon*, where the Fathers among many other reaſons alledged why they condemned *Dioſcorus*, vrge this alſo as one, that he was ſo farre from repenting of his manifold euill doings, that he railed againſt the Apoſtolicke Sea, ſought to excommunicate bleſſed *Leo*, and perſiſting in his wickedneſſe, was wilfull againſt the whole Councell, and refuſed to anſwer to ſuch things as he was charged with. How it will be inferred from hence that the Pope may not be iudged by a generall Councel, I ſee not. For though it be true that the inferiours may not iudge the greater and ſuperiour; and that therefore *Iohn* of *Antioche* was condemned for iudging *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, and *Dioſcorus* for iudging *Leo*, yet it is no way conſequent that either *Cyril* or *Leo*, were free from all iudgement, or that they might not be iudged by a generall Councell, whatſoeuer they ſhould do. u *Actione 3. Epiſt. ad Martia. & Valentinianum.*

The other authority is out of the *Romane* Councell vnder *Adrian* the ſecond, whoſe words recited in the x eighth generall Councell are theſe: We reade that the *Romane* Biſhops haue iudged the Biſhops of all Churches, but that any one hath iudged them, we do not reade. x *Actione 7.*

For the better vnderſtanding and clearing whereof, wee muſt obſerue, firſt that the perſon of the Biſhop of *Rome* alone is not meant, when hee is ſaid to haue iudged the Biſhops of all Churches; but he muſt bee vnderſtood to haue iudged them with his Synode, and the Biſhops ſubiect to him, as Patriarch of the Weſt. For otherwiſe hee might not, nor did not iudge any Biſhop of himſelfe alone.

Secondly, that being Biſhop of the firſt Sea, hee, with his aſſociates, might iudge any other Biſhop or Patriarch, but no particular Patriarch with his Biſhops might iudge him and his, becauſe y there is no particular perſon, or company of men greater then hee and his, being chiefe Patriarch of the world: but that both he and his may be iudged by a generall Councell, it appeareth by the eighth generall Councell, wherein the words now vrged, are recited. For that z Councell taketh order that all the Patriarches ſhall bee honoured and reſpected, and eſpecially the Biſhop of *Rome*, and forbiddeth any man to compoſe any billes or writings againſt him, vnder pretence of ſome crimes, wherewith they will charge him, as *Dioſcorus* did: but that if there bee a generall Councell, and any queſtion bee moued touching the *Romane* Church, they may in reuerent and due ſort determine the ſame, though they may not proceede con- y *Vide Ockam. Dialog. lib 6. part. 1. cap. 1.* z *Canone 21.*

temptuously against the *Romane* Bishop.

a *Canone 6.* And so first, the Councell of [a] *Nice* gaue lawes, as to the other two Patriarches, so likewise to the Bishop of *Rome*, and included him within his owne bounds and limits.

b *Actione 16.* Secondly, the Councell of [b] *Chalcedon* made the Bishop of *Constantinople* a Patriarch, and the Bishop of *Romes* Peere, notwithstanding the resistance of those that were there present on the behalfe of *Leo*, then Bishop of *Rome*, and the other Bishops of the West. And this Decree in the end preuailed, so that after much contradiction, and long continued opposition, the Bishops of *Rome* were forced to yeeld vnto it.

c *Cusan. Concor. cathol. lib. 2. cap. 17.* Thirdly, [c] generall Councels reëxamined and iudged againe thinges iudged by the Bishop of *Rome*, and his Bishops, as the Councell of *Chalcedon* reëxamined the iudgement of *Leo* against *Dioscorus*, and for *Theodoret*.

And the sixth generall Councell, the iudgement of pope *Martine*, with his Synodes against *Pyrrhus*, and *Sergius*: and the eighth, the iudgements of *Nicholas* & *Adrian* against *Photius*.

d *August. Epist. 162.* [d] Saint *Augustine* speaking of the sentence of the 70. Bishops against *Cæcilianus*, retracted and reuersed by *Melchiades*, Bishop of *Rome* and his colleagues (whom vpon the suites of the *Donatistes*, *Constantine* appointed to heare the matter) saith, they therefore appealed to the iudgements of the Bishops beyond the Seas, that if by any falshood and slaunders they could preuaile, they might gaine the cause: if not, they might say (as all men that haue ill causes are wont to doe) that they met with bad Iudges. But (saith hee) let vs grant that those Bishops that iudged the matter at *Rome*, were not good Iudges; yet there remained a generall Councell of the whole Church for them to flye vnto, where the matter might anew haue bene handled with the former Iudges; that their sentences might be reuersed, if they should haue bene conuinced to haue iudged ill. Which thing if they did, let them make it appeare vnto vs. We proue they did not, because all the world communicated with *Cæcilianus*, and not with *Donatus* and his adherents. So that either they neuer brought the matter to be scanned in a generall Councell, or else they were therein condemned also.

Here we see he clearely acknowledgeth the generall Councell to haue power to reëxamine and reuerse the iudgment of the Bishop of *Rome* and his colleagues.

e *Gregor. lib. 4. Epist. 38.* Saint [e] *Gregory* likewise acknowledgeth the vniuersall Church to be greater then he and his: For, professing to follow the direction of Christ (in the matter betweene him and the Bishop of *Constantinople*) who willeth vs, if our brother offend against vs, to go and admonish him betweene him and vs; and if then he heare vs not, to take two or three with vs, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses euery word may stand: and if hee heare not them, then to tell the Church, hee saith,

that

that he had first sent to the Bishop of *Constantinople*, and by his messengers admonished him in all gentle and louing sort; and that now hee writeth vnto him, omitting nothing that in all humility hee ought to doe; but that seeing hee is thus despised, there remaineth nothing, but that hee vse the helpe of the Church, for the repressing of the insolency of this man, so preiudiciall to the state of the whole Church.

Fourthly, generall Councels haue by their decrees ordained many thinges concerning the Sea of *Rome*, either enlarging or limiting the power of it, and the exercise of the same, as it seemed good vnto them: as wee see in the Councell of [f] *Sardica*. *Hosius* with the Bishops there assembled, resolued in the honour of the memory of *Peter*, to make a Decree, that Bishops condemned by the Bishops of their owne Prouinces, might appeale to the Bishop of *Rome*; and that it might bee lawfull for him vpon such appeale to write to the Bishops of the next Prouince to reëxamine the matter againe: And if hee pleased, to send some from himselfe to sit with them in ioynt commission. Neither did the Bishops of *Rome*, [g] *Zozimus*, *Bonifacius*, and *Caelestinus*, vrge the law of Christ, or the right of Saint *Peter*, to iustifie their claime of receiuing appeales out of *Africa*, but the Decrees of the *Nicene* Councell. And this is farther confirmed in that the Bishops in the Councell of [h] *Chalcedon* say, the Fathers gaue the preheminence to the Bishop of *Rome* in ancient times, because it was the seate of the Empire; and that therefore now, they would giue the like to *Constantinople*, now become the seate of the Empire, and named new *Rome*. And as generall Councels gaue preheminences to the *Romane* Bishops, so also they restrained and limited them in the vse of their iurisdiction, when they saw them to encroch too much: as the Councell of [i] *Sardica* tooke order, that they should not meddle with the causes of Presbyters and inferiour Clergy-men vpon any appeale, but leaue them to their owne Bishops, and the Synodes of the Prouinces, and in the case of Bishops appealing, not to reuerse the acts of the Synode of any Prouince without another Synode of the Bishops of the next Prouince.

And the Councels of [k] *Chalcedon*, and *Constantinople* the [l] eighth decreede, that the Bishop of * *Rome*, and the other Patriarches shall confirme the Metropolitanes subiect vnto them, by sending the Pall, or by imposition of handes, but shall not intermeddle in the ordination of Bishops

Fifthly, it appeareth that the *Romane* Bishops are inferior to the whole Church. First, in that their Legates [m] rise vp when they speake in generall Councels. And secondly, in that in the Councel of *Ephesus*, when they with others were sent by the Councell to the Emperour, they were willed

f *Canone* 3. & 17.

g *Vt patet in Carthag.* 6.

h *Actione* 16.

i *Ca.* 16. & 17.

k *Actione* 16.

l *Canone* 27.

* This Councell of *Chalcedon* speaketh onely of the Patriarch of *Constantinople* in that restraint, but making him equall with the Bishop of *Rome* by the same Canon, restraineth the one as much as the other.

m *Synod. general.* 6. *actione* 1.

n *Act. Concil. Ephes. Tom.* 4. *cap.* 19.

willeth preciſely to follow the directions and inſtructions giuen them. For that if they did not, all their proceedings ſhould be voyded, & they reiected from the communion of the reſt.

Sixthly, in that the ſixth generall Councell particularly giueth lawes to the Church of *Rome*. For in the thirteenth Canon, it reprehendeth the *Romane* Church, becauſe it forbiddeth Presbyters, Deacons, and Subdeacons to liue in matrimoniall ſociety with their wiues, & commandeth it to leaue them to their owne liberty in this behalfe. And in the 55. Canon it reprehendeth the ſame *Romane* Church for faſting on Saturdaies in Lent, and forbiddeth the continuing of that obſeruation any longer.

o *Cuſanus Conc. cathol. lib. 2. cap. 13.*

Seuenthly, the o Pope is but a Biſhop, as appeareth in that he is ordained by Biſhops, and in that *Dionyſius* acknowledgeth no higher dignity in the Eccleſiaſticall Hierarchy, then that of a Biſhop. Now all Biſhops as Biſhops, are equall. For howſoeuer Metropolitanes in Prouinces, and Primates, or Patriarches in their larger circuites, are in all common buſineſſes to be firſt ſought vnto, that actions of that nature may take beginning from them; yet haue they no voyce neither affirmatiue nor negatiue in determining, or concluding things, otherwiſe then as the maior part of thoſe Biſhops among which they are in order firſt, ſhall ſway them; and therefore they haue not a more ample iuriſdiction then other Biſhops, but in the adminiſtration and exerciſe of the power of iuriſdiction common to them and other, they haue the firſt place, and are in honour before others. Wherefore ſeeing the Pope hath not any dignity or ordination Eccleſiaſticall, greater then that of a Biſhop; and all Biſhops by Gods law are equal in the power of iuriſdiction, howſoeuer in the execution & exerciſe thereof, ſome be before other, there is no queſtion to be made, but that the Pope is ſubiect to ſome cenſure and iudgement.

Eightly, the Pope being a Biſhop, and the Councels making lawes generally to binde Biſhops, it is not to bee doubted but that the ſame lawes and Canons do binde him.

Now many of thoſe lawes and Canons doe depriue them that ſhall offend againſt them, *ipſo facto*, and other make them deprieable. Therefore he is ſubiect to cenſure and iudgement.

p *Bellar. de Rom. Pont. lib. 2. cap. 27.*

To this our Aduerſaries anſwer, p That the lawes and Canons of generall Councels doe not extend to the Pope, but onely to ſuch as are ſubiect to them, as inferiour Biſhops, and ſuch as are below the condition of Biſhops. But this anſwer is eaſily refuted, becauſe the q Popes anciently at the time of their admiſſion, did by a ſolemne profeſſion binde themſelues to the obſeruation of the Decrees of generall Councels, in as preciſe and ſtrict ſort as any other Biſhops. The forme of their profeſſion was this: *Sancta octo vniuerſalia Concilia vſque ad vnam apicem immutilata ſeruare, & pari honore, & veneratione digna*

q *Ex diurno lib. 1. Diſt. 16 cap. 8.*

digna habere, & quæ prædicauerunt & statuerunt, modis omnibus sequi & prædicare, quæq; condemnauerunt, ore & corde condemnare profiteor; that is, I professe to keepe inuiolable the sacred eight generall Councels, euen to the vttermost title & *ïota*, and to esteeme them worthy of equal honour and reuerence, and by all meanes to follow and publish those things which they published and decreed, & to condemne with mouth and heart, whatsoeuer things they condemned.

But [r] they will say perhaps, the Pope is in such sort bound to keepe the lawes of the Church and the Canons of generall Councels, that he offendeth God, and shall be punished by him, if he keepe them not. But that no man hath power to punish him, for the not keeping of them, or to force him to keepe them. And that therefore though he neglect his owne saluation, and the saluation of his brethren, yea, though he draw innumerable multitudes with him into hell, there to perish euerlastingly with the Diuel and his Angels, yet no Councell, nor Company of mortall men vpon earth, may presume to censure him, vnlesse he erre from the faith, because he being to iudge all, must be iudged of none.

[r] *Bellar. vbi sup. prò. Quoad directionem, non quoad coactionẽ.*

[s] *Dictum Bonifacij dist. 4. Si Papa.*

This answere will be found very insufficient and weake; for seeing (as it is before proued) all Bishops are equall in the power of iurisdiction, one hath no more power to make lawes then another, neither can any one coactiuely bind other to the obseruation of any thing, more then any other may bind him.

And therefore if other Bishops cannot bind the Pope by their lawes, he cannot binde them by his, and so by this meanes all shall be left free, to do what they will. For it is true of all Bishops that [t] *Cyprian* speaketh of himselfe, and the *Romane* Bishop, that none of them seuerally hath power to iudge other, but they are accountant only to God; yet is euery Bishop subiect to the companies of Bishops, whereof he is but a part; and if any one hauing none other dignity or ordination but that of a Bishop, may exempt himselfe from being subiect to the Synodes of Bishops, euery one may, and so all shall be set loose and at liberty to do what they list.

[t] *Cyprian in Concil. Carthag. & lib. 2. ep. 1.*

But here perhaps some man will say, the Metropolitanes cannot be iudged by the Bishops of the prouinces, as being in a sort heads of those companies of Bishops, but by greater Synodes: therefore the *Romane* Bishop, being Primate of the chiefe part of the Christian world, as Patriarch of the West; and president of a generall Councell, as being the first among the Patriarches, is not to be iudged at all, there being no greater company of Bishops to iudge him, then those of which he is in a sort head and president.

For answere whereunto, first we say, that the Bishops of the Prouinces may iudge the Metropolitanes in all those cases, wherein their places are made voide, and they put from all Ecclesiasticall honour, *ipso facto*, by force of

of the Canon it ſelfe, that is, they may declare, that they are by the ſentence of them that made the canon voided out of their places, and conſequently, the Biſhops of the Weſt ſubiect to the Pope, as their Primate or Patriarche may iudge him, that is, declare and pronounce, that he is depoſed by the ſentence of the canon, in all ſuch caſes, wherein Biſhops are depoſed, *ipſo facto*.

Secondly, we ſay, that though ordinarie Biſhops may not be depoſed without conſulting the Metropolitane, nor the Metropolitane without conſulting the Patriarche, nor the Patriarche of a meaner Sea, without conſulting them of greater and ſuperiour Seas, becauſe ſtill there is an higher to whom to go: yet he that is the firſt and in order before all other, if by no other meanes he may be induced to reforme himſelfe, or voluntarily to relinquiſh his place (if his offence ſo require) may, in caſe of grieuous and ſcandalous wickedneſſe, wherein hee is found incorrigible, be depoſed by them that are in a ſort inferiour to him. Neither neede this to ſeeme ſtrange in the depoſition of Biſhops, ſeeing the ſame falleth out in their ordinations.

For ordinarie Biſhops may not be ordained without the Metropolitanes, who are in order and honour greater then they, nor Metropolitanes without the Patriarches, from whom they are to receiue impoſition of hands, or confirmation by a Pall ſent vnto them. But the Patriarches are ordained by their owne Biſhops, and haue no impoſition of hands of any that are greater then themſelues, nor other confirmation then that which the meaneſt is to giue to the greateſt, as well as the greateſt to the meaneſt.

But ſome man will ſay, is there then no difference betweene him that is the firſt among Biſhops, and them that are of an inferior condition? Is he no more exempted from iudgement then they? ſurely no: yet, as ſome thinke, there is ſome difference betweene him and them, becauſe they may be iudged, though not incorrigible; but he as being in order and honour the firſt, is not to be iudged, if by any other meanes he may be induced to reforme himſelfe, or voluntarily to relinquiſh his place, if his fault ſo require. And that in this caſe, as well as for hereſie, the Pope may be depoſed, we haue many of the beſt learned Papiſts conſenting with vs: as [u] *Ockam*, [x] *Cuſanus*, *Cameracenſis*, [z] *Gerſon*, [a] *Almaine*, the Biſhops and Diuines in the Councels of *Conſtance* and *Baſill*, [b] *Driedo*; and in a word, all thoſe that thinke the Councell to bee of greater authoritie then the Pope.

u *Ockam. Dialo. lib.6.part.1.c.62.*
x *Cuſan.concord. Cathol.l.2.cap.17*
z *Gerſ.de auferibilitate Papæ, conſid. 16.*
a *Almain.*
b *Dried. de dogmatib.extra can. ſcript. fac.conſtit.lib.4.c.4.*

CHAP.

Chap. 41.

Of the titles giuen to the Pope, and the insufficiencie of the proofes of his illimited power and Iurisdiction taken from them.

SEeing the vniuersalitie of the Popes power and iurisdiction cannot be proued from any exemption he hath from being iudged; let vs proceede to consider the next proofe taken from the names and titles giuen to him, which is more weake then anie other. For we shall finde that other Bishops in auncient times, writing to the *Romane* Bishop, sometimes call him brother, sometimes Fellow-bishop and colleague, sometimes Bishop, sometimes Archbishop, sometimes Patriarche; but that they neuer gaue him any title whence he may be proued to haue an vniuersality of illimited iurisdiction ouer all.

The first title that our Aduersaries [a] vrge is that of *Pope*, which (as I thinke) will hardly proue the *Romane* Bishop to haue power ouer all. For whereas *Papa* or *Papas*, among the *Greekes* signifieth a father, & is the appellation that little children beginning to speake are wont to giue to their parents; and in like sort among the *Latines* noteth a father or grandfather; hence the Christians in ancient times, did vse to call their spirituall fathers and Bishops *Papes* or *Popes:*

[a] *Bellar. de Rom. Pont. lib. 2. c. 31.*

So that the name of *Pape* or *Pope* was a common name to all Bishops. Whereupon [b] *Hierome* writing to *Augustine*, calleth him Pope, and writeth, To the most honorable Pope; whereas yet he was not vniuersall Bishop, but Bishop of little *Hippo* onely: and therefore the name of Pope doth no way proue euerie one that is so called, to be vniuersall Bishop. But they say, the Bishop of *Rome* is named absolutely Pope, and none other Bishop, and that whensoeuer the name of Pope was vsed absolutely without addition, all men vnderstood thereby the *Romane* Bishop to be meant.

[b] *Hier. in omnib. Epist. ad Augustinum.*

Whence it may be inferred, that he was greater then all the rest, as being esteemed a common father of all.

But for answer hereunto we say, that the *Romane* Bishop was neuer in ancient times named absolutely the *Pape* or *Pope*, without specification of his name, or the place whereof hee was Pope, but when by some other circumstance it might be knowne, what *Pape* or *Pope* it was men speake of, accordingly as men are wont to say no more, but, the Bishop did this or that, when by things going before, it may be knowne what Bishop they meane; and so the Vicars of *Leo* in the Councell of [c] *Chalcedon* sayde: The most blessed and Apostolique man the

[c] *Actione 1.*

the Pope gaue them ſuch directions, as they there ſpecify, without adding of *Rome*, or the name of *Leo*, becauſe all men knew, from what Pope they came, and whoſe Vicegerents they were in that Councell. For otherwiſe without ſome circumſtances ſpecifying the party, men would neuer haue vnderſtood whom they had meant, if they had onely named the Pope indefinitely.

But the ſame vicars of *Leo*, in the Councel of *Chalcedon*, cal him Pope of the vniuerſall Church. Therefore, ſaith [d] *Bellarmine*, we may conclude him to bee ſupreme and abſolute commander ouer all, out of the titles giuen vnto him. If the Cardinall would but remember that euery Biſhop is intereſſed in the care and gouernement of the whole Church, (as I haue eſewhere ſhewed out of [e] *Cyprian*) he would eaſily find the weaknes of this conſequence.

d *Vbi ſupra.*

e *Cypr. lib. 3. Epiſt. 13.*

Wherefore let vs paſſe from the title of Pope to the next, which is *Pater Patrum*, that is, Father of Fathers, which *Bellarmine* ſaith is giuen to the *Romane* Biſhop, and to none elſe; whereas yet he knoweth the contrary to be moſt true. For the relation made to *Iohn* the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*, by the whole Synode aſſembled, beginneth in this ſort: [f] *Domino noſtro ſanctiſſimo, & beatiſſimo Patri Patrum, & Oecumenico Patriarchæ, Synodus, &c.* Where we ſee that the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* is called by a whole Synode, moſt holy Lord, moſt bleſſed Father of Fathers, and Oecumenicall Patriarch. And the [g] Epiſtle of the Biſhops of the ſecond *Syria*, to the ſame *Iohn* the Patriarch, beginneth thus: To our moſt holy Lord, & to the moſt bleſſed Father of Fathers, Oecumenical Arch-biſhop and Patriarch. So that the Title of Father of Fathers is not proper to the *Romane* Biſhop, as *Bellarmine* vntruly affirmeth. The title of *ſummus Sacerdos*, or high Prieſt, giuen to him by Saint *Hierome*, is comon to all Biſhops, in reſpect of Presbyters, and all Metropolitanes, in reſpect of Biſhops (although the third Councell of [i] *Carthage*, to ſhew that Metropolitanes haue not an abſolute command, will not haue them called high prieſtes, or chiefe prieſts, but onely Biſhops of the firſt Sea) and therefore though the Pope ſhould be named, moſt holy Father, chiefeſt Pope, chiefe of Prieſts, or high Prieſt, yet nothing could be concluded from hence, that either we deny, or they affirme.

f *Relat. Concil. ſub Menna, act. 5.*

g *Ibidem. Idem habetur in ſupplicat. Cleric. & Monachor. Antioch. ad Ioan. Patriarch. & Synod. Congregatam. Ibid.*

h *Hier. in præfat. Euang. ad Damaſum.*

i *Canone 26.*

The title of *Vicar of Chriſt* is new, and not found in all Antiquity, the firſt in whom we reade it being [k] *Bernard*; and therefore not much to bee ſtood on, ſeeing the Ancient make all Biſhops the Vicars of Chriſt, and do neuer appropriate it vnto the Biſhop of *Rome*. Yet will not *Bernards* appropriating of it proue the thing in queſtion, ſeeing he may be thought to haue had an eye in ſo doing, to the chiefty of order and honour, (in reſpect whereof, he is in more ſpeciall ſort a Vicar of Chriſt, then ſome other) rather then to any vniuerſality of commiſſion and authority. *Head of the Church* the Pope is neuer called among the Ancient, though the Cardinall

k *Bern. lib. 2. de Conſid.*

Cardinall be pleased vntruly so to report. But the Bishops assembled in the Councell of[l] *Chalcedon*, writing to *Leo*, who by Vicars was president of that assembly, say, he was ouer them, as the head ouer the members, not in respect of absolute commanding authoritie, but of honorable presidencie onely, as it appeareth in that (notwithstanding the resistance of his vicegerents) they passed a decree for the aduancement of the Bishop of *Constantinople*. For otherwise Saint *Gregory* Bishop of *Rome* alloweth no man to be called *head of the Church*. [m] Petrus (saith he) *primum membrum sanctæ & vniuersalis Ecclesiæ est*: Paulus, Andreas, Iacobus, *quid aliud quàm singularum plebium sunt capita? omnes tamen sub vno capite membra Ecclesiæ sunt*: that is, *Peter* is the first, and in honour the chiefest member of the holy and vniuersall Church; *Paule*, *Andrew*, *Iames*, what other thing are they then heads of seuerall parts of Gods people? Yet so, that all notwithstanding are members of the Church vnder one head. So that a head of the Church, besides Christ, must not be acknowledged, because no one hath an vniuersall commanding power ouer all, but he only: Yet in a certaine sense the *Romane* Church is named the head of all churches; that is, the first and chiefest of all churches, as the city of *London* with vs, may be named the head of all cities in this state and kingdome, though it hath not a commanding authoritie ouer them, neither is the chiefe Magistrate thereof head ouer all other Magistrates in the kingdome.

l *Actione* 1.

m *Greg. lib.* 4. *epist.* 38.

The authoritie of the [n] *Florentine* Councell naming the Bishop of *Rome Father and teacher of all Christians*, and the Councell of [o] *Lyons* naming him *the bridegroome of the Church*, is not so great, that we should neede much to insist vpon any thing that is alleaged out of them. And touching the latter title, we know [p] Saint *Bernard* in his Epistles, wisheth the Pope not to take it on him, as being proper to Christ, but to thinke it honour enough to be a friend of the bridegroome. And yet if we should yeelde it vnto him; we know what [q] *Gerson* hath written, to shewe howe this bridegroome may be taken away from the Church the spouse of Christ, and yet the church remaine entire and perfect.

n *Conc. Florent. Sess. vltima.*

o *Conc. Lugdunens. cap. Vbi periculum de electione in* 6.

p *Epist.* 237.

q *Gerson de auferibilitate Papæ.*

The next glorious title of the *Romane* Bishop, is Bishop of an Apostolique Sea. But this is comon to him with many others, as some of the rest also are: For as not onely the *Romane* church, but the churches of *Ephesus*, *Antioch*, *Hierusalem* and *Alexandria*, which the Apostles founded, and in which they sate as Bishops, are named Apostolicall churches, so the Bishops of all these are named Bishops of Apostolique Seas. Neither do men know, which of the Apostolique churches is expressed by the name of the Apostolique sea, or which of the Bishops by the name of the Bishop of the Apostolique sea, vnlesse by some circumstance the same be specified. As when *Augustine* sayd, [r] there were relations made from the Councels of *Carthage* and *Mileuis* to the Apostolique Sea: all men vnderstood

r *Augustin. epist.* 106.

derstood what Apostolique Sea he meant, because it was knowne to what Apostolique church, they vsed to make such relations.

Epist. 162. Neither doth the principalitie of the Apostolique chaire, which *Augustine* [r] affirmeth to haue euer flourished in *Rome*, argue the supremacie of the Pope, seeing the principalitie or chieftie of the Apostolique chaire, mentioned by Saint *Augustine*, may seeme to import the chieftie that the Apostolique chaire hath aboue those that are not Apostolique, or in which blessed *Peter* the chiefe of the Apostles did not sit. For though the chaires of the Apostles were in diuerse places, yet *Peters* chaire was esteemed the principall of all the rest, which being the Sea and chaire of one, yet was in three places, and three Bishops did sit in it: Namely, the Bi-

c Chap. 31. shops of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioche*, as I haue shewed [c] before out of *Gregorie*; yet was the principalitie, or chieftie of this chaire of *Peter* more specially in *Rome* then in the other places, and the Bishop of *Rome* in order and honour the first and greatest of the three.

The last title brought to proue the supremacie of the Pope, is that of *Vniuersall Bishop*, which though it be not giuen to *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*, by

u Concil. Chalced. actione 3. the whole Councell of *Chalcedon*; yet is it giuen to him in the [u] Epistles of three seuerall *Grecians*, writing to him, as we may reade in the third

x Gregor. lib. 4. ep. 32. action of that Councell: and Saint [x] *Gregorie* saith, it was offered to his predecessors in that Councell, and that they refused it.

This title will proue the supremacie of the Pope no better then the rest, being common vnto other with him, and therefore no way arguing any

y Adrian. ad Tarasiū, 7. Synd. actione 2. epist. Præsul. Orient. ad eundem, actio 3. thing peculiarly found in him alone. For we shall find that [y] Bishops of *Constantinople* are named vniuersall Bishops, and Oecumenicall Patriarches, as well as the Bishop of *Rome*, and that not by one or two particular men, but by whole Councels, by Emperours, and Popes; and though Saint *Gregorie* iustly disliked this name or title, as profane and preiudiciall to the dignitie of all other Bishops and Patriarches, when it importeth an vniuersalitie of iurisdiction, and generall commanding authoritie ouer all, yet might any one of the Patriarches be named an vniuersall Bishop, as being one of those fiue principall Bishops, to whom all the Bishops and Metropolitanes in the world were subiect.

CHAP.

Chap. 42.

Of the second supposed priuiledge of the Romane *Bishops, which is infallibilitie of iudgement.*

SEeing our Aduersaries cannot proue the vniuersall and illimited power and iurisdiction of their Popes, but the contrarie is most clearely deposed by those witnesses which they produce to speake for them, affirmed by those Diuines, whom they cannot but acknowledge to bee Catholique, and inferred out of their owne principles; let vs proceede to see whether they haue any better proofes of the infallibilitie of their iudgement, which is the next supposed priuiledge of the *Romane* Bishops. Touching this poynt I finde foure opinions in the Church of *Rome*. The first is: that the Pope is so led into all truth, that he cannot erre in such sort as to become an heretique. And of this opinion was [a] *Albertus Pighius*.

a *Hierarch. Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 8.*

The second leaueth it doubtfull, whether hee may be an heretique or not, but pronounceth confidently that whether he may or not, yet he cannot define and decree any thing that is hereticall. And this is the opinion of almost all [b] Papists at this day.

b *Bellar. l. 4. de Pont. cap. 2. Caietan. in opusc. de potest. Papæ et Concilij.*

The third, that the Pope not onely as a particular Doctour, but euen as Pope, may be an heretique, and teach heresie, if he define without a generall Councell. This was the opinion of [c] *Gerson*, *Almayne*, and other *Parisians*; of *Alfonsius à Castro*, Pope *Adrian* the sixth, Cardinall *Cameracensis*, *Cusanus*, *Occham*, *Durandus*, the Fathers of the Councels of *Constance* and *Basill*, and many moe.

c *Citat. à Bellar. l. 4. de Pontif. ca. 2. & à Stapletono contro. 3. quæst. 4.*

The fourth, that he may erre and define for heresie, though he be assisted with a generall Councell. Of this opinion was [d] *Waldensis*, and sundry other, as appeareth by [e] *Picus Mirandula* in his *Theorems*. So that it is not true, that [f] *Bellarmine* saith, that all Catholiques consent, that the Pope with a generall Councell cannot erre. For these teach that only the resolutions of the vniuersall Church (which is the multitude of beleeuers that are and haue bene) are to be receiued without any farther question or examination, as vndoubtedly true.

d *Doctrinal. fidei. lib. 2. art. 2. cap. 19.*
e *Theorem. 4.*
f *Vbi supra.*

These are the differences of opinions found among them that brag so much of vnity, and make the ground thereof to be the submitting of their iudgements to the Pope. But because in so great vncertainty and contrarietie of iudgements, almost all Papists at this day encline to that opinion, that the Pope, whether he may erre personally or not, yet cannot define for falshood and error; let vs first see, how they indeauor to confirme the same: and secondly, how they can cleare those Popes from heresie, and decreeing for heresie, that are charged therewith.

To proue that the Pope cannot decree for heresie, [g] they alleage in the first

g *Bellar. de Pontif. l. 2. cap. 3.*

h Luc.22.

first place the saying of Christ, who professeth that he [h] praye d for *Peter*, *that his faith should not faile*; and lest we should mis-understand the words of Christ, they bring vs the interpretations of *Augustine*, *Chrysostome*, and *Theophylact*: whereof the first saith, [i] *That when Christ prayed, that* Peters *faith might not faile, he prayed that he might haue a most free, couragious, inuincible and resolute will, to continue in the true faith.* The second, [k] that *Christ did not say to* Peter, *Thou shalt not deny me; but I haue prayed, that thy faith shall not faile. For by his care and fauour it was brought to passe, that* Peters *faith should not faile, though for feare he denied his maister.* The third bringeth in Christ speaking to *Peter* in this sort: [l] *Although for a little time thou shalt be shaken, thou hast notwithstanding the seedes of faith hid in thee; although the wind and violent blast of him that setteth on thee, shall shake off the leaues, yet the roote shall liue, and thy faith shall not faile.* So that all these so vnderstand the prayer of Christ for *Peter*, as that he should not onely rise againe after his fall, and be found faithfull in the end, but that he should neuer fall in respect of the perswasion of faith that was to rest immoueably in him, euen in that most dangerous time of the temptation and tryall of the Apostles, when Christ was deliuered into the hands of wicked men to be crucified. For howsoeuer hee denied Christ with bitter imprecations, yet he did it out of feare, & not out of infidelity, the perswasion of his heart remaining the same that it was before. Wherfore hauing the words of Christ, and the meaning of them, let vs see whether the opinion which our aduersaries haue of the Pope his infallible discerning and constant defending of the truth, may bee confirmed out of them.

i *August. lib. de corrept. & gratia cap. 8.*

k *Chrysost. homil. 83. in Matthæū.*

l *Theophyl. in cap. 22. Luce.*

If they could proue the contrary to that which was found in *Peter* to be found in the Pope by vertue of Christs prayer for *Peter*, they might easily make good their opinion. But otherwise neuer out of these words. For thus they must reason, if they will confirme the conceit they haue of the infallibility of the Popes iudgement, by Christs prayer for *Peter*.

Peters faith by vertue of Christs prayer for him, remained firme, immoueable, and most constantly setled in inward perswasion and affection, though it failed for a little time in outward profession: Therefore howsoeuer the faith of the Pope may faile in respect of the perswasion of his heart, yet it shall neuer faile in respect of outward profession. For though he become an heretique in heart, yet he shall euer professe rightly concerning Christ, to all men that shall come vnto him, to enquire of him, and to be resolued by him.

This kind of reasoning, I thinke, is not very forcible, and therefore it is much to be doubted, that the *Romanists* will neuer be able to perswade men that the Pope cannot erre, by vertue of Christs prayer for *Peter*: Nay that no such thing can be proued out of Christs words vnto *Peter*, it is most plaine and euident, because the words that Christ spake vnto

Peter,

Peter, when he sayd vnto him, [m] *I haue prayed for thee that thy faith faile not*, and *when thou art conuerted, confirme thy brethren*, are no way appliable to *Peters* successours. For that if they were, first they must euer be right beleeuers in heart, notwithstanding whatsoeuer failings in outward confession. Secondly, they must deny Christ as he did, and afterwards repent of such deniall, and conuert and turne vnto God, that so they may confirme their brethren. For so it was in *Peter*. And [n] *Theophylact* doth not attribute the confirmation of the brethren by *Peter*, which he is commanded to performe, to his constancie in the true faith, and in the profession of it; but to the experience that hee had of the tender mercie and goodnesse of God towards him. Out of which he was able to strengthen them that were weake, to comfort them that were sorrowfull, to put them in assured hope of finding mercy, that otherwise might despaire, and to confirme them that were doubtfull. For who will not (as the same *Theophylact* fitly obserueth) be confirmed by *Peter* in the right perswasion of the mercies and goodnesse of God towards repentant sinners, when he seeth him whom Christ had so much honored, after so shamefull a fault, and so execrable a fact of the abnegation of his Lord and Master, the Lord of life, not onely receiued to mercy, but restored to the dignitie of the prime and chiefe Apostle? To this obiection (as we thinke) vnanswerable, [o] *Bellarmine* answereth first, that it is not absurd, to referre the conuersion of *Peter* mentioned by Christ, after which hee is to confirme his brethren, not to his turning from sinne, but to his brethren, to aduise, admonish, and direct them; not making the sence to be, thou being turned from sinne by repentance, confirme thy brethren, but thou whose faith shall neuer faile, when thou seest any of thy brethren wauering, turne thy selfe vnto them, and confirme them.

m Luk. 22. 32.

n *In hunc loc cum.*

o *De Pontif. lib. 4. cap. 3.*

Secondly, that it followeth not, that the successors of *Peter* must first fall, and after repent of their fall, if the words of Christ be applied vnto them, of confirming the brethren; seeing *Peters* fall was personall, but his confirming of his brethren is of office, wherein they are to succeede him, and not in the things that are personall.

This answer of the Cardinall is insufficient. First, because the current of almost all interpreters vnderstandeth the conuersion of *Peter* mentioned by our Sauiour, of his turning from sinne, and not of his turning of himselfe to them, whom he was to aduise, comfort, and confirme. And secondly, because in this his answer he contrarieth himselfe. For [p] elsewhere (which it seemeth in making this answer he had forgotten) he denieth that the words of Christ directed to *Peter*, of confirming his brethren, may be vnderstood of the vniuersall Church, or the Bishops of it, and saith; *Hoc certè non potest Ecclesiæ toti conuenire, nisi dicamus totam Ecclesiam aliquando esse peruertendam, vt postea iterum conuertatur*, that is; This saying of Christ cannot agree to the whole Church, vnlesse we say, that

p *Eodem capite.*

the whole Church ſhall at ſometime bee peruerted, that afterwards againe it may be conuerted. Whereby it is cleare (he thinketh) that the latter part of Chriſts ſpeech, of confirming the brethren, can agree to none, to whom the former doth not. So that we ſee, the words of Chriſt ſpoken to *Peter*, are no ſufficient warrant vnto vs that the Pope cannot erre, and therefore the better to perſwade vs of the ſame, our Aduerſaries bring the ſayings of ſome great Diuines, who conceiued that ſome ſuch thing may be inferred out of the words, as they dreame of; as [q] *Lucius*, [r] *Felix*, and [ſ] *Marke* ancient Biſhops of *Rome*, and great lights of the world in their times. If they could indeed bring vs the iudgement and reſolution of theſe ancient Biſhops, they would doubtleſſe greatly preuaile with vs.

q *Lucius* 1. *in epiſt. ad Epiſc. Hiſpan. & Gallic.*
r *Felix* 1. *epiſt. ad Benignum.*
ſ *Marc. epiſt. ad Athanaſ. de miſſione Canon. Niceni Concilij.*

But ſeeing vnder theſe names, they bring forth vnto vs the Authors of ſhameleſſe forgeries, we are thereby induced more to diſlike their conceit then before. Now that they (who masked vnder the names and titles of ancient *Romane* Biſhops, magnifie the greatneſſe of the *Romane* Church, and pleade for the not erring of the Biſhops thereof) are nothing elſe but ignorant authors of abſurd and ſhameleſſe forgeries, it will eaſily appeare out of that which I haue [t] elſewhere largely diſcourſed, to ſhew that the Epiſtles attributed to the ancient Popes are forged and counterfeit; not onely by the iudgements and opinions of the beſt learned on both ſides, ſo cenſuring them, but by manie reaſons inducing vs ſo to thinke: among which one is, the likeneſſe of the ſtyle found in theſe Epiſtles, arguing that they came all out of the ſame mint, and were not written by thoſe different Popes, liuing at diuerſe times, to whom they are attributed. Which ſimilitude of ſtyle will be found in theſe Epiſtles that our Aduerſaries alleage to proue, that the Pope cannot erre, as much or more then in any other. For in theſe we ſhall finde the very ſame words.

t Chap. 34.

The agreeing of witneſſes in the ſame ſubſtance of matter with ſome difference of words, argueth, that they ſpeake truely; but their preciſe agreement in words and formes of ſpeaking, argueth rather a compact and agreement to ſpeake the ſame things, then a deſire to vtter the trueth. So here, the preciſe vſing of the very ſame words by all theſe Popes liuing at diuerſe times, argueth that it was one man, that taught them all to ſpeake.

But they will ſay, Pope *Leo* in his third Sermon of his Aſſumption to the Popedome, ſaith as much as they do: and that therefore we may not diſcredit their teſtimonie. Surely, if they can proue that *Leo* ſaith any ſuch thing, as the former Popes are taught to ſay, we will moſt willingly liſten vnto them. For we acknowledge *Leo* to haue bene a moſt worthie Biſhop, and the things that go vnder his name, to be his indubitate workes. Let vs heare therefore what he ſaith. His words in the place cited

by

by the Cardinall are theſe: *Chriſt tooke ſpeciall care of* Peter, *and prayed ſpecially for him, becauſe the ſtate of the reſt is more ſecure, when the minde of him that is chiefe is not ouercome. In* Peter *therefore the ſtrength of all is ſurely eſtabliſhed, and God doth ſo diſpence the helpe of his diuine grace, that the ſame firmeneſſe that he giueth to* Peter, *is by* Peter *conferred and beſtowed on all.* Here is nothing to proue that the Pope cannot erre, which is that our Aduerſaries vndertake to demonſtrate; nor that the *Romane* Church cannot erre, which is that the former Popes affirme in their counterfeit Epiſtles: but that the ſtate of the reſt is more ſecure, when he that is chiefe is not ouercome, which no man euer doubted of: and that Chriſt gaue, or at leaſt promiſed firſt to giue that aſſiſtance of his grace to *Peter*, which he meant to the reſt, and to paſſe it by him vnto them, ſo as they ſhould receiue it after him, but not from him. For thus the words of *Leo* muſt be vnderſtood, ſeeing it is moſt certaine (which thing alſo [u] *Bellarmine* himſelfe confeſſeth) that the Apoſtles receiued their infallibilitie of iudgement, and their commiſſion or authoritie immediatly from Chriſt, and not from *Peter*.

[u] *Lib. 1. de Pont. cap. 11.*

From *Leo* they paſſe to *Agatho*, who in his Epiſtle to *Conſtantine* the Emperour, read and approued in the ſixth generall [x] Councel, ſaith, *that by the grace of God ſuch hath beene the felicitie and happineſſe of the* Romane *Church, that it can neuer be proued to haue erred from the path of the Apoſtolicall tradition, nor to haue fallen being depraued with hereticall nouelties, but the ſame faith it receiued at firſt, it holdeth ſtill, according to Chriſts promiſe which he made to* Peter, *willing him to confirme his brethren. Which thing (ſaith Agatho) my predeceſſors haue euer done, as is well knowne to all.*

[x] *Actione 4.*

Theſe words of *Agatho* are not ſo farre to be vrged, as if ſimply neuer any of his predeceſſors had failed to defend the truth, and confirme his brethren, but that the *Romane* Church was euer ſo preſerued from hereſie, that howſoeuer ſome fewe in it for a time might neglect to do their dutie, yet neither ſo long, nor in ſuch ſort, but that that Church and the Biſhops of it, were alwayes a ſtay to the reſt in all the dangerous tryals that fell out in ancient times, euen as in the queſtion concerning the two wils of Chriſt, about which the Councell was called, it was; wherein though *Honorius* failed, yet the reſt that gouerned the Apoſtolicall throne with him, did not; and *Agatho*, who ſoone after ſucceeded, ſhewed himſelfe an orthodoxe & right beleeuer. For, that all the predeceſſors of *Agatho* did not alwayes confirme their brethren in the true faith of Chriſt, it is moſt euident, in that *Marcellinus* ſacrificed vnto idols (if we may beleeue the [y] *Romiſh* ſtories) and was forced being conuicted thereof, to profeſſe himſelfe vnworthy of the Papall office and dignity, in a Synod of Biſhops; in that [z] *Liberius* & *Felix* communicated with heretiques, & ſubſcribed to the vniuſt condemnation of worthy *Athanaſius*; which was not to confirme the brethren, but to diſcourage, diſharten and weaken them:

[y] *Platina in Marcellino. & alla Concil. Sinneſſani.*

[z] *Athanaſ epiſt. ad Solitar. vitam agentes. Hieron. in Chronico. & in Catalog. Scriptor. Eccleſiaſt. in Fortunatiano & Acacio. Damaſus in vita Liberij.*

and in that [a] *Agatho* himselfe doth anathematize his predecessor *Honorius* as a Monothelite, with whom [b] *Leo* the second concurreth in his Epistle to *Constantine* the Emperour: who anathematizing *Theodorus, Syrus, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paulus*, and other Monothelites, addeth to them *Honorius* Bishop of *Rome* his predecessor; saying, we accurse also *Honorius*, who did not lighten this Apostolicall church with the doctrine deliuered by the Apostles, but sought to subuert the vndefiled faith by prophane perfidiousnesse. With whom also Pope *Adrian* agreeth, who in the Synode of *Rome* called about the businesse of *Photius* of *Constantinople*, saith, that [c] *the Romane Bishop hath iudged of the Bishops of all Churches; but that we reade not of any one that hath iudged him. For though* Honorius *were accursed after his death by those of the East, yet it was because he was accused of heresie, in which onely case the lesser may iudge the greater; yet euen there it had not beene lawfull for any of them to giue sentence against him, had not the consent of the first Sea gone before.*

a *Epist. Agathonis ad Constantinū, quæ habetur Synod. 6. actio. 4.*
b *In fine eiusd. Concilij.*
c *Habentur hæc verba in Synod. 8, actione 7.*

So that we see the Epistle of *Agatho* doth not sufficiently proue that the Popes cannot erre. Let vs therefore consider whether they haue any better proofes. *Nicholas* the first (saith *Bellarmine*) in his Epistle to *Michael* the Emperour, pronounceth, that the priuiledges of the Sea of *Rome* are perpetuall, rooted and planted by almightie God, in such sort, that men may stumble at them, but cannot remoue them; may pull at them, but cannot pull them vp; therefore he thinketh the Pope cannot erre, which is a very bad consequence. For the infallibilitie of iudgement in the Pope, is not mentioned among the inuiolable priuiledges of the church of *Rome*, and therefore the priuiledges of that church may be inuiolable, and yet the Pope subiect to errour: neither hath *Nicholas* one word of the Popes not erring.

The testimonies of [d] *Leo* the ninth, and [e] *Innocentius* the third, as being late and partiall in their owne cause, may iustly be excepted against, yet do they not proue the thing in question. For they speake of the Sea and throne of *Peter*, in which the faith may continue without failing (though the Popes erre and seeke to subuert the same) so long as any other, that are to gouerne the throne with them, persеuere in the true faith.

d *Epist. ad Petrum Antioch.*
e *Ep. ad Episcop. Arelat. & habetur cap. maiores. extra. de Baptismo & eius effectu.*

Wherefore from the prayer of Christ made for *Peter*, that his faith should not faile, they descend to other proofes taken from the promise made to *Peter* by Christ, [f] *that vpon him he would build his Church*; and his mandate requiring him to [g] *feede his sheepe, and to feede his Lambes*; which are too weake to perswade vs, that the Pope cannot erre, or is more priuiledged then other Bishops in this respect.

f Matth. 16. 18.
g Ioh. 21. v. 15, 16, 17.

First, because it is most cleare and euident, and confessed by our Aduersaries themselues, that the church was builded vpon all the Apostles, as well as vpon *Peter*, and there is no kind of feeding of Christs sheep and flocke

flocke that commeth not within the compaſſe of that office and commiſſion, which the other Apoſtles had in common with him; as I haue [h] elſe where ſhewed at large. h Chap. 22.

Secondly, becauſe *Peter* and his colleagues were foundation ſtones, vpon which the Church was builded, in that their doctrine was receiued by immediate and vndoubted reuelation, without mixture of errour, vppon which the faith of all after-commers was to ſtay it ſelfe; none of which things agree to the *Romane* Biſhop. So that it is no way neceſſary, that there ſhould be the ſame infallibilitie of iudgement in him that was in *Peter*, and in his colleagues.

Thirdly, becauſe we know, and all that are in their right wits do acknowledge, that a man may be a Paſtor in the Church of God, and yet ſubiect to error; and that therefore Chriſts requiring *Peter* to do the dutie of a Paſtour, will not proue that the Pope cannot erre. Wherefore from the Scriptures they paſſe to the Fathers; and among them firſt they produce *Theodoret*, who in his Epiſtle to *Renatus* a presbyter, ſaith, that *among other things, the reaſon why the* Romane *Church hath a kind of chiefti e among other Churches, is becauſe it hath euer remained free from hereſie.* From whence I thinke hardly any good proofe can be drawne, of the Popes not erring. For how will this conſequence euer be made good? There are many things that make the Sea of *Rome* great, as the greatneſſe of the citie, the Empire, the ſepulchers of thoſe common Fathers and Doctors of truth, *Peter* and *Paule*, thoſe two great lights, that roſe in the Eaſt, and caſt forth their beames into all parts of the world, but ſet in the Weſt; and ſundrie other things, and among them the felicitie and happineſſe of it, that till the time of *Theodoret* no hereſie euer preuailed in it: therefore the Biſhop of *Rome* can neuer erre: Seeing *Theodoret* doth not diſpute what may be, but ſheweth onely, what by the happie prouidence of God had bene; and beſides ſpeaketh not preciſely of the Biſhop of *Rome*, but of the *Romane* Sea, [i] including the whole companie of the Biſhops of the Weſt adhering to him; which was a great part of the whole Chriſtian church, and more glorious then the reſt, for that it was more free from hereticall nouelties in thoſe times then they. i *Cuſan. de conc. cord. catbol. l. 2. cap. 7. & lib. 1. cap. 14.*

To *Theodoret* they adde Saint [k] *Auguſtine*, who ſaith, *the ſucceſſion of Biſhops from* Peters *chaire, to his time, is that rocke againſt the which the proud gates of hell cannot preuaile.* His meaning is, that what all thoſe Biſhops haue conſtantly and ſucceſſiuely taught as true, muſt needes be true; and what they haue impugned as falſe, muſt needes be falſe; ſeeing it is impoſſible that any errour, or the impugning of any truth, ſhould haue bin found ſucceſſiuely in all the Biſhops of that, or any other Apoſtolicall church whatſoeuer. k *Auguſt. in Pſal. contra partem Donati.*

But what is this to the Popes not erring? Surely as little as that of [l] *Gelaſius* in his Epiſtle to *Anaſtaſius* the Emperour, that *the glorious confeſſion* l *Inter Epiſtol. Gelaſij.*

of the Apoſtle Peter, *Thou art the Chriſt, the Sonne of the liuing God, is the roote of all the faith and pietie of the whole world; and that therefore the Apoſtolique Sea carefully looketh vnto it, that no chinke be made in it, and that it be not ſpotted with any contagion; for that if it ſhould, there were no meanes of reſiſting any error.*

But becauſe this maketh not for them, the Cardinall helpeth the matter with an vntruth, ſaying; that *Gelaſius* proueth, that the Sea of *Rome* cannot erre, becauſe the confeſſion of it is the roote of all the faith and pietie that is in the world: whereas he neither goeth about to proue the one, nor ſpeaketh any word of the other; but of the excellencie of the confeſſion that *Peter* made, the neceſſitie of preſeruing it inuiolable, and the care of the Sea of *Rome*, in and before his time, for the ſafe keeping of the ſame.

Wherefore let vs come to the places that are cited to this purpoſe out of *Gregories* Epiſtles, which ſhewe plainely, they are paſt ſhame that manage the Popes affaires, and defend his cauſe. For whereas [m] *Gregory* ſaith, that if he that claimeth to be vniuerſall Biſhop do fall, all the whole Church is ouerthrowne, and that therefore there muſt be no ſuch vniuerſall Biſhop; and particularly ſheweth by the grieuous hereſies that preuailed in the Church of *Conſtantinople*, how ill it would haue beene for the Churches of God, if the Biſhops thereof had beene vniuerſall Biſhops, as they ſought to be; they bring this place to proue, that the Pope cannot erre: whereas they ſhould haue brought it to ſhew, how dangerous it is, that there ſhould be any one vniuerſall Biſhop, ſuch as their Pope deſireth to be; and that therefore (as [n] *Cyprian* obſerueth) almightie God wiſely foreſeeing what euils might follow ſuch vniuerſalitie of power and iuriſdiction in one man, ordained, that there ſhould be a great number of Biſhops ioyned in equall commiſſion, that ſo if ſome fell, the reſt might ſtand and keepe the people from a generall downefall.

m *Greg. lib. 4. ep. 32.*

n *Epiſt. 67.*

The next allegation is out of the Epiſtle to *Eulogius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, whereby the Reader may ſee with what conſcience theſe Ieſuited Papiſts do cite the writings of the Fathers. The words of *Gregorie* are theſe.

[o] *Your moſt ſweete Holineſſe hath vttered many things in your letters, concerning* Peters *chaire, ſaying, that he yet ſitteth in it in his ſucceſſours: I truely do acknowledge my ſelfe to be vnworthy, not onely to be in the number of thoſe that ſit as rulers, but of them that ſtand to be ruled. But I therefore willingly accept whatſoeuer you ſay, becauſe he hath ſpoken to me of* Peters *chaire, that ſitteth in* Peters *chaire; and although it no way pleaſeth or delighteth me to be ſpecially honoured, yet I greatly reioyced, becauſe what you attributed to me, you gaue to your ſelues.*

o *Greg. lib. 6. ep. 37.*

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For who knoweth not, that the holy Church is firmely eſtabliſhed in the ſoundneſſe of the Prince of the Apoſtles? whoſe firmeneſſe his name doth ſhewe; for he is named Peter *of* Petra *a Rocke, to whom the voyce of Veritie ſayth, I will giue to thee the keyes of the kingdome of heauen, and thou becing conuerted, confirme thy brethren; and againe,* Simon Ioanna, *Loueſt thou me? feede my ſheepe.*

Wherefore though there were many Apoſtles, yet in reſpect of the chieftie he had, the chaire of Peter *chiefe of the Apoſtles grewe to be in greater authoritie then the reſt, which is the chaire of one Apoſtle in three places. For he exalted the Sea, in which he was pleaſed to reſt, and to ende this preſent life; he beautified that Sea, wherein hee left the Euangeliſt his Diſciple; and hee firmely eſtabliſhed that Sea. in which he ſate ſeauen yeares, though with purpoſe in the end to leaue it, and to depart from it.*

Whereas therefore there is the Sea of one, and that but one, wherein three Biſhops by Gods appointment ſit to rule, whatſoeuer good I heare of you, I account it mine owne; and what you perſwade your ſelues of me, thinke that you alſo are worthy of the ſame.

If this Epiſtle proue that the Pope cannot erre, it proueth likewiſe that the Biſhops of *Alexandria* and *Antioche* are free from errour. For all theſe ſucceede that great Apoſtle Saint *Peter* (to whom Chriſt ſayde, *To thee will I giue the keyes of the kingdome of heauen*, and *thou being turned, confirme thy brethren*; And againe, *Loueſt thou me? feede my ſheepe*) as well as the Pope.

All theſe ſit in *Peters* chaire; *Peters* chaire is in *Alexandria*, and at *Antioche*, as well as at *Rome*; and whatſoeuer they that are Biſhops of *Alexandria* and *Antioche*, attribute to the Biſhop of *Rome*, they may lawfully aſſume to themſelues: ſeeing they are worthie of the ſame, as *Gregorie* in this place telleth vs.

Wherefore, ſeeing not onely Fathers and Councels, but euen Popes alſo (in whoſe defence he writeth) faile him, the Cardinall flieth for helpe, to the Prieſts of *Aarons* order, and goeth about to proue, that the Pope cannot erre, becauſe the high Prieſt had in his breaſt-plate p *Vrim* and *Thummim*, *light and perfection*, or *doctrine and trueth*, as he will haue the Hebrewe worde tranſlated; importing (as hee ſuppoſeth) that hee could not erre in the vnderſtanding of the Lawe of God. p Exod. 28.30.

Whereupon (as he thinketh) God commaunded all thoſe, that any way doubted of the meaning of his Lawe, to go vp to the high Prieſt, and to ſeeke to be ſatisfied by him, ſaying: q *They ſhall iudge true iudgement vnto thee.* q Deut. 17.9.

Lyra in his Annotations vpon this place, reporteth, that there was a certaine Gloſſe of the Hebrewes, that if the high Prieſt ſhould

tell them, that their right hand were their left, or their left their right, they were to hold it good and right.

The like opinion it ſeemeth the *Romaniſts* haue of the Pope. But *Lyra* in that place condemneth the folly of thoſe Iewes that ſo thought, becauſe the ſentence of no man of what authoritie ſoeuer he be, is to be admitted, if it containe a manifeſt vntruth and errour: which he ſaith is euident out of the verie text it ſelfe, in that it is ſayd, *They ſhall iudge vnto thee true iudgement,* [r] *and thou ſhalt do whatſoeuer they ſhall ſay vnto thee, that are ouer the place that the Lord hath choſen, and whatſoeuer they ſhall teach thee according to his lawes.* Whereby it appeareth, that if they ſpeake that which is vntrue, or manifeſtly depart from the law, they are not to be heard.

r Verſ. 10.

The Author of the ordinarie Gloſſe agreeth with *Lyra*, ſaying; *Note that the Lord requireth thee to do, whatſoeuer the Prieſts do teach thee according to the Law, becauſe otherwiſe thou art not to obey them, vnleſſe they teach thee according to the Law.* Whereupon Chriſt ſaith, [f] *the Scribes and Phariſees ſit vpon* Moſes *chaire*, who yet (as the Author of the [t] Interlineall Gloſſe noteth) are not generally without exception to be hearkned vnto, but then onely, when they vtter and deliuer *pertinentia ad Cathedram*; that is, ſuch things as beſeeme him to vtter, that ſitteth in *Moſes* chaire. So that to conclude this point, neither the *Vrim* and *Thummim* in *Aarons* breaſt-plate, nor the Mandate of almightie God to go vp to the ſonnes of *Aaron* to ſeeke iudgement and iuſtice, proue, that they could not erre, and therefore the Pope is ſtill in as bad caſe as euer hee was.

f Matth. 23. 2.
t *In eundem locum.*

Wherefore finding no helpe in the Tribe of *Leui*, nor in the houſe of *Aaron*, they betake themſelues to experience, and are in good hope to proue out of the experience of former times, that the Pope cannot erre.

Firſt, becauſe (as they ſay) whatſoeuer the Pope condemned at any time as hereticall, was euer holden to be ſo by the whole Church; and many hereſies were neuer condemned any otherwiſe, but by his iudgement onely.

Secondly, becauſe neuer any Pope was an Heretique, whereas all other principall Seas and churches, haue had Biſhops, not onely erring, but teaching and profeſſing hereſie. The inſtances, that *Bellarmine* giueth of hereſies and heretiques condemned by the Pope, and reiected for ſuch by the Church, onely becauſe he condemned them, are the *Pelagians*, *Priſcillianiſts*, *Iouinian*, and *Vigilantius*, and their hereſies. It is hard (I ſee) for a Blackamoore to change his skinne, for a Leopard to put away his ſpots, or for a man, that hath long acquainted himſelfe with falſe and vnfaithfull dealing, to learne to deale ſincerely and truely.

For touching the heretickes mentioned by the Cardinall, all the world know-

knoweth they were condemned in Synodes by many Bishops, and not by the priuate censure of the Bishop of *Rome* alone. Nay, it is most certaine, that others shewed more care and diligence in suppressing some of these hereticks and their errors, then euer the *Romane* Bishop did, which I will make to appeare in the particulars, beginning with the *Pelagians*.

u *Pelagius* the founder of these hereticks, was borne in great *Britaine*, and becomming a Monke in the East parts of the world, after hee had sparsed his errours in other places abroad, returned home into his owne country, and infected it almost wholly with his heresie. Heereupon the *Britaines* sought helpe and direction of the *French* Bishops, because learning at that time flourished more among them, then it did among the *Britaines*; who willing to reach forth their helping hands to their neighbours and brethren in this time of their neede, sent vnto them *Germanus* and *Lupus*, Bishops and brethren, defenders of the catholicke faith, who cleared the Ile from the *Pelagian* heresie, and confirmed it in the faith both by the word of truth, and signes and miracles.

u *August. de heresib. Beda de ratione temporum. Alfons. à Castro contra heres. lib. 2 pag. 159.*

Besides this condemnation of *Pelagius* by the *French* and *Britaines*, there were sundry Councels holden to condemne both him and his wicked heresies, in *Palestina*, at *Carthage*, at *Mileuise*, and at *Aurausicum*: and it is most certaine, that the Church of GOD, and all posterities are more bound to Saint *Augustine* for clearing the points of doctrine questioned by the *Pelagians*, then to any Bishop of *Rome* whatsoeuer: So that it is most vntrue, that the *Pelagians* were condemned only by the Bishop of *Rome*: for other were as forward in that businesse as he; yea the x *Africans* were more forward then the *Romanes*, and drew them into the fellowship of the same worke with themselues,

x *See Epist. 95. inter epist. Augustini.*

The like may be said of the *Priscillianistes*; for it is more then euident out of the Councell of *Bracar*, that they were not condemned by the Bishop of *Rome* alone, but by many Synodes: for it is there reported, that y *Leo* did write by *Turibius* notary of the Sea Apostolike, to the Synode of *Galitia*, at what time the heresie of the *Priscillianistes* began to spreade in those parts; and that by his prescription and appointment, they of *Tarracon*, of *Carthage*, of *Portugall*, & *Bœtica*, met in Councel, and composing a rule of faith against the heresie of the *Priscillianists*, containing certaine chiefe heades of Christian doctrine, directed the same patterne of right beliefe to the Bishop of *Bracar* that then was: which heads of Christian doctrine were recited in the first Councel of *Bracar*, and the heresie of the *Priscillianistes* thereupon more distinctly and particularly condemned, then euer before.

y *Initio actorum Consil. Bracar. 1.*

In all which proceedings, we may see that the Pope doth nothing of himselfe alone, but being Patriarch of the West, and hearing of a dangerous heresie spreading in some Churches subiect to him, he causeth

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the Biſhops vnder him to meete in Councels, and to condemne the ſame. Which (as I thinke) will not proue, that the Pope alone condemned hereſies, or that ſome hereſies were reiected onely, becauſe the Pope condemned them; or that the Pope cannot erre, which is the thing in queſtion.

Touching *Iouinian* and *Vigilantius*, their errors are ſo vncertainly reported, ſome attributing to them one thing; and ſome another, and ſome condemning them for thinges, for which they were not to be condemned; that it is hard to ſay, by what lawfull authority, or by whom they were condemned; but that in their errours iuſtly diſliked, they were condemned onely by the Biſhop of *Rome*, and therefore taken to bee heretickes by the whole vniuerſall Church, our Aduerſaries will neuer be able to proue.

That the errors attributed vnto them are vncertainly reported, it appeareth, in that [z] *Auſtine* chargeth *Iouinian* with two dangerous & wicked aſſertions, touching the deniall of the perpetuall virginity of the bleſſed Virgin the mother of our Lord; and the parity of ſinnes: whereof *Hierome* (who yet was not like to haue ſpared him) maketh no mention. And that they were in ſome things vniuſtly condemned, it is euident, firſt, in that [a] *Hierome* blameth *Iouinian* for ſaying, that married perſons, virgins and widowes, if they differ not in other workes of vertue, and therein excell one another, are of equall merit; which the beſt learned both of the Fathers and Schoole-men do approue, as I haue [b] elſe where ſhewed at large,

Secõdly, in in that [c] he ſo bitterly inueigheth againſt *Vigilantius* for diſliking the pernoctations in the Cemiteries & places of Saints burial, vſed in ancient times; which a [d] Councel for the ſame reaſons that moued *Vigilantius* to diſlike thẽ, tooke wholy away, & forbade thẽ to be vſed any more, and the *Romane* Churches haue long ſince diſuſed. But that the Popes peremptory condemning of an error in matter of faith, was not taken in ancient times to be a ſufficient demonſtration, that they were hereticks that defended ſuch errors after his cõdemning of the ſame, it is euident, in that [e] *Auſtine* ſaith, that the Churches might doubt ſtill touching the matter of rebaptization, becauſe in the times of *Stephen* who condemned it, and *Cyprian* who vrged it, there was no generall Councell to end the controuerſie betweene them; and in that, after the peremptory forbidding & condemning of rebaptization by *Stephen* Biſhop of *Rome*, *Cyprian* and his colleagues ſtill perſiſted in the practiſe of it, and in vrging the neceſſity of it; and yet were neuer branded with the marke and note of hereſie, but euer were, and ſtill are reputed catholickes.

[f] *Bellarmine*, to auoid the force of this argument, feareth not to ſay contrary to his owne knowledge, that *Stephen* and his adherents neuer deter-

z *Aug. de hereſ. cap. 82.*

a *Hier. contra Iouinian. lib. 1.*

b Booke 3. chap. 30.

c *Hieron. contra Vigilantium.*

d *Concil. Eliberin. Canon. 34. 35.*

e *Aug. lib. 1. de Baptiſmo. cap. 18.*

f *De Pontif. lib. 4. cap. 7.*

determined the queſtion of rebaptization. But that he did (and that in moſt peremptory ſort and manner) it is more cleare and euident, then that the Sunne ſhineth at noone. For [e] *Firmilianus* a famous learned Biſhop chargeth him, that hee cauſed great diſſentions throughout all the Churches of the world, that he grieuouſly ſinned, in that he deuided himſelfe from ſo many flockes of Chriſts ſheepe, that hee was a ſchiſmaticke; that hee had forſaken the communion of Eccleſiaſticall vnity: willing him not to deceiue himſelfe, but to be well aſſured, that in thinking he could put all other from the communion, hee had put himſelfe out of the communion of all: that hee brake the bandes of vnity with many Biſhops in all parts of the world, as well in the Eaſt, as in the South with the *Africanes*, not admitting ſuch as came from them vnto him into his preſence, or to any ſpeech with him; and farther commanding the brethren, that none of them ſhould receiue them to houſe. So that hee not onely denyed the peace of the Church, and the communion of Chriſtians vnto them, but the entring vnder the roofe of any mans houſe, that would be ruled by him; and that thus he held the vnity of the ſpirit in the bond of peace, reiecting them as damnable miſcreants that diſſented from him, and calling bleſſed *Cyprian*, a falſe Chriſt, a falſe Apoſtle, and a deceiptfull labourer or workman.

e *Firmilian. ad Cyprian. inter Epiſtolas Cyprian ep. 75.*

And [f] *Dionyſius*, a famous and worthy Biſhop reporteth, that he wrote concerning *Hellenus* and *Firmilianus*, and all the Biſhops in *Cilicia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Galatia*, and all the bordering countries, that hee would not communicate with them for the ſame cauſe of rebaptization: which yet (as hee ſaith) was agreed on in many very great Synodes of Biſhops.

f *Euſeb. hiſt. lib. 7. cap. 4.*

If this be not ſufficient to proue, that *Stephen* determined the queſtion of rebaptization, I know not what can be. For firſt, he commanded, that none ſhould bee rebaptized when they returned from the ſocieties and prophane conuenticles of heretickes, but that they ſhould bee admitted with the onely impoſition of hands.

Secondly, he deliuered his owne opinion, that rebaptization was vnlawful, confidently, as hauing ſo learned of his elders, and not in doubting manner.

And thirdly, hee reiected all them from his communion, that thought and practiſed otherwiſe then hee did, as it appeareth by the teſtimonies of *Firmilianus* and *Dionyſius*; ſo that it is ſtrange, that *Bellarmine* ſhould be able ſo to harden his forehead, as not to bluſh whē he ſaith, that *Stephen* did not define any thing touching the queſtion of rebaptization; that he did not make it a matter of faith, & neceſſary to be beleeued of all; & that he did not excommunicate thoſe that were otherwiſe minded, but onely threatned them that he would ſo do. It is true in deed, that *Cypri-*

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an, howſoeuer hee definitiuely deliuered in a Councell of Biſhops, what he was perſwaded men were to beleeue and practiſe, touching rebaptization; and proteſted againſt *Stephen*, as a proud, ignorant, and vnaduiſed man: yet did not vrge this his decree ſo, as to reiect from his communion all that ſhould diſlike it; but left euery Biſhop to his owne iudgement, as being to giue an account to God onely.

But how the *Ieſuites* can defend againſt all the former proofes, that *Stephens* proceedings were like to thoſe of *Cyprian*, and that hee alſo left euery man to his owne iudgement, and reiected no man from his communion, for diſſenting from him, I cannot ſee.

By that which hath bene ſaid, it appeareth, that the Ancients did not thinke euery thing to bee hereſie that the *Romane* Biſhops defined to bee ſo; and that therefore they did not thinke him free from danger of erring.

Neither need we to maruaile (ſaith *Bellarmine*) if in former times men had not learned this leſſon, ſeeing to this day they are not iudged to be heretickes that thinke the Pope may erre. Yet ſo kinde is he to *Cyprian*, that (whereas *Auſtine* excuſeth him in his errour, and thinketh his ſinne was venial) he [g] pronounceth he ſinned mortally, & ſo without particular repentance (whereof there is little likelihood) periſhed euerlaſtingly, notwithſtanding his martyrdome.

[g] *Vbi ſupra.*

The reaſon of this difference of the cenſures of *Auſtine* and *Bellarmine* is, becauſe *Auſtine* looked onely or principally to his errour, but *Bellarmine* to his contempt of the Biſhop of *Romes* Decrees and determinations.

CHAP.

Chap. 43.

Of such Popes as are charged with hereſie, and how the Romaniſts ſeeke to cleare them from that imputation.

HAVING examined our Aduerſaries proofes of the infallibility of the Popes iudgement, taken from the acceptation of his iudgement as right and good by all the world, whenſoeuer he defined any thing; let vs come to the other proofe of the ſame, taken from the felicity of the *Romane* Sea in former times. [a] *Ruffinus* ſaith, that before his time no hereſie had euer taken beginning in the *Romane* Church; but our Aduerſaries proceed farther, and feare not to [b] pronounce after 1600. yeares, that no hereticke did euer ſit in the Sea of *Rome:* which their proud brag will be found much more vaine then true, and many vnanſwerable inſtances will be brought of wicked hereticks poſſeſſing that chaire. *Tertullian* in his booke againſt *Praxeas* ſpeaketh of a Biſhop of *Rome*, but nameth him not, that admitted and allowed the prophecies of *Montanus* & his two Propheteſſes, *Priſca* and *Maximilla*, and held communion with the *Montaniſts* till he was diſſwaded by *Praxeas*. Who (as hee ſaith) cauſed the prophecies of *Montanus* and his Propheteſſes to be baniſhed, & brought in hereſie, who baniſhed their *Paraclete*, and crucified the Father.

a *In expoſitione ſymboli.*

b *Bellar. de Rom. Pont. lib. 4. cap. 8.*

But becauſe *Tertullian* was a *Montaniſt*, and wrote partially in things that concerned them (though [c] *Rhenanus* ſay, the Biſhop of *Rome* did Montanize) yet for my part (no other hiſtory reporting any ſuch thing of any *Romane* Biſhop) I will not vpon *Tertullians* bare word, charge any of them with any ſuch hereſie. But (howſoeuer we thinke of *Tertullians* report) we finde in the Councell of *Sinueſſa*, in the [d] *Pontificall*, in the Epiſtle of *Nicholas* the firſt, to *Michael* the Emperour, in [e] *Platina* and others, that *Marcellinus* did ſacrifice vnto idols, and ſo at leaſt in outward action ſhewed himſelfe an infidell; which is a higher degree of impiety then hereſie.

c *Annotat. in Tertul. contra Praxeam.*

d *In vita Marcellini.*

e *In Marcellino.*

If it be ſaid, he committed that execrable act of idolatry, not out of any miſ-perſwaſion of his minde, but feare of death, it will be replyed, that if the paſſion of feare be able to worke ſo ill effects in Popes, as the vtter abnegation of chriſtianity, and the profeſſing of themſelues to bee Pagan infidels, by publike outward acts of idolatry, there is little reaſon to bee giuen, but that ſome other ſiniſter and vile affection may carry them as farre to make profeſſion of hereſie, a thing not ſo ill as Paganiſme.

Wherefore [f] *Baronius*, to preuent the worſt, and to make all ſure, inclineth to deny, that euer *Marcellinus* committed any ſuch act of idolatry, and

f *Annal. to. anno 303. num. 99.*

and diſcrediteth the report of the Councel of *Sinueſſa*, in which he is ſayd to haue bene condemned. Wherein hee doth as much diſaduantage the *Romane* cauſe another way, in depriuing his friends of ſo good an authority as the reſolution of that ſacred Synode, that *Prima ſedes à nemine iudicatur*, that is, that the firſt Sea is iudged of none; as he aduantageth it in the clearing of *Marcellinus*; and therfore he is rightly blamed by [g] *Binnius* for his inconſiderate raſhneſſe in this behalfe. But that wee may be aſſured, that Popes may be hereticks as wel as infidels, we haue the confeſſiō of as good a man as *Baronius*, acknowledging the ſame. For [h] *Bellarmine* ſaith, that *Liberius* (howſoeuer for a long time he continued conſtant in the profeſſion of the true faith, ſo that for the ſame his conſtancy he was baniſhed, and another by the *Arrian* faction put into his place) yet in the end weary of baniſhment, he was brought to ſubſcribe to hereſie, and was in his outward courſes an hereticke, whatſoeuer his heart was, wherof God only is the ſearcher; ſo that iuſtly as an hereticke he was condemned, and pronounced to be no Pope any longer by his owne Clergy.

g *Annot. in acta concil. Sinueſſani.*

h *De Pontif. lib. 4. cap. 9.*

This he proueth out of the teſtimonies of [i] *Athanaſius* and [k] *Hierome*, who ſay expreſſly, that being weary of his continuance in baniſhment, he was at laſt brought to ſubſcribe to hereſie: And [l] *Hilary* (who ſpeaking to *Conſtantius* the wicked *Arrian* Emperour) hath theſe wordes: *Afterwardes thou diddeſt turne the courſe of thy warre againſt Rome, whence thou tookeſt the Biſhop, ô wretched Emperour! I can hardly ſay, whether thy impiety were greater in ſending him into baniſhment, or in ſending him home againe.* Thereby inſinuating that hee reſtored him vpon very ill conditions. And that he was not reſtored, but by ſome kind of conſenting with the *Arrians*, it is moſt cleare, in that [m] *Zozomen* reporteth, that the *Arrian* Biſhops aſſembled at *Sirmium*, ſent their letters to *Felix*, then Biſhop of *Rome*, and the Clergy there, kindly to receiue *Liberius*, & that both *Felix* & he might ſit as Biſhops, & gouerne the *Romane* Church together: which they would neuer haue done, if they had not found him tractable & yeelding; yet could not theſe two Biſhops endure one the other long, notwithſtanding theſe letters.

i *Athanaſ. in epiſt. ad ſolitar. vitam agentes.*
k *Hieron. in Chronico. & in Catal. Script. Eccleſiaſt. in Fortunatiano.*
l *Hilar. in lib. aduerſ. Conſtantiū.*
m *Zozom. lib. 4. cap. 14.*

And therefore [n] *Hierome* ſaith, that *Liberius* impatient of any longer continuance in baniſhment, ſubſcribed to hereticall prauity, and ſo returned to *Rome* as a conquerour, and caſt out *Felix* who had poſſeſſed himſelfe of the Epiſcopall chaire, and put diuers other of the Clergie alſo out of the Church; and [o] *Bellarmine* himſelfe confeſſeth, hee hath ſeene in the *Vatican* Library, manuſcript Epiſtles of *Liberius*, ſome written to the Emperour, and ſome to the Eaſterne Biſhops, wherein hee ſignifieth plainly enough, that in the end he was content to yeeld to the will of the Emperor. And beſides, if the *Romaniſts* do not acknowledge that *Liberius* was a conuicted hereticke, (there being no other cauſe but hereſie for which (as they thinke) a Pope may lawfully bee iudged and depoſed) they

n *In Chronico.*
o *Vbi ſuprà.*

they muſt put *Felix*, who was Pope while *Liberius* yet liued, out of the number of Popes, whom yet their Church doth worſhip as a Pope Saint, and a Martyr. So that we ſee, *Liberius* was iuſtly iudged & condemned as an hereticke; and that, ſeeing a Pope, in that he becommeth an hereticke, ceaſeth to be Pope, he loſt all the priuiledges that belong to *Peters* ſucceſſours, and ſo might decree for hereſie: yea, I thinke there is no reaſonable man but will confeſſe, that his ſubſcribing to hereſie that is the head of the Church, is a decreeing for hereſie. Now that he ſubſcribed to hereſie, we haue the expreſſe teſtimony of Saint *Hierome*. [p] After the baniſhment of *Liberius* by the means of *Acatius*, Biſhop of *Caſarea* in *Paleſtina*, who was a great man with *Conſtantius* the Emperour, *Felix*, a Deacon of the Church of *Rome*, was choſen Biſhop, and appointed to ſucceed him. This *Felix*, (as [q] *Theodoret* teſtifieth) was a Catholicke, and held the profeſſion of faith agreed on at *Nice*, but communicated freely with the *Arrians*. Whereupon hee was ſo much diſliked by thoſe that were Catholickes, that none of them would once enter into the houſe of prayer while hee was within. For that, though hee were not in perſwaſion and vocall profeſſion a full *Arrian*, yet by communicating with them, and being ordained by them, he conſented to their wicked and hereticall courſes.

p *Hieron in Catalog. Script. Eccleſiaſt. in Acacio.*

q *Theodoret. hiſt. Eccl. l. 2. c. 17.*

Neither doth it appeare by any hiſtory of credit, that euer he refuſed to communicate with the *Arrian* hereticks, during the time he quietly poſſeſſed & enioyed the Biſhopricke of *Rome*. But the contrary is more then probable, becauſe when *Liberius* ſubſcribed, and was thereupon ſent home with letters of commendation from the *Arrian* Biſhops aſſembled at *Sirmium*, [r] they carefully prouided for *Felix* his continuance in the Epiſcopall office ſtill, and deſired that the violences & outrages committed in the time of his ordinatiō (when the people for the loue they bare to *Liberius*, were in an vprore, & ſome of them were ſlaine) might be forgotten, and that both of them might ſit and gouerne the Church together, as Biſhops of the place; which fauour the *Arrian* Biſhops would neuer haue ſhewed to *Felix*, if he had diſclaimed their communion. So that it is more then probable, that he neuer forſook the cōmunion of the *Arrian* hereticks. For *Liberius* returning as a cō queror, ſo ſoone as he came to *Rome*, caſt him out of the Church, & ſhortly after he dyed; and therfore I cannot ſee what reaſon the *Romaniſts* haue to put this good man into the Kalender of their Pope Saints, whoſe entrance into the Epiſcopal chaire was not only ſchiſmatical (there being a catholicke Biſhop yet aliue, & ſuffering baniſhmēt for the catholick faith) but violent & bloudy alſo (for he got the place by the meanes of bloudy hereticks, making himſelfe guilty of all the ſins of thoſe hereticks with whom he cōmunicated) & of whoſe relinquiſhing & abandoning the cōmunion & fellowſhip of the *Arrians*, there is no mention found in any Author of credit, but in the Author of the [s] *Pontificall* onely

r *Sozom. lib. 4. c. 14.*

s *In Felice.*

onely, who hath as many lies as wordes in his narration concerning *Felix*.

For firſt, he ſaith, hee ſate but one yeare, three moneths, and three daies, whereas it is reported by [t] *Theodoret*, that *Liberius* had bene more then two yeares in baniſhment before ſuite was made to the Emperour for his returne; all which time *Felix* was Pope.

t *Theodoret. vbi ſupra.*

Secondly, he ſaith, *Felix* declared and publiſhed *Conſtantius* the ſonne of *Conſtantine* to be an hereticke, and that *Conſtantius* was rebaptized, or the ſecond time baptized by *Euſebius* Biſhop of *Nicomedia*, neare vnto *Nicomedia*; which thing is moſt falſe, as [u] *Binnius* in his Annotatiõs telleth vs, becauſe both [x] *Athanaſius* & [y] *Socrates* do affirme, he was baptized by *Euzoius* an *Arrian*, when he was ready to dye. And [z] *Hilarius* after the time of this ſuppoſed baptiſme inueyeth againſt him, for that not being baptized, he preſumed to preſcribe to the Church a forme of faith.

u *Binnius annot. in vitam Felicis.*
x *Athanaſ. lib. de Synodis.*
y *Socrates. lib. 2 cap. vlt.*
z *Hilar. lib. de Synodo.*

Thirdly, he ſaith, *Felix* built a certaine Church, while he was a Presbyter, whereas it is certaine, that of a Deacon he was made a Biſhop, and neuer liued in the degree of a Presbyter.

And fourthly, touching the death of *Felix* hee is very vncertaine and doubtfull, and others ſpeake nothing of his martyrdome at all.

Hereupon (as both [a] *Bellarmine* and [b] *Binnius* report) in the time of *Gregory* the thirteenth, in the yeare of our Lord 1582. where certaine learned men in *Rome* were deputed to correct the *Martyrologe*, they were doubtfull whether they ſhould put his name into the new *Martyrologe* or not, ſeeing both his entrance into his Biſhopricke was violent, bloudy, and ſchiſmatical, and his end vncertaine, and they inclined to leaue it out; which they had done, if a certaine marble cheſt had not bene found in the Church of *Coſmas* & *Damianus*, the 28. of *July*, the day before his wonted & accuſtomed feaſt, with this inſcription in old characters: *Heere lyeth the body of Felix the Pope and Martyr, who condemned Conſtantius the heretick.* Whereby wee ſee how little reaſon the *Romane* Church hath to worſhip this Saint, and to admire the prouidence of God, in preſeruing this Sea Apoſtolicke from hereſie; in that, as they would beare vs in hand, *Felix*, after he heard of the ſubſcription of *Liberius*, who thereby ceaſed to be Pope, condemned the *Arrians*, was admitted by the Catholickes, and became a true Biſhop, ſuffering death vpon the returne of *Liberius*; as if the very Sea did change the mindes of all that ſit in it, and make them good, how badde ſoeuer they were before; whereas *Felix* [c] being in his entrance a ſchiſmaticke, in communion, if not in profeſſion, an hereticke, and in his ordination which was voyde, no Biſhop, and no hiſtory of credit reporting either his condemning *Arrianiſme*, or his admiſſion to be a Biſhop after the depoſition of *Liberius* by the Catholikes, or what his end was; it appeareth that heretickes and ſchiſmatickes may poſſeſſe the chaire of *Peter*, and be worſhipped for Pope Saints after their death.

a *De Pont. lib. 4. cap. 9.*
b *Annot. in vit. Felicis.*
c *Ruffinus. Eccl. hiſtor. lib. 1. cap. 22.*

But

But whatſoeuer became of *Felix*, they ſay, *Liberius* after the death of *Felix* became a Catholicke, and got the loue of the Catholickes; and ſo by their acceptation of him, became a true Biſhop againe, and in that ſtate dyed.

Thus do our Aduerſaries ſeeme to carry this matter very fairely, as if all were ſafe and well, whereas in deed they are in a very great ſtraite, for either *Liberius* was an hereticke before his returne home, and iuſtly depoſed for hereſie; or elſe *Felix* was neuer true Biſhop, and then their Church hath worſhipped a ſchiſmatick as a Pope-Saint for the ſpace of a thouſand yeares: if hee were an hereticke, and iuſtly depoſed (as to iuſtifie *Felix*, they muſt be forced to confeſſe) he could neuer bee reſtored to the Epiſcopall office and dignity againe. For the [d] Canon of the Church is, that no Catholicke becomming an hereticke, and being condemned by the Church for ſuch a one, ſhall euer bee receiued to Eccleſiaſticall honour againe: ſo that hee could not dye true Pope, as our Aduerſaries dreame he did.

d *Hieron. contra Luciferianos. Cyprian. lib. 2. Epiſt. 1*

Let them ſhew vs how they can cleare themſelues from ſundry abſurd contradictions in this point, and we will reſt ſatisfied. For we do not deny, but that he might repent of his ſubſcribing to hereſie, and dye a catholicke, though ſome of the teſtimonies that *Bellarmine* bringeth, will ſcarſe proue it.

The next Pope that we finde to haue bene touched with any ſuſpicion of hereſie, is *Anaſtaſius* the ſecond, whom the Author of the [e] *Pontificall* taxeth. Firſt, for that hee communicated with *Photius*, a Deacon of the Church of *Theſſalonica*, that had communicated with *Achacius*, Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, without the counſell of the Biſhops and Presbyters of the Catholicke Church; which his inconſiderate action, made many of the Presbyters and Clergy, refuſe to communicate with him.

e *In vita Anaſtaſij. 2.*

Secondly, for that he ſought to reſtore *Achacius*, whom *Felix* and *Gelaſius* his predeceſſours had condemned: for which fact hee was ſuddenly ſtricken of God, in ſuch ſort that he dyed.

To theſe [f] *Gratian* addeth another taxation, reprehending him for that he allowed the baptiſme, and ordination of ſuch as were baptized and ordained by *Achacius* after he was become an heretick. But becauſe the baptiſme and ordination of heretickes is holden good, and it appeareth by the Epiſtle of *Anaſtaſius* to *Anaſtaſius* the Emperour, that *Achacius* was dead before hee was Biſhop, and that hee deſired to haue the name of *Achacius* razed out of the Diptickes of the Church, after his death: I will paſſe by this cenſure of the author of the *Pontificall*, and *Gratian* as doubtfull, and leauing *Anaſtaſius*, come to *Vigilius*; who (as [g] *Liberatus* reporteth) to get the Popedome, like a notable diſſembling hypocrite pretended at *Rome* to be a catholicke, but in his letters to *Theodora* the Empreſſe, who was an hereticke, condemned the catholicke

f *Diſt. 19. ca. Anaſtaſius.*

g *In Breuiario cap. 22.*

faith: and promiſed that if *Syluerius* might be thruſt out, and he put into his place, he would reſtore *Anthemius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, reiected by *Agapetus* for hereſie. Which being brought to paſſe by *Theodora* the Empreſſe, and *Syluerius* vniuſtly baniſhed, hee ſate for a while as an Anti-pope and an hereticke. But when as *Syluerius* was dead, hee profeſſed himſelfe a catholike, and refuſed to performe that hee had promiſed to *Theodora*. Whether this man being an hereticke in his outward profeſſion at his entrance, and by ſuch profeſſion getting the Popedome vniuſtly, ſchiſmatically, and as an Anti-pope, could euer after bee true Pope, let our Aduerſaries giue vs anſwer, when they haue aduiſedly thought of it.

The next Pope that is charged with hereſie, is *Honorius* the firſt, whom the Chriſtian world, and not a few particular men onely condemned as a *Monothelite*. For in the [h] ſixth generall Councell, his Epiſtles to *Sergius* the hereticke are publickely read and condemned, and he accurſed as an hereticke. The [i] ſeuenth generall Councell likewiſe doth anathematize *Honorius*, *Sergius*, *Syrus*, and the other *Monothelites*. In the [k] eighth generall Councell, called about the matter of difference betweene *Ignatius* and *Photius*, the acts of the Councel of the Weſt vnder *Adrian* the ſecond, are read and allowed; wherein *Adrian* profeſſeth, that none of the inferiour Seas may iudge the greater, and ſpecially *Rome*, vnleſſe it be in caſe of hereſie; in which caſe they of the Eaſt did anathematize & accurſe *Honorius*: which yet (he ſaith) they would not haue aduentured to do, if the *Romane* Church had not gone before them in ſuch condemnation of her owne Biſhop.

h *Actione 13.*

i *Actione 7.*
k *Actione 7.*

Pope *Leo* the ſecond in his Epiſtle to *Conſtantine* the Emperor, which we finde in the end of the ſixth generall Councell, accurſeth the ſame *Honorius* as an hereticke and a wicked one, that defiled and polluted the Apoſtolicke chaire with hereſie. With *Leo* conſenteth [l] *Tharraſius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, [m] *Theodorus* Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*, [n] *Epiphanius* in his diſputation with *Gregory*, in the ſixth Action of the ſeuenth general Coūcell; [o] *Pſellus*, [p] *Beda*, and the [q] Author of the *Pontificall*.

l *In Synod. 7. actione 3.*
m *In Epiſtolâ Synodicâ quæ habetur in eâdem.*
7. Synod. actione 3.
n *Synod. 7. actione 6.*
o *In Carm. de 7. Synodis.*
p *De 6. ætat. b. in vita Conſtantini. 4.*
q *In vita Leonis 2.*

Theſe authorities may ſeeme very ſufficient to proue, that *Honorius* was an hereticke; yet ſo well are our Aduerſaries affected to him, that they will rather diſcredit them all, then ſuffer him to bee ſpotted and diſgraced: and therefore ſome of them ſay, that the ſixth generall Councell is corrupted; and likewiſe the Epiſtle of *Leo* the ſecond, in the end of it: and that the Fathers in the ſeuenth Councell were deceiued by the ſixth, as likewiſe Pope *Adrian* with the whole *Romane* Synode, and the other Authors, that concurre with thē in the condemnation of *Honorius*. Others think that indeed the ſixth Councel condemned *Honorius*, but vpon falſe information, and ſo erred in a matter of fact. Which conceipt is no way probable

probable. For that the Fathers of the Councell proceeded not rashly, but[r] caused the Epistles of *Honorius* written to the heades of the faction of the *Monothelites* (for which he was suspected,) to be openly read and examined.

r *Actione 12.*

But (say they) first, these Epistles haply were counterfeit. Secondly, if they were not counterfeit, there is nothing in them contrary to the truth.

Neither of these answers is sufficient. For first, that the Epistles were not coũterfeit, it appeareth by *Maximus*,[s] who answereth a place brought out of one of them, and sheweth the meaning of it, as from the Secretary that wrot it, then liuing.

s *Disp. Maximi cum Pyrrho. in 3 Tomo. Concil. apud Binnium.*

Secondly, if these Epistles had bene counterfeit, the Legates of *Agatho* present there, would haue taken that exception to them, and not haue consented to the condemnation of one of his predecessors vpon counterfeit euidence.

Neither is the second answere any better then the first; for, that the Fathers assembled in a generall Councell, should not be able to vnderstand the Epistles of *Honorius*, and iudge whether they were hereticall or not, as well as the Iesuits now liuing, is very strange.

But let vs suppose the Iesuites to haue more wit then all those worthy Bishops and Fathers that were assembled in the sixt Councel, & let vs see by taking a view of the Epistles themselues, whether they may be cleared frõ the errour they haue bene charged with, or not. It is not to be denied, but that *Honorius* in these his Epistles[t] confesseth, that the nature of God in Christ, worketh the thinges that are diuine; and the nature of man, the thinges that are humane, without diuision, confusion, or conuersion of one of them into another; and that the differences of these natures remaine inuiolable. But in that hee denyeth, that there are two actions in Christ, the one of *Deity*, and the other of *Humanity*; in that he saith, it is absurd to thinke, that where there are more natures then one, there must bee more actions then one: and alloweth of *Cyrus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and *Sergius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, who were *Monothelites*, rather then of *Sophronius* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, a right worthy and learned Bishop (who defended the truth against them both, and whose learned Epistle to *Sergius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, we finde in the[u] sixth generall Councel:) it cannot be auoyded but that he erred in matter of faith, in such sort, as by consequẽce it ouerthroweth that distinctiõ of the two natures of God & man in Christ, which hee seemed to acknowledge. Neither can it bee cleared frõ suspition of hereticall & bad meaning, that hee maketh it but a curiosity of philosophers to acknowledge a twofold action in Christ, & denieth that the fathers euer defined any such thing; wheras pope *Martine* the first in the[x] Synod of *Rome* saith, it is cleare by the determinatiõ of the Fathers, that the 2. natures of Christ remaine vncõfounded in the vnion, &

t *Actione 12. Synodi 6. & act. 13.*

u *Actione 11.*

x *Concilium Romo. 2.*

diuided, as alſo his two wils, and the two diſtinct actions, and naturall properties of them.

Maximus in his diſputation with *Pyrrhus*, found in the ſecond Tome of the Councels, cleareth one ſentence of *Honorius*, wherin he ſeemeth to acknowledge but one wil in Chriſt; affirming out of the teſtimony of him that wrote that Epiſtle for *Honorius*, that he meant it of one will of the humane nature of Chriſt; thereby ſhewing, that there was no ſuch contrariety of deſires found in him as in vs. But what is that to the other thinges that are obiected to him?

Two obiections our Aduerſaries haue againſt them who thinke that *Honorius* was condemned for hereſie.

The firſt is, that the ſixth generall Councell cou'd not condemne him, without being contrary to it ſelfe, in [y] allowing the Epiſtle of *Agatho*, wherein he ſaith; that the faith neuer failed in *Peters* chaire, and that his predeceſſours did alwaies confirme their brethren.

[y] *Actione 4.*

The ſecond, that ſome Writers ſpeaking of the *Monothelites*, and naming diuers of them, omit him; that [z] *Maximus* in his Dialogue againſt *Pyrrhus*, *Theophanes Iſaurus* in his Hiſtory, cited by [a] *Onuphrius*, and *Emmanuel Chalica* in his booke in the defence of the *Latines* againſt the *Greekes*, affirme, he was euer a catholick; and ſome other, as *Beda*, *Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius*, *Blandus*, *Nauclerus*, *Sabellius*, and *Platina*, do ſpeake of him as of a Catholicke Biſhop.

[z] 2. Tomo. Concil. apud Binnium.

[a] *In vitam Honorij apud Platinã.*

The firſt of theſe obiections I haue anſwered [b] elſe where, ſhewing that ſome of *Agathoes* predeceſſours, might for ſome ſhort ſpace faile to do their duty, in confirming their brethren, and ſwarue from the truth; and yet that be true he ſaith in that Epiſtle, that in the Sea it ſelfe the faith neuer failed: and that his predeceſſours fell not either ſo many, or in ſuch ſort, but that the Biſhops of that Church did euer reach forth their helping hands to other, either in the beginning of each hereſie, or before it was vtterly extinct and ſuppreſſed; as it fell out in this, both in reſpect of Pope *Martine* and others before, and of himſelfe now.

[b] Chap. 42.

To the ſecond we ſay, that it doth not ſeeme to bee ſtrongly proued, that *Honorius* was no hereticke, by the ſilence of ſome few. That *Maximus* doth not cleare *Honorius* generally, but one ſentence of *Honorius* only. That *Theophanes Iſaurus* doth not go about to cleare *Honorius* frõ hereſie, but ſaith onely, that the Canons of the ſixth Councell were not made by the ſame Fathers that were at firſt aſſembled, but by others. So ſpeaking nothing of *Honorius*, who was condemned in the Councell, and not in the Canons; and that the reſt, to wit, *Chalica*, and ſome few other liuing long after the time of *Honorius*, are no ſufficient proofe againſt that cloud of witneſſes, which we produced in the beginning. And therefore there is yet nothing brought to reproue the teſtimonie of our witneſſes, or to make good that hee was alwayes a catholicke, which is the thing

thing to be proued. With *Honorius* we may ioyne *Gregory* the third, who in his [c] Epistle to *Bonifacius*, giueth leaue to a man, whose wife falleth into some such infirmity, as maketh her vnfit to company with him, to marry another; so that hee giue her maintenance. And that hee speaketh not of any impediment before marriage not knowne, which maketh the contract voyde from the beginning, but of such infirmities as fall out afterwards, it is euident. First, in that hee saith: *If any mans wife shall be taken with such infirmity, &c.*

c *Decret. part. 2. causa. 32. quæst. 7. Cano, proposuisti.*

Secondly, in that hee prouideth: *That the husband shall prouide for her maintenance*; which in case of a voyde contract from the beginning, is no way reasonable.

Thirdly, in that he saith: *He shall thus prouide for her, seeing infirmity, & not wickednesse driueth him from her.*

Fourthly, in that hee saith: *It were better hee should containe*; seeing in case of abuse by vnknowne defect and impediment, making the contract voyde from the beginning, there is no more cause why a man so abused, should containe and refraine from marriage, then any other.

Now to permit marriage by reason of any defect or infirmity ensuing after the first marriage, I thinke our Aduersaries will not deny to bee erroneous, seeing the contrary is defined in the [d] Councell of *Trent*.

d *Sessione 24. Can. 2.*

Neither doth it excuse this errour of *Gregory*, that *Bellarmine* alledgeth out of [e] *Austine*, who maketh some doubt whether the wife with her husbands consent, yeelding to the wicked desires of him in whose hands he is, to saue his life, bee excuseable from sinne; seeing hee doth but vpon a particular accident propose a disputable question, and the other resolueth and giueth warrant for the practise of an vnlawfull thing, and that as a Pope in his directions to *Bonifacius*, hauing newly conuerted certaine barbarous people to the faith of Christ. Wherefore let vs proceede to see whether there be any moe Popes that may iustly be charged with errour or heresie.

e *Lib. 1. de Serm. Dom. in monte. cap. 29.*

We reade in the [f] stories of the Church, that one *Formosus*, Bishop of *Portua*, being hardly thought of, and suspected by *Iohn* the Pope, left his Bishopricke and fled for feare of him; that being called backe by *Iohn*, and refusing to returne, he was anathematized by him; and that at last comming into *France*, to satisfie the Pope, he was degraded, and put into a Lay habite, and made to sweare neuer to enter into *Rome* any more, nor euer to communicate but as a Lay-man; yet afterwards by *Martinus*, *Iohns* successour, hee was restored to his Bishopricke, absolued from his oath, came to *Rome*, and in the end obtained to be Pope, contrary to the mindes of many of the *Romanes*, who desired rather to haue had one *Sergius* a Deacon of the Church of *Rome*, but preuailed not.

f *Sigebert. in Chronico. anni. 900. & Seq. Platina. in Stephano & Sergio.*

Whereupon there grew great queſtion with much ſcandall, ſome affirming, that his conſecration, and the conſecration of ſuch as he ordained, was voyde; others, that whatſoeuer were thought of *Formoſus*, yet for the dignity of his Biſhoply office, and the faith of thoſe he ordained, their ordinations were to be holden for good, eſpecially ſeeing hee was abſolued from his periury by *Martinus* the Pope:

The next Pope (ſaue one) that ſucceeded *Formoſus*, was *Stephen*, who ſate but foure moneths, yet was not idle, but though he had bene ordained Biſhop of *Anagina* by him, perſecuted him with deadly hate, and pronounced the ordinations of all ſuch as he had ordained to be voyd.

After him ſucceeded *Romanus*, and after *Romanus*, *Theodorus*, who being contrarily minded to *Stephen*, reconciled thoſe whom *Stephen* had degraded, but preſumed not to conſecrate or ordaine them againe.

After *Theodorus*, followed *Iohn*, who, to confirme the ordinations of *Formoſus*, pronounced voyd by *Stephen*, called a Councel of 72. Biſhops, the Arch-biſhops of *France*, and the King being preſent; and in the ſight of them al, cauſed the acts of the Synode which *Stephen* held for condemnation of *Formoſus*, to be burned. After *Iohn* ſucceeded *Benedictus*, and after him *Sergius* the Deacon, that miſſed the Popedome when *Formoſus* gate it.

This *Sergius* in reuenge of his former repulſe, forced the *Romanes* with threats and terrours, to account the ordinations of *Formoſus* voide, and (which is not to be ſpoken) drew him out of his graue after he had reſted in it a good ſpace; put vpon him the Papall veſtures, ſet him in *Peters* chaire; commanded him to be beheaded, and then cutting off three of his fingers, cauſed him to bee caſt into *Tiber*, degrading all that hee had ordained.

Heere we ſee Popes clearely conuinced of hereſie, and defining and decreeing for hereſie. For ſeeing *Formoſus* was ſometime vndoubtedly a true Biſhop, it was an errour in faith to ſay, that his ordinations were voyde.

This is ſo cleare, that [g] *Bellarmine* denyeth it not, but ſaith onely, that neither *Stephen*, nor *Sergius* publiſhed any decree, that their ordinations were voyde, whom *Formoſus* had ordained, and that they were to be re-ordained; but did onely ſo re-ordaine *de facto*, in their furry, and diſtempered paſſions; wherein he is clearely refuted by [h] *Sigebert*, who ſaith expreſſely, that they decreed *omnes ordinationes eius irritas eſſe debere*: that is: That all his ordinations were to bee taken and reputed for voyd.

To *Stephen* and *Sergius* we may adde *Cæleſtinus* the third, who (as [i] *Alfonſus à Caſtro* truly affirmeth) cānot by any means be excuſed frō hereſie, in that he taught, that the bond of marriage is ſo diſſolued by hereſie, that he

g *De Pontif. lib. 4. cap. 12.*

h *Anno. 902.*

i *De hereſib. lib. 1. cap. 4.*

he whose wife falleth into heresie, may lawfully leaue her, and take another.

This decree of *Celestinus* is not now to be found in the Decretals, but it was in the ancient; and *Alfonsus* professeth, he read it [k] there himselfe. Now that it is hereticall in the iudgement of our Aduersaries, it is euident, in that [l] *Innocentius* the third teacheth the contrary, and the [m] Councell of *Trent* defineth otherwise.

Neither doth *Bellarmines* answer, that he did not passe any Decree, but onely deliuer his owne priuate opinion, helpe the matter. For [n] *Gratian* maketh the Decretals equall in authority with the Canons of Councels, and our Aduersaries are wont to proue the Popes power by his Decretals, as if all they were subiect to him, and bound to obey him, to whom he writeth them.

The next Pope that is charged with heresie, is *Nicholas* the fourth, who [o] defineth, that Christ taught both by word and example most perfect pouerty, consisting in the abandoning of all propriety in things, and right or claime to them, either in particular, or in respect of the whole Colledge and company of men liuing together; and that such pouerty is pleasing to God, and meritorious.

For the better vnderstanding of this matter, wee must distinguish the vse of thinges, and the propriety in them, or right and claime to them. [p] The propriety in thinges, and the right and claime to them, is two-fold; either absolute, when men may iudicially challenge a thing as their owne, and vse it how, and in what sort they will, so that it bee not prohibited by the law of God and nature; or restrained and limited: as Clergy-men may chalenge the possessions & lands belonging to them, & iudicially recouer them, if they be with-holden from them; yet may they not so freely dispose of them, as Lay-men may of theirs.

The vse of thinges is two-fold. For there is *vsus iuris*, and *vsus facti*. *Vsus facti* is when one hath the vse of a thing, but so, that he hath no right to vse it, warrantable by any positiue or humane law; and if any one will depriue him of it, hee cannot by law hinder him. *Vsus iuris*, is the right one hath to vse a thing, leauing the claime of the possession of the substance of it to the owner thereof.

This kinde of vse is likewise two-fold: *nudus*, and *vsus-fructus*. The former is, when one hath right to vse a thing; but so limited and restrained, that he may neither sell, let, nor giue the same right. The later, when he may.

The *Franciscan* Friers imagining the height of Christian perfection to consist in extreme pouerty, by their vow of pouerty abandon, not onely in particular, as do other Religious, but in generall, euen in respect of their whole company and society, all interest, right, and claime to lands, liuings and possessions, or to the vse of any such thinges, leauing nothing to

k *In Decretal. cap. laudabilem. de conuersione Infidelium.*

l *Cap. Quanto De diuortijs.*

m *Sess. 24, Can. 5.*

n *Alfonsus à Castro contra hæres. lib. 1. cap. 2.*

o *Cap. exijt. de verb. signif. in Sexto.*

p *Ockam. operis 90. dierum cap. 2.*

themselues, but the bare vse of such thinges as by free gift, begging, or labour, come to their hands, without all right to vse them pleadable and iustifiable by any course of humane law. So that if any one will take the bread out of their handes, before it come to their mouthes, or the clothes from them, wherewith they hide their nakednesse, they may not complaine of him for so doing, nor prosecute any suite against him for it.

This kinde of pouerty Pope *Nicholas* affirmeth Christ taught, both by word and example, and willeth the *Franciscanes* according to their rule, strictly to obserue the same. And for their safety and security taketh order, that all moueables giuen to them for vse, shall in respect of right belong to the Church of *Rome*, as likewise their Oratories, and Cemiteries. But their dwellinges not so, vnlesse the giuer expresse an absolute gift (which yet must not be to the Fryers, but to the Church) and the Church expresly accept the same. For otherwise the owner may at his pleasure take them away againe.

Farther, hee ordereth, that such thinges as are giuen to them, and they haue the vse of, they may either of themselues change them for such other thinges as they neede or desire, or cause the gouernour and disposer of them appointed by the Pope, to sell them, and with the money to buy such thinges as they neede, and let them haue the vse of them, as bookes and the like. For with money they themselues may not meddle.

Pope *Iohn* the the two and twentieth, following *Nicholas*, and finding by experience, that these Fryers did but abuse the world with their faire shewes of perfection, q condemned their hypocrisie, and would bee no patron of it, as his predecessour was.

q *In extrauagant. ad Conditorem Canonum.*

First, therefore hee shewed, that perfection consisteth essentially in charity, which *Paul* nameth the bond of perfection, & that the abādoning of propriety in thinges maketh nothing to perfection, farther then it excludeth the care that is wont to be found in men, in getting, keeping, and disposing of them, weakning the act of diuine loue. So that if there be as much carefulnesse in men after the disclaiming of propriety in thinges as before, their seeming pouerty maketh nothing to Christian perfection.

Now hee saith, that after the ordination of his predecessour, these Fryers were no lesse carefull in getting and keeping thinges both by begging, iudiciall suing, and the like meanes, then any other mendicants that haue some things as their owne in common. And that therfore howsoeuer they pleased themselues, their obseruation was of no more perfection thē theirs that had something of their owne in common.

Secondly, hee shewed, that these mendicants hauing the vse of such things as are giuen to them, and the Church of *Rome*, the propriety (in name

name and title, but not in deede, being onely to ſecure them in the vſe thereof, and to make no benefit) that it is but a ſingle right the Church hath, and that they are in trueth and indeede no poorer then they that haue things of their owne; ſeeing they may change the vſe of one thing for another; or at leaſt cauſe the Procurator deſigned by the church of *Rome*, to change things into money, and buy for them ſuch as they rather deſie to haue, making vſe of all things that come to their hands at their pleaſure, as much as they that haue them of their owne.

Thirdly, he pronounced, that to thinke that Chriſt and his Apoſtles had nothing of their owne in ſpeciall or common, and that they had no right to vſe ſuch things as they had, to ſell them, giue them, or with them to buy other; is contrarie to the Goſpell, condemneth Chriſt and his Apoſtles of iniuſtice, and ouerthroweth the whole Scripture.

Yet Pope *Nicholas* defined, that Chriſt and his Apoſtles had nothing of their owne, either in ſpeciall or common, and that the hauing of a common bagge no way contrarieth this conceit, ſeeing that was but by a kinde of diſpenſation in the perſon of the weake and imperfect; and to ſhewe, that he diſliketh not them that come ſhort of his perfection.

Thus we ſee Pope *Nicholas* erred in a matter of faith, patronized hypocrites in their fained ſhewes of counterfeit perfection, and was diſliked and contraried by his owne ſucceſſor *Iohn* the two and twentieth for the ſame; by reaſon whereof there grew a maine difference betweene Pope *Iohn* and the *Franciſcan* Friers, he charging them with hereſie, and perſecuting them from place to place; and they likewiſe diſclaiming him, as a damnable heretique, and no Pope.

The principall men on the Friers part were [r] *Michael Cæſenas*, and [s] *Occham* the great Schoole-man, who hath written much againſt Pope *Iohn*, touching this argument.

[r] *Vid. litteras Michael. Cæſen. in fine Dialogor. Ockami.*

Neither is Pope *Iohn* (though in this point of Chriſtian perfection he were of a ſounder and better iudgement then his predeceſſor) any happier then he. For he is likewiſe charged with errour in matter of faith (and that not vniuſtly) by the ſame Friers, that he ſo much hated and perſecuted.

[s] *Ock. in opere 90. dierum & alibi.*

For (as *Occham* teſtifieth in his [t] Dialogues) he taught, that the ſoules of the iuſt ſhall not ſee God till the generall reſurrection; and that not faintly, or doubtingly, but in ſuch paſſionate and violent manner, as not to endure thoſe that thought otherwiſe.

[t] *2. partis tract. 1. in initio.*

[u] *Gerſon* likewiſe in his Sermon vpon Eaſter day, before the *French* King and his Nobles, ſayth, *That the theefe on the croſſe in that verie howre that Chriſt ſpake vnto him, was made happie, and ſawe God face to face, according to the promiſe of Chriſt made vnto him,* This daie ſhalt thou bee with mee in Paradice; *and that thereby the doctrine*

[u] *Part 4. operis eius.* With *Gerſon* agreeth *Adrian. 6. in qu. de Confirmat. circa finem.*

doctrine of Iohn *the two and twentieth is proued falſe, that was condemned by the Diuines of* Paris, *with the ſound of trumpets, before King* Philip, *vncle to the King before whom then he ſpake; the King rather beleeuing the Diuines of* Paris, *then the Court of* Rome. [x] *Bellarmine*, to deriue the hate of this matter from the Pope to others, would willingly faſten this errour on *Caluine*, and to that purpoſe alleageth [y] two places out of him. But neither of them proueth any ſuch thing. For in the firſt, he ſpeaketh not of any ſtay of the Saints departed without, in outward courts, out of heauen till the reſurrection (as the Cardinall ſtrangely miſ-underſtandeth him) but ſheweth by a moſt apt compariſon, that as in the time of *Moſes* Law, the high Prieſt onely entred into the Holieſt of all to make an attonement, and all the people ſtayed without: So none but Chriſt goeth into the preſence of God, to make peace, and to worke the great worke of reconciliation; and that all the ſonnes of men are to expect without, till he bring them aſſurance of fauour and acceptation. And in the ſecond place where he ſaith, that the dead are ioyned with vs that liue, in the vnitie of the ſame faith, his meaning is not, that faith oppoſite to ſight is found in the Saints after death, as it is in vs, but that they haue a cleare view, and preſent enioying of thoſe things which we beleeue. Neither is there any thing found in *Caluine*, that may any way excuſe the errour of Pope *Iohn*.

x *De Pontif. lib. 4. cap. 14.*

y *Inſtit. lib. 3. cap. 20. & 24.*

Thus then (I hope) it doth appeare, by that which hath beene ſayde, that Popes are ſubiect to errour, that they may become heretiques, and define for hereſie, and that therefore the ſecond ſuppoſed priuiledge of the *Romane* Biſhop, which is infallibilitie of iudgement, is found to haue no proofe at all. Wherefore let vs proceede to the third, which is his power to diſpoſe of the kingdomes of the world, and to ouer-rule the princes and potentates thereof.

CHAP.

Chap. 44.

Of the Popes vniuſt claime of temporall dominion ouer the whole world.

TOuching the right and intereſt of Popes in intermedling with ſecular affaires, and diſpoſing the kingdomes of the world, there are three opinions among the *Romaniſts*. The [a] first is, that the Pope is ſoueraigne Lord of all the world, or at leaſt of all the Chriſtian world; and that the Princes of the earth are but his vicegerents and Lieutenants. The [b] ſecond, that the Pope is not ſoueraigne Lord of the world, nor of any part thereof: and that therefore he may not at his pleaſure intermeddle with the affaires of princes, but onely in caſe of ſome defect found in them, as when they faile to doe their dutie, or ſeeke to hinder the common good, eſpecially of the Church. The [c] third, that he may not at all intermeddle with the diſpoſition of earthly kingdomes, or reſtraine, or depoſe Princes, how much ſo euer they abuſe their authoritie.

a *Auguſt. Triumphus. Alvarus, Pelagius & alij citati à Bellarmino.*

b *Bellarmin. & alij.*

c *Waldenſis, Gerſon, Hart,* & many other cited in the examination of *Blackwell.*

The firſt of theſe three opinions had anciently, and hath preſently great patrons and followers. Yet [d] *Bellarmine* very confidently and learnedly refuteth the ſame. Firſt, ſhewing that the Pope is not ſoueraigne Lord of the whole world. Secondly, that he is not Lord of the Chriſtian world. And thirdly, that he is Lord of no part of the world. That he is not Lord of the whole world, he proueth, becauſe not of thoſe prouinces that are poſſeſſed by infidels, which he demonſtrateth. Firſt, becauſe Chriſt committed none, but onely his ſheepe to *Peter*; and therefore gaue him no authoritie ouer infidels which are not his ſheepe; whereunto Saint *Paul* agreeth, profeſſing, that [e] *he hath nothing to doe to iudge them that are without.* Secondly, becauſe dominion and the right of princes, is not founded in grace or faith, but in free will and reaſon, and hath not ſprung from the written law of *Moſes* or Chriſt, but from the law of nations and nature. Which is moſt cleare, in that God both in the old and new Teſtament approueth the kingdomes of the Gentiles and infidels, as appeareth by that of *Daniel* to *Nebuchadnezzar*: [f] *O King, thou art king of kings. For the God of heauen hath giuen thee a kingdome, power, and ſtrength, and glorie, and in all places, where the children of men dwell, the beaſts of the field, and the fowles of the heauen, hath he giuen into thine hand, and hath made thee a ruler ouer them all.* And that of Chriſt, [g] *Giue vnto* Cæſar *the things that are* Cæſars. With whom the Apoſtle agreeth, requiring the Chriſtians of his time, not onely to pay tribute to heathen kings, but alſo to [h] *obey them for conſcience ſake*; which men were not bound to do, if they had no authoritie and right to command.

d *De Pontif. lib. 5. cap. 2. 3. & 4.*

e 1. Cor. 5. 12.

f Dan. 2. 37.

g Math. 22. 21.

h Rom. 13. 5.

Neither can it be ſayd, that heathen princes are the Popes Lieutenants, and

and therefore to be obeyed for his ſake, though not for their owne, ſeeing the Pope would haue no ſuch Lieutenants, if it lay in him to place them or diſplace them.

Laſtly hee proueth, that the Pope hath no ſuch ſoueraigne right of commanding ouer all, as is pretended, ſeeing it had beene vayne for Chriſt to giue him a right to that, whereof he ſhould neuer get the poſſeſſion. And hauing thus proued, that Infidels were truly and rightly Lords of the countries ſubiect to them before the comming of Chriſt, that he found no nullitie in their titles, nor euer ſeized their kingdomes and dominions into his owne hands, as ſome fondly imagine that he did, hee proceedeth to proue, that Princes when they become Chriſtians, loſe not the right that they formerly had to their kingdomes, but get a newe right to the kingdome of heauen. For that otherwiſe Chriſts grace ſhould deſtroy nature, and his benefit be preiudiciall to ſuch as are made partakers of them. Whereas Chriſt came not to deſtroy and ouerthrowe things well ſetled before, but to perfect them: nor to hurt any, but to do good to all.

For confirmation whereof he alleageth part of the Hymne of *Sedulius*, which the whole church doth ſing, *Hoſtis* Herodes *impie, Chriſtum venire quid times? Non eripit mortalia, Qui regna dat cœleſtia*; that is, O impious enemie *Herod*, why doeſt thou feare Chriſts comming? He will not depriue thee of thy tranſitorie kingdome vpon earth, that giues an eternall kingdome in heauen. Whence it followeth, that Chriſt impoſed no ſuch hard condition on thoſe kings that were to become Chriſtians, as to leaue their crownes and dignities. And ſo he commeth to his ſecond propoſition, that the Pope is not temporall Lord of the Chriſtian world, which he confirmeth.

Firſt, becauſe if the Pope were ſoueraigne Lord of all the Chriſtian world, Biſhops ſhould be temporall Lords of their cities, and the places adioyning ſubiect to them. Which neither they will graunt, that contend for the ſoueraigntie of the Pope, nor can ſtand with that of Saint [i] *Ambroſe*, who ſayth, *If the Emperour aske tribute, we denie it him not. The Church lands do pay tribute.* And againe, *Tribute is* Cæſars, *it is not denied him, but the Church is Gods, and may not be yeelded to* Cæſar.

And that of *Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba*, who (as we reade in [k] *Athanaſius*) telleth the Emperour, that God hath giuen him the Empire, but that he hath committed to Biſhops, thoſe things that pertaine to the Church.

Secondly, out of the confeſſion of Popes, Pope *Leo* confeſſing, that *Martianus* the Emperour, was appointed to the Empire by God, and that God was the author of his Empire: And [m] *Gelaſius* writing to *Anaſtaſius* the Emperour, and acknowledging that there are two things by which

i *Ambro. in Oratione de tradent. Baſilicis.*

k *In epiſt. ad ſolitariam vitam agentes.*

l *Leo epiſt. ad Martian. 38. & 43.*

m *Epiſt. ad Anaſtaſ. quæ habetur. Diſt. 96. Ca. Duo ſunt.*

which principallie the world is guided, to wit, the ſacred authoritie of Biſhops, and the regall power of Princes; with whom *Gregorie* agreeth when he ſaith, [n] *Power ouer all is giuen from heauen to the pietie of my Lord.* And from hence he inferreth his third propoſition, that the Pope is temporall Lord of no part of the world, in the right of *Peters* ſucceſſour, and Chriſts Vicar.

n Greg. lib. 2. epiſt. 61 ad Mauritium.

For, if there were no nullitie in the titles of infidell kings and princes, nor no neceſſitie implied in their conuerſion, of relinquiſhing their right when they became Chriſtians, but that both infidels and Chriſtians, notwithſtanding any act of Chriſt, continued in the full poſſeſſion of princely power and right, it could not be, that Chriſt ſhould inueſt *Peter*, or his ſucceſſors, with any kingly authoritie, ſeeing he could giue them none, but ſuch as he ſhould take from others.

Nay, he proceedeth farther, and ſheweth, that Chriſt himſelfe, while he was on the earth, was no temporall Lord or King, and therefore much leſſe gaue any temporall dominion or kingdome to his Apoſtles.

That he was no temporall king, he proueth, becauſe the right to be a King or Lord in ſuch ſort as men are Kings or Lords, is either by inheritance, election, conqueſt, or ſpeciall donation and gift of almightie God.

Now that Chriſt according to the fleſh, was a king by right of inheritance, he ſaith, it cannot be proued, becauſe though he came of the kingly familie, yet it is vncertaine whether he were the next in bloud to *Dauid* or not. And beſides, the kingdome was taken away from *Dauids* houſe, before Chriſt was borne; and God had foretold, that the houſe of *Ieconiah*, of which Chriſt came (as we may reade in the [o] firſt of Saint *Matthew*) there ſhould neuer be any temporall King ſuch as *Dauid*, and the reſt that ſucceeded him were, ſaying; [p] *Write this man barren, a man that ſhall not proſper in his dayes; for there ſhall be no man of his ſeede to ſit vpon the throne of* Dauid, *and to haue power any more in* Iudah. And whereas it might be obiected, that the Angell prophecied, that [q] *the Lord God ſhould giue vnto Chriſt, the ſeate of* Dauid *his father*, the Cardinall anſwereth out of *Hierome* vpon the place of *Hieremie*, and *Ambroſe* vpon *Luke*, that the words of almightie God which we reade in *Hieremie*, are to be vnderſtood of a temporall kingdome, and the words of the Angell of a ſpirituall and eternall kingdome.

o Verſ. 12.

p Ierem. 22. 30.

q Luk. 1. 32.

That Chriſt was not a temporall King by right of election, he proueth by that of Chriſt himſelfe, when he ſaith; [r] *O man, who hath made me a iudge, or a deuider among you.* And by that of Saint *Iohn*, where he ſaith, that [ſ] *When Chriſt knew they meant to come, and take him, and make him a King, he fled againe himſelfe alone into a mountaine.* So that he neither was choſen, nor would haue accepted of any ſuch choiſe.

r Luk. 12. 14.

ſ Ioh. 6. 15.

That

That by right of conqueſt and victorie hee was not a temporall king, it appeareth, in that his warre was not with mortall Kings, to depriue them of their kingdomes, but with the prince of darkneſſe, according to that of the Apoſtle: t *To this purpoſe did the Sonne of God appeare, that he might diſſolue the workes of the Diuell.* And that againe, u *Now is the Prince of this world caſt out.* And that of Saint *Paule*, who ſpeaking of Chriſt, ſaith, x *That ſpoyling principalities and powers, he made a ſhewe of them openly, triumphing ouer them in himſelfe.*

t 1.Ioh.3.8.
u Ioh.12.31.
x Coloſ.2.15.

So that his warfare was not, by carnall weapons to get himſelfe an earthly kingdome, but by ſpirituall weapons, mighty through God, to get a ſpirituall kingdome, that he might reigne in the hearts of men, by faith and grace, where Sathan reigned before by infidelitie, diſobedience and ſinne.

Laſtly, that he was no temporall king by any ſpeciall gift of God his Father, it is euident out of his owne words, when he ſaith, y *My kingdome is not hence:* For as the z Fathers note vpon theſe words, Chriſt meant by ſo ſaying, to put *Pilate* out of doubt, that he affected no temporall kingdome. And therefore the ſence of his words, muſt needes be this, I am a King, but not in ſuch ſort, as *Cæſar* and *Herod: My kingdome is not of this world*; that is, The ſupports of it, are not things of this world, it doth not conſiſt in honour, riches, and power of this world.

y Ioh.18.36.
z *Chryſoſtom. Theophylact. Cyrill, & Auguſt. in hunc locum. Ambroſ.lib.3.in Lucam, prope finem.*

This thing the Cardinall farther proueth to be true, becauſe he came to miniſter, and not to be miniſtred vnto; to be iudged, and not to iudge: and by his whole courſe of conuerſation, ſhewed the ſame, neuer taking on him to do any kingly act. For whereas he caſt out the buyers and ſellers out of the Temple, it rather pertained to the Prieſts office, then the kings, according to that, which we reade in the old Teſtament, that the a Prieſt draue the king himſelfe out of the Temple, when diſorderly he preſumed to do things not pertaining to him; and yet he did it not by any princely or kingly authoritie, but after the manner of Prophets, by a kind of diuine zeale, like that wherewith b *Phinehees* was moued to kill the adulterer and adultereſſe, and c *Elias* to ſlay the Prophets of *Baal*.

a 2.Chron.26.20.
b Num.25.7.
c 1.King.18.40.

This moſt true opinion of the Cardinall, that Chriſt was no temporall king, is farther confirmed, in that ſuch a kind of kingdome had not bene neceſſarie. Nay, it had beene an hinderance to the worke he had in hand, which was to perſwade to the contempt of glorie, honour, riches, pleaſures, and all ſuch other earthly things, wherewith the Kings of the earth abound; and by ſuffering death, to ouercome him that had the power of death; and to reconcile the world vnto God.

And beſides, in that all the places, where any mention is made of the king-

kingdome of Christ, are necessarily vnderstood of a spirituall and eternall kingdome. So in the Psalme, [d] *I am appointed of him a King, to preach his commandement.* And againe, in the booke of *Daniel*; [e] *In their dayes shall God raise vp a Kingdome, which shall not be destroyed for euer. And of his kingdome there shall be none end.* Whereas the kingdomes of men, continue but for a time: and therefore if Christ had beene a king in such sort, while he was vpon the earth, as men are, he had ceased to be so, when he left the earth. And then it could not haue beene true, that of his kingdome there should be none end. Nay, seeing the kingdome of the Iewes was possessed by the *Romanes*, at, or immediatly after the time of the departure of Christ out of the world, and afterwards by the *Saracens*, and *Turkes*; how could that of *Daniel* haue beene fulfilled, that his kingdome shall not be giuen to another people, if his kingdome had bene like the kingdomes of men? So it is true, that Christ came into the world to be a King, and that God gaue him the seate of *Dauid* his father. But this kingdome was diuine, spirituall, eternall, and proper vnto him, in that he was the Sonne of God, and in that he was God and man. But a temporall kingdome, such as the sonnes of men haue, he had not.

d Psal. 2.

e Dan. 2 44.

And hereupon Saint *Augustine* bringeth in Christ speaking in this sort. [f] *Audite Iudæi & Gentes, audi circumcisio, audi præputium, audite omnia regna terrena, non impedio dominationem vestram in hoc mundo, &c.* that is, Heare O *Iewes* and *Gentiles*, heare circumcision, and vncircumcision, heare all yee kingdomes of the earth, I hinder not your dominion and rule in this world, because my kingdome is not of this world. Feare not therefore with that most vaine and causeless feare, wherewith *Herod* feared, and slue so many innocent babes, being cruell, rather out of feare then anger; and so forward: shewing that the kingdome of Christ is meerely spirituall, and such as no way preiudiceth the kingdomes of men.

f *Aug. in 19. Ioann.*

Which the [g] Gloss confirmeth, noting that Christ, while he was yet to liue longer in this world, when the multitudes came to make him a King, refused it: but that when he was readie to suffer, he no way reproued, but willingly accepted the hymnes of them, that receiued him in triumphant manner, and welcomed him to *Hierusalem*, honouring him as a King; because hee was a King, not hauing a temporall and earthly kingdome, but an heauenly.

g *Gloss. super illud Matth. 21. Benedictus qui venit.*

Whereunto *Leo* agreeth, shewing that *Herod*, when he heard a Prince was borne to the *Iewes*, feared a successour; but that his feare was vaine and causeless, saying, [h] *O Caca stultæ amulationis impietas, quæ perturbandum putas diuinum tuo furore consilium! Dominus mundi temporale non querit regnum, qui præstat æternum*; that is, O blinde impietie of fooliſh emulation,

h *Leo. serm. de Epiphania.*

mulation! which thinkeſt to trouble and hinder the counſels of God, by thy furie.

The Lord of the world, who giueth an eternall kingdome, came not in-
Fulgent. ſerm. de Epiphania. the world, to ſeeke a temporall kingdome. And [i] *Fulgentius* accordeth with him, ſaying, *The gold, which the ſages offered to Chriſt, ſhewed him to be a King, but not ſuch a King as will haue his image and ſuperſcription in the coyne, but ſuch an one as ſeeketh his image in the ſonnes of men.* Whence it followeth, he was no temporall or mundane king: ſeeing they haue their images and ſuperſcriptions in their coyne, that are kings after the manner of the world. This aſſertion may be proued by many vnanſwerable reaſons.

The firſt is this, Chriſt ſtanding before *Pilate*, and being asked by him
k Ioh. 18. 36. if he were a King, anſwered [k] *That his kingdome was not of this world.* Therfore he was no temporall or mundane king. This conſequence ſome denie, affirming, that Chriſt intended not in his anſwer to *Pilate*, to deny his kingdome to be a temporall, earthly, and mundane kingdome, but that he meant onely to let him know, that he had receiued his kingdome of God, and that the world neither gaue it him, nor choſe him to it. And therefore he ſayd, *Regnum meum non eſt hinc*, and not *Regnum meum non eſt hic*; that is, My kingdome is not hence, and not, my kingdome is not here.

l *Ockam. operis 90. dierum, cap. 93.* This was the euaſion of Pope *Iohn* the two and twentieth (as [l] *Occham* teſtifieth) but he refuteth the ſame by moſt cleare circumſtances of Scripture, and euidence of reaſon, ſhewing, that Chriſt being accuſed vnto *Pilate* as an enemie to *Cæſar*, in that he made himſelfe a king, ſo cleared himſelfe, that *Pilate* pronounced that hee found nothing againſt him; which he could not, nor he would not haue done, if hee had confeſſed his kingdome to be a mundane kingdome, though he had deriued the right and title of it from heauen.

For *Cæſar* would not haue endured any claime of ſuch a kingdome, though fetched from heauen. Neither durſt *Pilate* haue pronounced him guiltleſſe, that had made ſuch a claime; and therefore Chriſt, when he ſayde, his kingdome was not of this world, meant not onely to denie the receiuing of it from the world, but alſo the dependance of it vpon any thing in the world: the ſupports of it not beeing things earthly, but heauenly and diuine; it no way conſiſting in riches, honour, power, and worldly greatneſſe, as do the kingdomes of men, but in the power of God. Which thing is aptly expreſſed by Chriſt himſelfe, when he
m Ioh. 18. 36. ſaith, [m] *If my kingdome were of this world, my ſouldiers would fight for me.*

The ſecond reaſon is this. He that is no iudge of ſecular quarrels, nor diuider of inheritance, is no king. For theſe things belong to the office of a king. But Chriſt was no iudge of ſuch quarrels, and differences; therefore hee was no king. That he was no iudge of ſecular quarrels, nor

diuider

deuider of inheritances, it is euident by his owne [n] deniall thereof. Which Saint *Ambroſe* excellently expreſſeth, ſaying; [o] *Benè terrena declinat, qui propter diuina deſcenderat; nec iudex dignatur eſſe litium, & arbiter facultatum, viuorum habens mortuorumq; iudicium, & arbitrium meritorum:* that is; He doth well decline things earthly, who deſcended and came downe for things diuine. Neither doth he vouchſafe to be a iudge of quarrels, and an arbitrator to determine the differences of men about their poſſeſſions, who is appointed to be iudge of the quicke and dead, and to whom it pertaineth to diſcerne betweene the well and ill doings of men. And againe; *Meritò refutatur ille frater, qui diſpenſatorem cœleſtium geſtiebat terrenis occupare:* that is; That brother is worthily reiected, and hath the repulſe, who ſought to buſie him whom God hath appointed the diſpoſer of things heauenly, with things that are earthly.

n Luk. 12. 14.

o *Ambroſ. in eum locum.*

The third is, becauſe Chriſt refuſed to be a King when it was offered him, and told his diſciples, that [p] *The kings of the nations haue dominion ouer them, and they that are great, exerciſe authoritie. But that it ſhould not be ſo with them, but that whoſoeuer would be great among them, muſt be their miniſter.*

p Math. 20. 25.

The fourth; he that is a King and will neuer meddle with the things that belong to a King, is iuſtly to be charged either with wickednes, or negligence. But Chriſt neuer medled with any thing pertaining to the office of a temporall king in this world; therefore either he was no ſuch king, or he may bee charged with malice or negligence. But neither of theſe two latter may be admitted; therefore he was no ſuch king.

The fifth; there cannot be two kings of one kingdome, vnleſſe either they hold the ſame ioyntly, or the one acknowledge to hold the ſame, as of and from the other. But *Cæſar* and Chriſt, neither held the kingdome of *Iudæa* ioyntly, neither did *Cæſar* hold it as from Chriſt, nor Chriſt as from *Cæſar*. Therefore either *Cæſar* was no true king, or Chriſt was no ſecular king of that kingdome. But that *Cæſar* was a true king, it appeareth by the teſtimonie of Chriſt himſelfe, ſaying; [q] *Giue*, or rather *render*, *to* Cæſar *the things that are* Cæſars.

q Math. 22. 21.

Now *Cæſar* claimed tribute as Lord of the countrey, and therefore hee was truly Lord and King of it. That *Cæſar* held not of or from Chriſt as man, it is euident; and much more, that Chriſt, who wholly refuſed to be a king, did neuer acknowledge to hold any kingdome from mortall man.

The ſixth, that was the kingdome of Chriſt whereof the Prophets propheſied: But they propheſied not of any earthly kingdome; therefore Chriſts kingdom was not earthly. That they propheſied not of any earthly kingdome, it is euident, in that the kingdome they propheſied of, was to be confirmed and reſtored by him: but the earthly kingdome of *Iudæa* was not confirmed by the cõming of Chriſt, but vpon the refuſall of him vtterly ouerthrowne; therfore it was not that the Prophets propheſied of.

That the kingdome they prophecied of, was to be confirmed, reſtored and bettered, the words of the Prophets are proofe ſufficient. [r] *Behold the day commeth (ſaith the Lord) and I will raiſe vp vnto* Dauid *a righteous branch, and a king ſhall reigne, and he ſhall be wiſe, and ſhall do iudgement and iuſtice in the earth. In thoſe dayes* Iudah *ſhall be ſaued, and* Iſrael *ſhall dwell boldly. And this is the name that they ſhall call him by: The Lord our righteouſneſſe.* And againe, [s] *A little child is borne vnto vs, and the principalitie or rule is on his ſhoulders. His name ſhall be called wonderfull, the mightie God, Father of the world to come, the Prince of peace, the increaſe of his gouernement and peace ſhall haue none end. He ſhall ſit vpon the throne of* Dauid, *and vpon his kingdome to order, and to eſtabliſh it with iudgement, and with iuſtice from henceforth euen for euer.*

[r] Ieſem. 23. 5, &c.

[s] Eſay 9. 6.

Now that the kingdome of *Iudea* was not eſtabliſhed, but vtterly ouerthrowne immediatly after Chriſts departure hence, vpon and for the refuſall of him, the words of Chriſt foretelling it, and the euent of things anſwering vnto his prediction, are proofe ſufficient. [t] *The dayes ſhall come vpon thee (* ſaith Chriſt to *Hieruſalem*, the chiefe citie of that kingdome) *that thine enemies ſhall caſt a trench about thee, and hold thee in ſtraight on euerie ſide, they ſhall caſt thee to the earth, and thy children that are in thee, and ſhall not leaue a ſtone vpon a ſtone, becauſe thou kneweſt not the time of thy viſitation.* Thus we ſee it ſtrongly proued, that [u] Chriſt himſelfe was no temporall or earthly king, and therefore much leſſe *Peter* or the Pope, that pretendeth to be Chriſts Vicar, and *Peters* ſucceſſour. Notwithſtanding, they that are otherwiſe minded, endeuor to proue, that Chriſt was a temporall king, and that hee left a kingly power to *Peter* and his ſucceſſours. Firſt, out of Scripture ſtrangely wreſted. Secondly, out of the teſtimonies of Popes. (For better authorities they haue none.) The principall text of Scripture which they alleage, is in the Goſpell of Saint *Matthew*, where our Sauiour ſaith, [x] *All power is giuen me in heauen and in earth.*

[t] Luk. 19. 43.

[u] To which purpoſe ſee *Waldenſ. Doctr. Fid. lib. 2. art. 3. cap. 76 & 77.*

[x] Math. 28. 18.

But [y] *Bellarmine* telleth them, and the beſt Diuines agree with him, that that place is not to be vnderſtood of a temporall powes, ſuch as earthly kings haue, but either of a ſpirituall, whereby Chriſt ſo reigneth in earth, in the hearts of men by faith, as he doth in heauen in the preſence of his glorie among the Angels; or a diuine power ouer all creatures, not communicable to mortall men. The former of theſe interpretations the Author of the Interlineall Gloſſe followeth, the latter *Lyra* vpon this place: his words are; *Licèt Chriſtus, quantum ad diuinitatem ab æterno haberet hanc poteſtatem, & in quantum homo, ab inſtanti conceptionis, haberet poteſtatem in cœlo, & in terra, authoritatiuè, tamen executiuè non habuit ante reſurrectionem ſuam, ſed voluit eſſe paſſibilitati ſubiectus propter noſtram redemptionem*; that is, Although Chriſt, in that he was God, had this power from all eternitie, and in that he was man, had power both in heauen and in earth,

[y] De Pontif. l. 5. cap. 5.

earth, from the first moment of his conception in respect of authoritie, yet in respect of the execution and performance of the acts of it, he had it not before his resurrection, but was pleased to bee subiect to passibilitie for our redemption.

Let vs come therefore from the Scripture to the testimonies of latter Popes; for Fathers, ancient Councels, or ancient Bishops of *Rome*, they haue none to speake for them. The first Pope that they alleage, is Pope *Nicholas*, in a certaine [z] Epistle of his, where he saith (as they tell vs) that Christ committed and gaue vnto blessed *Peter*, the Key-bearer of eternall life, the rights both of the earthly and the heauenly Empire. To this authoritie first we answer, that Pope *Nicholas* hath no such words in any Epistle; howsoeuer *Gratian*, who citeth them as the words of *Nicholas*, mistook the matter. Secondly, that supposing the words to be the words of *Nicholas*, his meaning may be, that the spiritual power of binding & loosing, which Christ left to *Peter*, is not onely of force in earth, but in heauen also, that being bound in heauen that is bound on earth, and they being repulsed from the throne of grace in heauen, and excluded from Gods fauours, that are reiected from the holy Altars, and put from the Sacraments of the Church. Whereupon [a] *Chrysostome* saith, that the power of the Church directeth and commandeth the very Tribunall of heauen, and addeth, that heauen taketh authoritie of iudging from the earth: For that the Iudge sitteth on earth, and the Lord followeth the sentence of his seruants, according to that of Christ, [b] *Whatsoeuer you shal bind on earth, shall be bound in heauen.*

z *Epist. Nicolai citat. à Gratian. Dist. 22. Cá. Omnes.*]

a *Homil. 5. de verb. Esaiæ. Vidi Dominum.*

b Math. 16. 19.

Others expound the supposed words of Pope *Nicholas* of the spirituall power of *Peter* ouer the good and bad in the visible church, the good being named the kingdome of heauen, and the bad an earthly kingdome or company. But howsoeuer, it is most certaine, that Pope *Nicholas* in his Epistle to *Michael* the Emperour, hath the cleane contrary to that which some would charge him with. For there he sheweth that howsoeuer before Christ, some were both kings and priests, as was *Melchisedeck*, and as likewise some other among the *Pagans* were, yet after Christ none were so. Neither did the Emperour take vnto him the rights of the chiefe Priesthood, nor the chiefe Priest the name of the Emperour. *Sed mediator Dei & hominum, homo Christus, sic actibus proprijs & dignitatibus distinctis, officia potestatis vtriusque discreuit, vt & Christiani Imperatores pro æterna vita pontificibus indigerent, & Pontifices pro cursu temporalium tantummodò rerum Imperialibus legibus vterentur*; that is: But the Mediator of God and men, the man Christ, did so distinguish and seuer the duties and offices of either of these kinds of power by their proper actions, and distinct dignities, that both Christian Emperours should stand in neede of Bishops, for the attaining of eternall life; and that Bishops should vse the lawes of Emperors, for the course of temporall things onely: that so both

the ſpirituall action and employment might bee free from carnall turmoiles, and that he who goeth on warfare vnto God, might not at all be entangled with ſecular buſineſſes: and that on the other ſide, he might not ſeeme to be ſet ouer the things that are diuine, whom the buſineſſes of this world ſhould poſſeſſe: that both the modeſtie of each of theſe orders and degrees might be preſerued; and that alſo, no one hauing both theſe kinds of power ſhould be lifted vp too high.

The next authoritie is that of *Bonifacius* the eighth, who hath theſe words (ſpeaking of the Church, which is one, and whereof he ſuppoſeth the Biſhop of *Rome* to be the head:) [c] *We are inſtructed by the Euangelicall ſayings, that in this Church, and in the power of it there are two ſwords, to wit, a ſpirituall & a temporal. For when the Apoſtles ſaid, Behold here are two ſwords, to wit, in the Church (becauſe they were the Apoſtles that ſpake) the Lord did not anſwer that it was too much, but that it was enough; and therefore ſurely, whoſoeuer denieth the temporall ſword to be in the power of* Peter, *ſeemeth not well to conſider the word of the Lord commanding him to ſheath his ſword.*

c Bonifac. 8 in extrauagant. vnam Sanctam. de Maioritate & obedientiâ.

The anſwer vnto this authoritie is eaſie. For *Bonifacius* (as [d] *Duarenus* noteth) was a vaine, buſie, turbulent, arrogant, and proude man, preſuming aboue that which was fit, and challenging that which no way pertained vnto him; and therefore we may iuſtly reiect both him, and his ſayings. But for the words of our Sauiour it is euident, that they proue no ſuch thing, as this Pope would inforce out of them. *Some* (ſaith [e] *Maldonatus*) *from theſe words would proue, that the Church hath two ſwords, the one ſpirituall, the other temporall; which, whether it haue or haue not, cannot be proued out of this place, where other ſwords are meant, then either of Ciuill or Eccleſiaſticall authoritie. Our Sauiour telleth his Diſciples, the times approaching will be ſuch, as that a man had need for his owne defence to ſell his coate to buy him a ſword. Whereupon the Diſciples ſuppoſing they ſhould vſe materiall ſwords in their owne defence, anſwer, that they haue two ſwords. To whom Chriſt replieth, that it is enough; not confirming their erring opinion, but anſwering them Ironically, as* Theophylact *and* Euthymius *thinke. Or otherwiſe letting them vnderſtand, that though the times would be ſuch, as that many ſwords would not ſuffice to defend them, yet that theſe two were enough, becauſe he meant to vſe none at all, but to ſuffer all that the malice of his enemies could do vnto him.*

d Duaren. de Sacr. Eccleſ. Miniſt. & Benef. lib. 7. cap. 10.

e In 22. Luce.

This, *Maldonatus* deliuereth, to be the literall ſence of Chriſts words, and ſheweth a myſticall ſence of them alſo out of *Beda*, much more apt then that of *Bonifacius*. *Duo gladij* (ſaith *Beda*) *ſufficiunt ad teſtimonium ſponte paſſi Saluatoris. Vnus, qui & Apoſtolis audaciam pro Domino certandi; & euulſâ ictu eius auriculâ, Domino etiam morituro pietatem virtutemq; doceret ineſſe medicandi. Alter, qui nequaquam vaginâ exemptus, oſtenderet eos nec totũ, quod potuere, pro eius defenſione facere permiſſos:* that is: Two ſwords are ſufficient to giue teſtimonie vnto our Sauiour, that he ſuffered willingly:

The

The one of which might ſhew, that the Apoſtles wanted no courage to fight for their maiſter: and by the eare that was cut off by the ſtroke thereof, and healed againe by the Lord; that he wanted neither piety to compaſſionate the miſerable, nor vertue and power to make him whole that was hurt, though now he were ready to dye. And the other, which neuer was drawne out of the ſheath, might ſhew, that they were not permitted to do all that they could haue done in his defence.

It is not to be denyed but that Saint [f] *Bernard* myſtically expounding the words of Chriſt, ſaith; the Church hath two ſwords of authority. But hee thinketh it hath them in very different ſort. For it hath the vſe of the one, and the benefite of the other. The one is to be drawne by it, the other for it. So that this is all that he ſaith, that the ſword of ciuill authority is to be vſed by the Souldiers hand, at the command of the Emperour, by the direction, and at the ſuit of the Church. From *Bonifacius*, they paſſe to [g] *Innocentius* the third, who in the vacancy of the Empire, willed thoſe that were wronged in their rightfull cauſes, to haue recourſe either to ſome Biſhop, or to himſelfe: And *Clemens* the fifth, who [h] profeſſeth to intermeddle with certaine ſecular buſineſſes and affaires, and to determine certaine ciuill cauſes vpon three ſeuerall grounds. Whereof the firſt is, his greatneſſe, making him ſuperior to the Emperour. The ſecond, his being in ſteed of the Emperour, in the vacancy of the Empire. And the third, the fulneſſe of power, which Chriſt the King of Kings and Lord of Lords gaue vnto *Peter*, and in him to his ſucceſſours. Whatſoeuer we thinke of the former of theſe two Popes, who ſeemeth to ground his intermedling in ciuill affaires vpon ſome law of the Empire, and conceſſion of ciuill Princes, accordingly as we reade of [i] *Theodoſius*, that he permitted any Lay-men hauing ciuill differences among themſelues, to referre the ſame to Eccleſiaſticall Iudges if they liſted. (Which conceſſion proceeding *ex pietate*, not *ex debito*, that is, out of piety, and not out of any right or neceſſity that it muſt be ſo, is long ſince growne out of vſe; the ſtate of Church-men being much changed from that it was, when he granted them that priuiledge as [k] *Duarenus* ſheweth.) Yet Pope *Clemens* can by no meanes be excuſed from hereticall impiety, affirming that which is moſt vntrue, as may appeare by the manifold reaſõs brought before to proue the contrary; nor from Antichriſtian pride, in ſeeking to treade vnderneath his feet, the crownes and dignities of Kings and Princes, and to liſt himſelfe vp aboue all that is called God.

f *Lib. 4. de Conſider. ad Eugenium.*

g *Cap. Licet de foro competenti.*

h *Clementin. lib. 2. Tit 11. de Sententia & re iudicatâ.*

i *Decreti part. 2. cauſa 11. queſt. 1. ca. Quicunque.*

k *De Sacr. Eccl. Miniſt. & benef. lib. 1. cap. 2.*

Chap. 45.

Of the Popes vniuſt claime to intermeddle with the affaires of Princes and their ſtates, if not as ſoueraigne Lord ouer all, yet at leaſt in ordine ad ſpiritualia, *and in caſe of Princes failing to do their duties.*

THAT Chriſt was no earthly King, that he left no Kingly power to *Peter*, and that the Pope hath no meere temporal power, in that he is Chriſts Vicar, or *Peters* Succeſſor, it is moſt euident out of the former diſcourſe, & the Cardinall Ieſuite confeſſeth ſo much; and yet [a] he thinketh the Pope hath a ſupreme power to diſpoſe of all temporall ſtates and things, *in ordine ad bonum ſpirituale*, that is, in a kinde of reference to the procuring and ſetting forward of the ſpirituall good. But this fancy is moſt eaſily refuted by vnanſwerable reaſons preſuppoſing his former conceſſion.

a *Bellar. de Pont. Rom. li. 5. c. 6.*

For firſt, no man can take away, limit, or reſtraine any power, or the exerciſe of it, but he in whom it is in eminent ſort, and from whom it was receiued. But the ciuill power that is in Princes, is not in the Pope, neither did it proceede and come originally from him; therefore it cannot be reſtrained, limited, or taken away by him. The maior propoſition is euident: the aſſumption is proued, becauſe ciuill power is in heathen infidels, who no way hold of the Pope.

Secondly, becauſe it is agreed by all Diuines of worth and learning, that the ciuill power in the firſt originall of it, is immediatly frō God; or if not immediatly by his owne deliuery thereof, yet by no other mediation, then that of the law of nature and nations. [b] *The Emperours know* (ſaith *Tertullian*) *who gaue them the Empire, they know that it was euen the ſame God, who gaue vnto them to be men, and to haue humane ſoules. They well perceiue, that he onely is God, in whoſe onely power they are: à quo ſunt ſecundi, poſt quem primi, ante omnes & ſuper omnes Deos:* that is, After whom, they are in order the ſecond, but among all other the firſt, before and aboue all Gods. And againe, *Inde eſt Imperator, vnde & homo antequam Imperator; inde poteſtas illi, vnde & ſpiritus*: that is, From thence is the chiefe ruler and Emperour, whence he was a man before he was an Emperor; from thence hath he his power, from whence he receiued the ſpirit of life.

b *Ter. in Apol. aduerſus Gentes cap. 30.*

The Author of the anſwer to the Reports of a great and worthy Iudge among vs, who hath lately written in the defence of the Popes ouerſpreading greatneſſe, ſeemeth in part to agree with *Tertullian*, and telleth vs, [c] that ciuil power is receiued from God, not immediatly by his owne deliuery thereof, but mediatly rather by the mediation of the law of nature & nations. For by the law of nature God hath ordained that there ſhould be politicke gouernment, which the law of nations aſſuming, hath transferred

c *Anſ. to the Reports of ſir Ed. Cook. chap. 2. pag. 26.*

transferred that gouernmēt to one, or more, according to the diuers forms thereof. And *Occam* proueth at large, that Imperiall power is not from the Pope, and that it is hereticall to say, that all lawfull ciuill power is from the Pope. d *Dialog. lib. 2. tract. 2. part. 3. cap. 22.*

Our second reason is this: Absolute and soueraigne ciuill Princes while they were infidels, had true dominion, rule and authority, holding it as immediatly from God, not depending on any ruler of the Church, as hath bene shewed before. But when they become Christians, they still remaine in the same fulnesse of authority, in as ample and independent sort as before, because the benefite of Christ tendeth to no mans hurt, and grace ouerthroweth not nature: therfore still they remaine independent & subiect to none in the same power, & in the exercise of it. If they shall say, they are subiect to none while they vse their authority wel, but that if they abuse it, they lose the independent absoluteneſſe thereof; their saying will be fonnd to be hereticall. For if vpon abuse of independent authority, they that haue it, lose and forfeit it *ipso facto*, then authority and abuse of authority, or at least extreme abuse of it, cannot stand together; which is contrary to that of S. *Austine*, where hee saith: e *Nec tyrannicæ factionis peruersitas laudabilis erit, si regia clementia tyrannus subditos tractet, nec vituperabilis ordo regiæ potestatis, si Rex crudelitate tyrannicâ sæuiat: aliud est namque iniustâ potestate iuste velle vti, & aliud est iustâ potestate iniuste velle vti:* that is, Neither shal the peruersnesse of tyrānical vsurpation euer be praise worthy, though the tyrant vse his subiects with all Kingly clemency, nor the order of Kingly power euer be subiect to iust reprehēsion, though a king grow fierce and cruell like a tyrant. For it is one thing to vse an vnlawful power lawfully, & another thing to vse a lawful power vnrighteously and vniustly. e *Aug. de Bono Coniugali. cap. 14*

The third reason may be this. If God did giue to the Pope authority to depose Princes, erring and abusing their authority, he would giue them the meanes to execute that their authoritie reacheth vnto, to wit, ciuill greatnesse, armies of Souldiers, walled cities, towers, and strong holds, both for defence and offence, and all other thinges necessary for the putting downe of wicked Kinges. But the Pope as Christs Vicar hath none of these, neither was he at any time as a temporal Prince, the greatest monarch of the word, and so able to represse the insolencies of all hereticall, pagan, and wicked Kinges, hindering the peaceable proceeding of the Gospel of Christ: therfore he hath no such authority. For to say, that God giueth authority, and not the meanes whereby it may execute and performe that which pertaineth to it, is impious.

The onely meanes the Pope hath to depose Princes, are two; but neither of them within the compasse of his power to dispose of. The first, is the raising of subiects against their Prince. The second, is the raising of neighbour Princes. The former of these meanes is very defectiue, seeing as

(as [f] *Bellarmine* rightly obſerueth out of *Eccleſiaſticus*) [g] *Such as the ruler of the citty is, ſuch are they that dwell in it*: And therefore if the King bee an hereticke, the moſt part of his people will be ſo too, and rather aſſiſt him for the maintenance of his hereſie, then reſiſt againſt him for the ſuppreſſing of it. Which thing (as he ſaith) experience teacheth: For when [h] *Ieroboam* became an Idolater, the greateſt part of the kingdome worſhipped Idols. When *Conſtantine* reigned, Chriſtian Religion flouriſhed: When *Conſtantius* reigned, *Arrianiſme* preuailed, and ouerflowed all: When *Iulian* ſwayed the Scepter, the greateſt part returned to paganiſme. So that [i] *Ionian* being choſen after his death, refuſed to be Emperor, proteſting that being a Chriſtian, hee neither could, nor would bee Emperour ouer infidels. Whereupon they all profeſſed, that howſoeuer they had diſſembled before, yet they were ſtill in heart Chriſtians, and now would ſhew it againe. So that we ſee, the firſt meanes for the ſuppreſſing of erring Princes, is no meanes, or a very vncertaine one. And the ſecond is worſe then the firſt: For I neuer read in any Diuine, of what religion ſoeuer, that one King is bound to make warre vpon another, vpon the Popes command, for the ſuppreſſing of hereſie. And therefore the Pope may breath out excõmunications til he be breathleſſe, but can go no further by any meanes that God hath giuen him.

f *De Pontif. lib. 5. cap. 7.*
g *Eccluſ. 10. 7.*
h *1. King. 12. 30.*
i *Socrates, lib. 3. cap. 19.*

Fourthly, thus we reaſon. Either the power of the Pope is meerely Eccleſiaſticall and ſpirituall, or it is not. If it be not, then hath hee ciuill authority from Chriſt, which they deny. If it be, then can it inflict no puniſhments, but meerely ſpirituall, and Eccleſiaſticall. For of what nature each power is, of the ſame are the puniſhments it inflicteth. The temporall power inflicteth onely temporall, outward, and corporall puniſhments, as loſſe of goods, impriſonment, baniſhment, or death. The ſpirituall, onely ſpirituall, as ſuſpenſion, excommunication, and the like. Now I ſuppoſe the loſſe of a kingdome, with all the riches and honor of it, and captiuity, baniſhment, or death, vpon reſiſtance againſt the ſentence of depoſition, is a temporall and externall puniſhment, of the worſt nature, and higheſt degree that may be.

Laſtly, if ſoueraigne Kings may be put from their kingdomes, vpon abuſe of their authority, either they forfeit and loſe the right of them *ipſo facto*, & are depriued by almighty God: & then the Pope can but declare what God hath already done, as any man elſe may vpon perfect vnderſtanding of the caſe: or elſe other neighbour Kings, or their owne ſubiects are to depoſe them; and the Pope is onely to put them in minde of their duty, and as a ſpirituall paſtour to vrge them to the performance of it; and then he depoſeth them not, but they. Or laſtly, the power of aſſuming their authority to himſelfe, vpon their abuſe thereof, pertaineth vnto him: and then in ciuill authority hee is the greateſt and ouer all; which yet theſe men deny. For he that is to iudge of Princes actions, and

vpon

vpon diſlike, to limit, reſtraine, or wholly take their power from them, is ſupreme in that kinde of authority. And if he may take ciuill authority from other, and giue it to whom he pleaſeth, there is no queſtion but hee may giue it vnto himſelfe, and ſo hath power vpon all defects of Princes, to take into his owne hand that which formerly pertained to them, and to do the acts that were to be performed by them. Now as theſe reaſons ſtrongly proue, that the Pope cannot depoſe Princes in *ordine ad ſpiritualia*, ſo the weakneſſe of the reaſons brought to proue it, will much more confirme the ſame.

Their firſt reaſon is taken from the perfection and excellency of the Eccleſiaſticall or ſpirituall power, which they ſay is greater & farre more excellent then that which is ciuill.

Whereunto we anſwer with [k] *Waldenſis*, that though the ſpirituall power be ſimply more perfect and excellent then the ciuill, yet either of theſe in the performance of things pertaining to them, is greater then the other, and each of them independent of the other. *Ambroſe* was greater then *Theodoſius*, in reſpect of the adminiſtration of diuine thinges, and might either admit him to, or reiect him from the ſacraments. But *Theodoſius* in reſpect of all temporall things, was greater then he, and might command him, ſend him into baniſhment, or take away all that hee had. The Sun is more excellent then the Moone, & the influence thereof more powerfull; yet is there a kinde of influence vpon the waters, wherein the Moone is more excellent then the Sunne. In like ſort, the power which is ſpiritual, may do greater things then that which is temporall, and yet the temporall may do thoſe things the ſpirituall cannot do. And therefore it will not follow, that the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate, and the principall miniſters of the Church, may take vnto themſelues the authority of Kings, or take vpon them to do the things that pertaine to Kingly offices, becauſe they are greater in dignity, and haue a greater power; vnleſſe they had a greater dignity and power in the ſame kinde.

k *Doctrin fid li. 2. art. 3. cap. 8.*

Now they who moſt amplifie the greatneſſe of Eccleſiaſticall power, preferring it before the other which is ciuill, neuer make the greatneſſe of it to conſiſt, in that in ciuil affaires it may doe more then that; but in that it hath a more noble obiect, and more wonderfull effects. [l] *We alſo* (ſaith *Nazianzene*) *haue power and authority, and that farre more ample and excellent then that of ciuill Princes, inſomuch as it is fit the fleſh ſhould yeeld to the ſpirit, and thinges earthly to thinges heauenly.* [m] *Prieſthood* (ſaith *Chryſoſtome*) *is a Princedome, more honourable and great then a kingdome; tell not me of the purple, diademe, ſcepter, or golden apparell of Kings, for theſe are but ſhadowes, and more vaine then flowers at the ſpring time. If you will ſee the difference betweene them, and how much the King is inferior to the Prieſt, conſider the manner of the power deliuered to them both, and you ſhall ſee the Prieſts tribunall much higher then that of the*

l *Nazianz. orat. ad Ciues trepidantes.*

m *Chryſoſt. hom. 5. de verb. Eſaiæ Vidi Dominum.*

King, who hath receiued onely the administration of earthly thinges. But the Priests tribunal is placed in heauen, and he hath authority to pronounce sentence in heauenly affaires. And againe, [n] *Earthly Princes haue power to binde but our bodies onely, but the bands which Priests can lay vpon vs, doe touch the soule it selfe, and reach euen vnto the heauens, so farre forth, as that whatsoeuer Priests shall determine heere beneath, that God doth ratifie aboue in heauen, and confirme the sentence of his seruants vpon earth.*

n Homil. 4.

o Petrus Blesens. Epist. 146.

[o] When king *Richard* the first returning from the holy land, was taken and holden as a prisoner by Duke *Leopold* of *Austria*, and the Emperour *Henry* the sixth; Queene *Elenor* his mother, seeking all meanes to procure his deliuerance, among other thinges, wrote a letter to the Bishop of *Rome*, intreating him to interpose his authority. The words of her letter are these, expressing the passion and earnest desire of her heart.

This onely remaineth (ô Father) that you draw forth the sword of Peter *against malefactors; which sword, GOD hath appoynted to be ouer nations and kingdomes. The Crosse of Christ doth excell the Eagles that are in* Cæsars *Banners, the spirituall sword of* Peter *is of more power then was the temporall sword of* Constantine *the Emperour, and the Sea Apostolicke is more potent then any Imperiall power or authority: and I would aske whether your power bee of GOD, or of men? Did not the GOD of Gods speake to you in* Peter *the Apostle, saying: Whatsoeuer you shall binde vpon earth shall bee bound in heauen; and whatsoeuer you shall lose on earth shall bee loséd in heauen? and why then doe you so negligently, or rather cruelly delay, for a long time, to lose my sonne? or why dare you not doe it? Perhaps you will say, that the power giuen you by GOD, of binding and losing, is for soules, and not for bodyes. Let it bee so, truly it is sufficient for vs, if you will binde the soules of those that hold my sonnes body bound in prison.*

By all these sayings of them that most admired the excellency of Priesthood, it appeareth, that the excellency thereof aboue princely power is in respect of the obiect thereof, which is more noble; and the effects thereof, which are more wonderfull: and not in respect of greater power, authority and right to dispose of temporall affaires and businesses, either simply, or vpon any abuse or negligence of ciuill Princes. So that from hence it cannot be inferred, that the chiefe ministers of the Church may depose the Princes of the world.

p Lib. 2. de Sacrament. part. 2. cap. 4.

[p] *Hugo de sancto Victore* saith: There are two kindes of power, the one terrene, the head whereof is the King; the other spirituall, the head whereof is the Pope. To the Kings power those things pertaine that are terrene; to the Popes, those things that are spirituall: and looke how much the spirituall life is better then the earthly, so much doth the spirituall power excell the earthly in honour and dignity: For the spirituall power doth constitute the terrene power, that it may bee; and iudgeth it, whether

whether it proceede aright, or not. But it ſelfe was firſt inſtituted of GOD, and when it goeth aſide, can bee iudged of none but of God onely.

From hence (as q *Waldenſis* ſheweth) ſome men tooke an occaſion of errour, affirming, that the root of terrene power, doth ſo farre forth depend vpon the Pope, that by commiſſion from him, the execution of things pertaining thereunto, is deriued vnto the Prince; and that when the Prince goeth aſide, or faileth to doe his duty, the chiefe Biſhop may manage the ciuill affaires; becauſe, he ſaith, the ſpirituall power doth inſtitute the ciuill power, that it may be. q *Doctr. Fid. lib. 2. art. 3. cap. 78.*

But theſe men preſume too farre, and in ſo doing offend; becauſe the terrene power of Kings is not reduced into any other originally, as hauing authority ouer Kings, but vnto Chriſt onely: and yet notwithſtanding, as the Prieſt ioyneth the man and his wife in marriage, and bleſſeth them, that they may be man and wife, and ioyfull parents of happy children; and iudgeth afterwards, whether they performe the duties of marriage or not: So the chiefe Prieſt ſetteth the crowne vpon the head of the Emperour, annointeth him with holy oyle, taketh an oath of him for the defence of the Chriſtian faith and religion, putteth vpon him the royall robes, and thereby inueſteth him with royall power, and putteth him in poſſeſſion of his Imperiall ſtate and dignity.

But it is not to be imagined (ſaith *Waldenſis*) that the imperiall power is from the power of the Church, or dependeth of it, though certaine ſolemnities be vſed by Biſhops in the inauguration of Kings and Emperours; neither may the chiefe Miniſters of the Church any more challenge the diſpoſing or managing of ciuill affaires, vpon any defect or failing of ciuill Princes, then they may, the adminiſtation and diſpenſation of holy things, vpon the defect or failing of the Eccleſiaſticall Miniſters: Yet in caſe of neceſſity, either of theſe two ſtates may, and ought to helpe and ſuccour the other; not (as hee ſaith) *vt vtens poteſtate, ſed fraternitatis acceſſu:* that is, Not as hauing authority, or by vertue thereof preſuming to do any thing; but as one brother maketh haſte to helpe another in danger, reaching forth the hand to ſtay him that is ſtanding, and to raiſe him that is fallen. Both the brethren, (ſaith *Waldenſis*) both *Simeon* and *Leui*, Prieſt-hood and knighthood, Biſhoply power, and that which is Princely, muſt riſe vp together for the reſcuing of *Dinah* their ſiſter, out of the hands of him that ſeeketh to diſhonour her: *Vi charitatis etſi non authoritatis:* that is, By force of charity, though not of authority. So that according to his opinion, the chiefe Miniſters of the Church inueſt the Princes of the world with their royall authority, according to the ſaying of r *Hugo*; but giue themnot their authority: they may iudge of the actions of Princes, but they may not *preiudicare*, they may not preiudice Princes. They may in r *Vbi ſuprà.*

the time of need come to the ſuccour, and in the time of danger reach forth the helping hand to the ciuill ſtate, ſhaken by the negligence or malice of ciuill Princes: but it muſt be by way of charity, not of authority; as likewiſe the ciuill ſtate may, and ought to be aſſiſtant to the Eccleſiaſticall in like danger, defect, or failing of the Eccleſiaſticall miniſters.

The next argument that our Aduerſaries bring, is taken from a compariſon betweene the ſoule and body, expreſſing the difference betweene the ciuil & Eccleſiaſtical ſtate, found (as they ſay) in [f] *Gregory Nazianzen.* But that we may the better vnderſtand the force of this argument, we muſt obſerue, that in the compariſon which they bring, they make the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate and ſpiritual power, like the ſpirit, and diuine faculties therof: and the ciuill ſtate like, the fleſh, with the ſenſes, and ſenſitiue appetite thereof. And as in Angels there is ſpirit without fleſh; in bruite beaſts fleſh and ſenſe without ſpirit; and in man both theſe conioyned: ſo they will haue vs grant, that there is ſometimes Eccleſiaſticall power without ciuill, as in the Apoſtles times, and long after; ſometimes ciuill without Eccleſiaſtical, as among the heathen, & ſomtimes theſe two conioyned together. And as when the ſpirit and fleſh meete in one, the ſpirit hath the command; and though it ſuffer the fleſh to do all thoſe thinges which it deſireth, vnleſſe they be contrary to the intendments, deſignes, and ends of it: yet when it findeth them to be contrary, it may, and doth command the fleſhly part to ſurceaſe from her owne actions; yea, it maketh it to faſt, watch, and doe and ſuffer many grieuous and afflictiue things, euen to the weakning of it ſelfe. So in like manner they would inferre, that the Eccleſiaſticall ſtate being like vnto the ſpirit and ſoule, and the ciuill to the body of fleſh, the Church hath power to reſtraine, and bridle ciuill Princes, if they hinder the ſpirituall good thereof, not onely by cenſures Eccleſiaſticall, but outward inforcement alſo.

[f] *In Orat. ad populũ timore perculſum. & Imp. iraſcentem.*

This is the great and grand argument our Aduerſaries bring to proue, that Popes may depoſe princes; wherein firſt we may obſerue their folly, in that they bring ſimilitudes, which ſerue onely for illuſtration, and not for probation, for the maine confirmation of one of the principall poynts of their faith; which [t] whoſoeuer denyeth, ſinneth in as high a degree as, *Marcellinus*, that ſacrificed vnto idols; and *Peter*, that denied his maiſter.

[t] *Bellar. in epiſt. ad Blackwellum.*

Secondly, we ſee how much Princes are beholding vnto them, that compare them to bruit beaſts, and at the beſt, to the brutiſh part that is in men, common to them with bruit beaſts.

If they ſay, *Nazianzen* ſo compareth them, they are like themſelues, & ſpeake vntruly: for he compareth not Princes & Prieſts to ſpirit & fleſh, but going about to ſhew the difference of the obiects of their power,

maketh

maketh the ſpirit to be the obiect of the one of them, and the fleſh of the other. Not as if Princes were to take no care of the welfare of the ſoules of their ſubiects, as well as of their bodies, but becauſe the immediate procuring of the ſoules good, is by preaching, and miniſtration of the Sacraments, and Diſcipline, which the Prince is to procure, and to ſee well performed, but not to adminiſter theſe things himſelfe; as alſo becauſe the coactiue power the Prince hath, extendeth onely to the body, and not to the ſoule, as the Eccleſiaſticall power of binding and looſing doth.

Thirdly, we may obſerue, that if this ſimilitude ſhould proue any thing, it would proue, that the ciuill ſtate among Chriſtians hath no power to do any act whatſoeuer, but by the command or permiſſion of the Eccleſiaſticall. For ſo it is betweene the ſpirit and the body, and ſenſitiue faculties, that ſhew themſelues in it.

The Philoſophers note, that there is a double regiment in man: the one politicall or ciuill, the other deſpoticall; the one like the authority of Princes ouer their ſubiects that are freemen, the other like the authority of Lords ouer their bondmē & ſlaues. The former is of reaſon in reſpect of ſenſitiue appetite, which by perſwaſion it may induce to ſurceaſe to deſire that which it diſcerneth to be hurtfull, but cannot force it ſo to doe: the other of reaſon and the will, in reſpect of the loco-motiue faculty; and this abſolute, ſo that if reaſon cannot win a deſiſting from deſire, in the inferior powers, that ſhew themſelues in the body, yet the will may command the loco-motiue faculty, & either cauſe all outward action to ceaſe, how earneſtly ſoeuer ſenſitiue deſire carry vnto it; or to bee performed, how much ſoeuer it reſiſt againſt it: as it may command & force the drinking of a bitter potion, which the appetite cannot be won vnto, and the reiecting and putting from vs, thoſe things that are moſt deſired. Neither can the appetite and ſenſitiue faculties performe any of their actions without the conſent of the will and reaſon: For if the will command, the eies are cloſed vp & ſee nothing, the eares are ſtopped & heare nothing, how much ſoeuer the appetite deſire to ſee and heare. Neither onely haue the ſoules higher powers, this command ouer the inferior faculties, in reſpect of things that may further and hinder their owne good and perfection, as they may command to watch or faſt, for the preuention and mortification of ſin; but they may alſo at their pleaſure, hinder the whole courſe of the actions of the outward man, withdraw all needfull thinges from the body, and depriue it euen of life it ſelfe, though there be no cauſe at all ſo to do.

So that if the compariſon of the ciuill and Eccleſiaſticall ſtate to the ſoule and body do hold from thence, it may be inferred that the Church hath power to command in all things pertaining to the common wealth, and that the ciuill magiſtrates haue none at all. For the lower faculties

neither haue, nor ought to haue any command further then they are permitted by the Superior; neither can they do any thing contrary to the liking of the Superior, though neuer so iuſt and reaſonable. And ſo we ſee how ſilly a thing it is to reaſon from theſe ſimilitudes, and that they that ſo do, build vpon the ſands, ſo that all the frame of their building commeth to the ground.

The third reaſon brought by our Aduerſaries is this: Euery common wealth muſt be perfect in it ſelfe, and able to defend it ſelfe from all iniuries that any other may offer vnto it; and if it can no other way free it ſelfe, it muſt haue power to depoſe the Prince, and change the gouernement. Therefore the Church muſt be able to defend it ſelfe againſt all iniuries of wicked Kings, whether Infidels, Heretickes, or Apoſtataes; and if otherwiſe it cannot defend it ſelfe from their violences and wrongs, it muſt haue power to depoſe them.

This conſequence I thinke will neuer be found good in the iudgment of any indifferent reader. For the kingdomes and common wealths of the world, the good, proſperity and happineſſe whereof is outward, muſt haue outward meanes to repreſſe the inſolencies of all ſuch as ſeeke to impeach or hinder the ſame; But the Church being a ſociety, the happineſſe and good whereof is not outward, but inward, conſiſting in the graces of God, and the hope of a better life in the world to come, may bee perfect in it ſelfe, though it want meanes to repreſſe outward violences and inſolencies.

The Apoſtle himſelfe, who was a chiefe commander in it, profeſſing
u 2. Cor. 10. v. 4 that the u weapons of his warfare were not carnall, but mighty through God, for the caſting downe of proud thoughts; but not for the ouerthrow of cities and townes, or the ſubduing of the Princes of the world. So that the perfection of this ſociety or common wealth ſtanding in the inward graces of the ſpirit, and the expectation of future happineſſe, ſhee may attaine her owne end, enioy her owne good, and flouriſh in the middeſt of all preſſures, more then in any ſtate of outward proſperity; and ſo vndoubtedly ſhe doth. For as the gold is more pure, the more it is tryed, in the fire; as the Cammomill ſmelleth the ſweeter the more it is troden on; as the palme tree ſpreadeth the further, the more it is preſſed downe; as the Arke of *Noe* roſe the higher, the more the flouds did ſwell: ſo Gods Church did then moſt grow, increaſe and proſper, when the perſecutions were hotteſt. And therefore S. *Auſtine* ſaith (ſpeaking of the primi-
x *Aug. de Ciuita. Dei. li. 22. ca. 6.* tiue Chriſtians) x *Includebantur, ligabantur, torquebantur, trucidabantur, & multiplicabantur*: that is, They were ſhut vp in priſons & dungeons, they were bound in fetters and chaines, they were tortured & racked, yea, they
y *Serm. 33. in Cantica.* were ſlaine with the ſword, and yet they increaſed & multiplied. And y S. *Bernard* diſtinguiſhing three ſeuerall times of the Church, in all which ſhe complained of bitternesſe, the firſt vnder perſecuting heathen Emperors;

the

the second, in the conflicts with heretickes; and the third, when shee had rest from both these; saith, the state of the Church was worst in her peace, and bringeth her in complaining, and saying: *Amarissima amaritudo mea in pace mea*; that is, My bitternesse is most bitter in the daies of my peace. For now *omnes amici, omnes inimici, omnes domestici, nulli pacifici; serui Christi seruiunt Antichristo:* that is, All are friends, and all are enemies, all are of my household, but none are at peace with me; the seruants of Christ serue Antichrist. So that it followeth not, that if the Church must haue meanes to attaine her owne end, and enioy her owne wished good, that shee must haue power sufficient to procure her outward peace, & represse the insolencies of outward enemies. And yet besides, this reason chargeth Christ with want of care of his Church, who left it without meanes to defend it selfe against outward violence for the space of 300 yeares together, during the time of the heathen Emperours; and afterwards also vnder the reigne of Apostataes and heretickes. For [z] *Bellarmine* saith, that the primitiue Christians did not depose *Nero*, *Diocletian*, *Iulian* the Apostata, *Valens* the *Arrian*, and other like, because they wanted temporall forces. z De Pontif. lib. 5. cap. 7.

The next reason is more strange then this. For first, forgetting what they are to proue, in steed of prouing that the Pope may depose Princes, they endeuour to proue, that the people may depose Princes when they fall into heresie, and that the Pope is to iudge of heresie. Secondly, they conclude, that Christian people may not endure their King if he fall into heresie, because they may not chuse a King that is an infidell or hereticke. That they might not chuse an hereticke (which no man denieth) they proue, because the [a] *Iewes* might chuse none to be their King that was not of their brethren, least he should draw them to idolatry. But the consequence they go not about to proue, which we deny, & they will neuer be able to confirme. For there is no question but people are bound to be subiect to such a King, as in conscience they might not chuse, if they were free, & to make choice. [b] When *Moses* was counselled by *Iethro*, to chuse Elders & rulers to assist him, he told him what maner of men they should be, to wit, men fearing God, dealing truly, hating couetousnesse; and none but such ought electors, hauing freedome of choyce, to chuse: and yet I thinke, though a King be couetous, he is not presently to bee deposed. And therefore [c] *Bellarmine* (like an honest man) confuteth his owne argument, and saith, that infidels that had dominion ouer people before they became Christians, are to be tollerated by Christians, if they seeke not to draw them to idolatry, whom yet I thinke Christians might not chuse to reigne ouer them if they were free. Besides this, if *Bellarmine* say true, that subiects sinne as much in tollerating Kings that are infidels, Apostataes, or hereticks, as in chusing such to rule ouer thē when they were free, all the primitiue Christians that tollerated *Nero*, *Diocletian*, *Iulian*

a Deut. 17. 15. 16.

b Exod. 18. 21.

c Vbi supra.

Iulian the Apoſtata, *Conſtantius*, *Valens*, and other heretickes ſinned damnably in ſo doing.

Neither will *Bellarmines* anſwer, that they are to be excuſed, though they did not depoſe them, becauſe they wanted ſtrength, auoid the ſame. For it is euident by *Tertullian*, that they wanted not ſtrength if they had thought it lawfull. d *If we ſhould goe about to auenge our ſelues* (ſaith *Tertullian*) *we ſhould not want meanes. For behold, we are more in number, and greater in ſtrength, then any one nation and people of the world. We are ſtrangers vnto you, and yet behold, we haue filled all places pertaining vnto you, your Cities, your Iſles, your Villages, your Townes, your Councel-houſes, your Caſtles, and ſtrong Forts, your Palaces, your Senates, and your market places; only your Idol Temples we haue left free vnto you. What warre ſhould not wee bee able to take in hand? or what attempt ſhould ſeeme hard vnto vs? though wee were too weake who ſo willingly are ſlaine, if it were not more lawfull to bee killed then to kill in our profeſsion. Nay, though we ſhould neuer arme our ſelues, nor lift vp our hands againſt you, but onely depart away, and withdraw our ſelues into ſome remote parts of the world, how ſhould we confound and amaze you? How could you endure ſo great a loſſe? How would your Cities bee left deſolate, and none found to dwell in them?*

d *In Apologet. aduerſus Gentes cap. 37.*

So that it was not want of ſtrength that held the Primitiue Chriſtians in ſubiection to their heathen and perſecuting Emperours, but the perſwaſion they had, that it was their duty ſo to be ſubiect, perſwading themſelues they had their power from heauen: and therefore e *Illuc ſuſpicientes* (ſaith *Tertullian*) *manibus expanſis, quia innocuis, capite nudo quia non erubeſcimus; denique ſine monitore, quia de pectore oramus, precantes ſumus omnes ſemper pro omnibus Imperatoribus, vitam illis prolixam, imperiũ ſecurum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, ſenatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, & quæcunque hominis & Cæſaris ſunt vota:* that is, Looking vp thither, with handes lifted vp and ſpread out, becauſe innocent, with bare heades, becauſe we are not aſhamed, & without a remembrancer, becauſe our praiers proceed from the deſires that lodge within in our breaſt, we all pray alwayes for all Emperours and rulers, deſiring God to grant vnto them a long life, a ſecure reigne, a ſafe houſe, valiant armies, a faithfull Senate, good people, a quiet world; and all the good things that the heart either of a priuate man, or of *Cæſar* can deſire. O ſilly erring Chriſtians! durſt you pray for the proſperity of them, whom you ſhould haue perſecuted with fire and ſword, and vtterly haue deſtroied? But it is not to bee marualled at, if ye thus erred: for you were Chriſtians, & had no Ieſuites among you, from whom theſe myſteries of depoſing Princes might haue bene learned: ſo that we may hope that ignorance did excuſe you, and that ye are not gone to hel for this neglecting of your duty. But ſome man perhaps will ſay, *Tertullian* might be deceiued in this poynt. Let vs heare therefore whether others were of his mind or not.

e *Ibid. cap. 30.*

Iulianus

Iulianus *Imperator* (saith [f] *Ambrose*) *quamuis esset Apostata, habuit tamen sub se Christianos milites, quibus cùm dicebat, producite aciem pro defensione Reipublicæ, obediebant ei. Cùm autem diceret eis, producite arma in Christianos, tunc cognoscebant Imperatorem cœli*; that is; *Iulian* the Emperour, though he were an Apostata, yet had vnder him christian souldiers, who when he sayd vnto them, bring forth your armies for the defence of the commonwealth, willingly obeyed him. But when he sayd vnto them, bring forth your forces, & fight against the Christians, tooke knowledge of the Emperor in heauen, and not of him. And Saint [g] *Augustine* saith to the same purpose, that *Iulian* the Emperour was an Infidell, an Apostata, a wicked man, and an idolater; and yet there were Christian souldiers that serued this vnbeleeuing Emperour: when they came to the cause of Christ they acknowledged none other Emperour, but him onely, whose throne is in heauē. When he required them to worship idols, or to burne incense, they preferred God before him. When he sayd, bring forth your armies, and go against such a nation, they presently obeyed him: so did they wisely distinguish betweene the eternall and temporall Lord, and yet they were subiect to the temporall Lord for the eternall Lords sake.

f Citat. à Gratiano Decret. 2. part. causa 11. quæst. 3. cap. 94.

g Citat. ibidem cap. 98.

Neither was this the priuate conceit of these men alone, but all other the worthy Fathers, and Bishops of the church were of the same minde, and perswaded themselues, that they owed all dutie to Kings and Emperours, though they were heretiques or infidels. And therefore *Athanasius* (when some charged him, that he had spoken euill of *Constantius* the *Arrian* heretique to *Constance* his brother, and sought to make variance betweene them) in his Apologie to *Constantius*, calleth God to witnesse against his owne soule, that he had neuer done any such thing; and telleth the Emperour, he was not mad, nor had not forgotten the saying of the wise man. [h] *Curse not the King in thy secret thought, and speake not euill of the rich and mightie in the retired places of thy chamber. For the fowles of heauen will carrie forth thy voyce, and that that hath wings will make report of thy words.*

h Eccles. 10. 20.

The fifth reason that they bring, to proue that Christians may depose mis-beleeuing Emperours and Kings, if they haue meanes so to do, is, because the Apostle [i] willeth the *Corinthians* that were become Christians, to appoint new iudges of their controuersies about temporall affaires and businesses, that they might not be forced to bring their pleas before heathen magistrates that were their enemies, to the scorne of their profession; which is so silly a reason, that I cannot perswade my selfe they propose it in earnest, but onely for fashions sake to helpe to make vp a number. For they know right well, these Iudges the Apostle speaketh of, were but only arbitrators chosen by the agreement of the parties, & not absolute rulers ouer them with abrogation of the magistracie of those heathen rulers to whom they were subiect; and therefore notwithstanding any thing

i 1. Cor. 6.

thing the Apoſtle writeth, there were [k] three caſes, wherein the faithfull and beleeuing *Corinthians*, might lawfully come before the heathen iudges. The firſt, if the infidels in the controuerſies they had with them about ſecular things, drew them thither. The ſecond, if a beleeuer being contentious, drew them to thoſe tribunals, refuſing to haue things determined otherwiſe. The third, if the beleeuer had none other meanes to recouer his right, which he was bound in conſcience to recouer and preſerue; for in ſuch a caſe, he might become a plaintiſe before heathen magiſtrates. But (ſaith [l] *Bellarmine*) the beleeuing husband, whoſe wife being an infidell, will not dwell with him, without continuall blaſpheming of God the Creator, and ſolliciting him to infidelitie, and apoſtacie, is freed from his wife; and likewiſe the beleeuing wife from her vnbeleeuing husband, ſo continuing to blaſpheme Chriſt, and to ſollicite her to idolatrie: therefore by like reaſon the beleeuing people are freed from the yoke of an vnbeleeuing king, ſeeking to draw them to infidelitie. This argument drawne from cõpariſon faileth many waies. For firſt, according to [m] *Bellarmines* opinion, the beleeuing party is free from the other remaining in infidelity, though the infidel do neither depart, nor ſollicite, or perſuade to idolatrie, if there be not a preſent conuerſion: ſo that the beleeuer may diſmiſſe his wife, which he maried in infidelitie, if ſhe continue an infidell, though ſhe neither depart from him, nor ſeeke to win him to infidelitie.

But touching a king who is an vnbeleeuer, he thinketh (though [n] *Thomas* bee of another opinion) that the people conuerting to Chriſtianitie cannot ſhake off his yoke, vnleſſe he ſeeke to draw them backe to infidelitie; and therefore all that is not lawfull to the people, in reſpect of an vnbeleeuing king, that is lawfull to the husband, in reſpect of his vnbeleeuing wife; or to the wife, in reſpect of her vnbeleeuing husband.

Secondly this compariſon, if it proue any thing, mainely ouerthroweth the opinion of *Bellarmine*. For if the husband and the wife were Chriſtians when they were maried, & afterwards one of them fall into hereſie, apoſtaſie, atheiſme, or whatſoeuer elſe, & ſeeke neuer ſo violently to draw the right beleeuer to the ſame euils; yet the bond of mariage remaineth inuiolable, & is not, nor may not be diſſolued: and therfore if this compariſon hold, a Chriſtian king falling into hereſie, apoſtaſie, or atheiſme, and ſeeking to draw his people to the ſame, doth not loſe the right of dominiõ he hath ouer them. Thirdly, in *Bellarmines* opinion it is not refuſal to dwel together, nor ſollicitation to idolatrie, that could make a ſeparation, if the band of matrimonie contracted betweene infidels, were ſimply firme and indiſſoluble, as that of Chriſtians is. But heathen Princes haue as good intereſt in their kingdomes (which are not founded vpon grace or faith, but vpon the light of reaſon, the freedome of will, and the law of nature and nations) as beleeuers; therefore their ſolliciting to infidelitie and idolatrie, cannot make their titles to their kingdome voide.

Laſtly,

k *Ockam. 8. queſtionum ſuper poteſt. & dignitate Papali, quæſt. 1. cap. 11.*

l *De Pontif. lib. 5. cap. 7.*

m *De Matrimonij Sacramento, lib. 1. Controu. 4. cap. 12.*

n *2. 2. queſt. 10. art. 10.*

Laſtly, malicious deſertion or refuſall to dwell with the beleeuer, vnleſſe he ſome way at leſt by ſilence conſent to the blaſphemies of the infidell, is directly contrarie to the nature, eſſence, end, and intendment of mariage, and therefore diſſolueth mariage: but the abuſe of ſacred authoritie to the promoting of impietie, and ſuppreſſing of true religion, is not contrarie to the nature and eſſence of authoritie, but to the right vſe of it; and therefore it doth not make voide the title of magiſtrates, ſeeing it is certaine that lawfull authoritie may ſtand with moſt horrible abuſe of the ſame. Wherefore let vs proceed to their ſeuenth proofe.

When Princes (ſay they) come to the Church, and are admitted to the Communion of the faithfull people of God, they are not admitted but vpon promiſe and agreement, that if they forſake the faith, or hinder the good of Gods people, they will be content, and it ſhall be lawfull for the gouernours of the Church to take their authoritie from them; therefore when Princes become heretiques or apoſtataes, it is lawfull by their owne agreement and conſent for the gouernours of the Church, to depoſe them. The antecedent of this argument, I thinke, will neuer bee made good. For what Prince in his admiſſion to be a Chriſtian, did euer thus condition with the Church, either expreſſely, or by neceſſary implication? examples of any ſuch ſtipulation, I am perſwaded they can bring vs none. It is true indeed, that the verie vow of a Chriſtian made in Baptiſme, implieth in it a reſolution and promiſe, rather to depart with any thing, and loſe all, then to forfeit the inheritance he is entitled vnto, to diſhonour God, or any way to hinder the good of his Church: but this vowe and promiſe is made to God, and not to the Church; and therefore God may take from Chriſtian kings their kingdomes, when they become heretiques, and ſeeke to miſleade the people, as forfeited vpon their owne agreements; but the Church hath nothing to do with them, more then the great Turke, vpon any ſuch forfeiture made vnto almightie God. It is true, that all infidels, and wicked ones, haue forfeited their kingdomes to God; but yet in the title of mundane iuſtice, they haue right to them ſtill, and may not be diſpoſſeſſed of them by mortall men, vnleſſe they bee ſpecially authoriſed by almightie God, as the *Iſraelites* were to caſt out the *Canaanites*. And this was the meaning of *Wickliffe*, when he affirmed, that a Prince being in ſtate of mortall ſinne, ceaſeth to be a Prince any longer, namely in reſpect of any title he can plead to God, if he be pleaſed to take the aduantage of the forfeiture; but in reſpect of men, he hath a good title ſtill, in the courſe of mundane iuſtice. So that whoſoeuer ſhall lift vp his hand againſt him, offereth him wrong.

The Church therefore may proceede no further then to admoniſh Princes, when they offend, and for grieuous and ſcandalous faults, to denie vnto them the benefit of her Communion.

The laſt proofe they bring for depoſing Princes, when they become hereticks, is taken from the office of a Paſtor, to whom it pertaineth to driue away

away wolues, to reſtraine and keepe the Rammes, and great leaders of the flockes, from hurting thoſe ſheepe that are more weake.

This reaſon as it is the laſt, ſo it is the worſt of all. For each Paſtour muſt do theſe things according to the nature and qualitie of his Paſtorall office, and therefore a ſpirituall Paſtor muſt performe them by ſpirituall and eccleſiaſticall cenſures, driuing away the wolues from his flockes, by ſuſpenſion, excommunication and anathema, and reſtraining the Rams from hurting the reſt, by the ſame meanes ſo binding them with bands that exceede all the bands of reſtraint, vſed by the ſecular powers.

Chap. 46.

Of examples of Church-men depoſing Princes, brought by the Romaniſts.

HAuing examined the reaſons brought to proue that the chiefe gouernors of the Church may depoſe Princes erring from the faith, and hindering the courſe of religion; let vs ſee what examples our Aduerſaries produce of the practiſe of depoſing them. The firſt is the example of *Samuel* [a] appointing *Saul* to be a king, and afterwards [b] depoſing him for his diſobedience. But in this example they are groſſely deceiued. For firſt, *Samuel* was neither high Prieſt nor Prieſt at all, not being of the poſteritie of *Aaron*. Secondly, *Samuel* did not appoint *Saul* to be king, as being of higher authoritie, but as obeying and executing the mandate of God, as the meaneſt man in *Iſrael* might haue done: as we reade in the ſecond of the *Kings*, of [c] one of the ſonnes of the Prophets, who at the commandement of *Elizeus* annointed *Iehu* king ouer *Iſraell*, yet was neither *Elizeus*, nor he, greater in dignitie then kings. Thirdly, we do not reade in the ſacred Hiſtorie, that *Samuel* depoſed *Saul*, but that God depoſed him, and that *Samuel* was the meſſenger ſent from God to let him knowe it. *Becauſe* (ſaith *Samuel*) *thou haſt caſt away the word of the Lord, the Lord hath caſt thee away that thou ſhalt not reigne*. And againe, *the Lord hath cut away the kingdome of* Iſrael *from thee this day*. Yea ſo farre was *Samuel* from depoſing *Saul*, that hee mourned for him, till God blamed him, ſaying, [d] *How long doſt thou mourne for* Saul? *whereas I haue caſt him away that he ſhould not reigne ouer* Iſrael. The next example is that of *Hieremy* the Prophet, to whom the Lord ſayd, [e] *I haue ſet thee ouer nations and people, to plucke vp, and to roote out, and to deſtroy, and throw downe, to build and to plant*. Whence they inferre, that the chiefe Prieſt is ouer the kingdomes of the world, and may giue them to whom he will.

a 1. Sam. 9.
b 1. Sam. 15. 23.
c 2 Kings 9. 1.
d 1. Sam. 16. 1.
e Ierem. 1. 10.

But firſt, we muſt obſerue, that *Hieremy* was not the high Prieſt, but one of an inferiour ranke; and that therefore if we will conclude any thing from hence, touching the power of diſpoſing kingdomes by Prieſts,

euerie

euerie Prieſt muſt haue this power.

Secondly, we muſt know that *Hieremie* was ſet ouer the kingdome of *Iudah* and other kingdomes, not to rule them, but prophetically to denounce vnto them and foreſhew the things, that afterwards ſhould fall out. Whereupon *Lyra* interpreteth the words of almightie God in this ſort. f *Conſtitui te ſuper Gentes, & ſuper regna, vt euellas, id eſt, euellendo denuncies, transferendos inde habitatores; & deſtruas, quantum ad occidendos; & diſperdas, quantum ad fugientes per diuerſas vias; & diſſipes, quantum ad morientes in fuga vel captiuitate; & edifices & plantes, id eſt, denuncies Iudæos reædificandos, & plantandos in terra ſua, &c.* that is; I haue ſet thee ouer nations, and kingdomes, that thou mighteſt plucke vp, that is, that thou mighteſt denounce and foreſhew, that the inhabitants being plucked vp out of their places, ſhall be caried into another place; that thou mayſt deſtroy, that is, denounce the deſtruction of ſuch as ſhall be ſlaine. That thou mayſt ſcatter, that is, denounce and foreſhew the diſperſion of ſuch as ſhall flie diuerſe wayes. That thou mayſt ouerthrowe, that is, declare and foreſhew the ouerthrowe of them that ſhall dye in flight or in captiuitie. That thou mayſt build and plant, that is, foreſhew, that the Iewes ſhall be builded and planted againe in their owne land; which was fulfilled in the time of *Cyrus*, who gaue libertie to the people to returne into their owne countrey; and to reëdifie the temple; and in the time of *Artaxerxes*, who gaue leaue to *Nehemiah* to reëdifie the citie of *Hieruſalem*, as we may reade in the bookes of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*.

f *Lyra in hunc locum.*

The author of the interlineall Gloſſe interpreteth the words in this ſence: that the Prophet was appointed by almightie God, ouer kingdomes and people, to plucke vp vices and ſinnes, to deſtroy the kingdome of the Diuell, and to build the Church of God. Saint *Hierome* likewiſe interpreteth the words in the ſame ſort: g *Conſiderandum eſt* (ſaith he) *quòd quatuor triſtibus, duo læta ſuccedunt. Neque enim ædificari poterant bona, niſi deſtructa eſſent mala; nec plantari optima, niſi eradicarentur peſſima, &c.* that is; We muſt conſider, that two ioyfull and happie things ſucceed foure grieuous and ſorrowfull things. For neither could good things be builded, if euill things were not firſt deſtroyed; nor the beſt things be planted, if the worſt things were not firſt pluckt vp by the rootes. For euery plant which our heauenly Father hath not planted, ſhall be plucked vp by the rootes. And euerie building which hath not a foundation vpon the Rocke, but is builded vpon the ſand, is digged downe and deſtroyed by the word of God; and Ieſus ſhall conſume it by the ſpirite of his mouth, and deſtroy it by the comming of his preſence: that is; he ſhall deſtroy for euer all ſacrilegious and peruerſe doctrine, and that alſo which is lifted vp againſt the knowledge of God, and the confidence that men haue in their owne wiſedome hee ſhall ſcatter, deſtroy, and caſt downe; that in ſteed of theſe things, the things that ſauour of humilitie may be builded,

g *Hierony. in eundem locum.*

builded; and the things which agree with Ecclesiasticall veritie may be builded and planted in the place of the former things, which were destroyed, and pluckt vp.

Here is pulling vp of all false doctrine, and throwing downe whatsoeuer is lifted vp against the knowledge of God, that those things that sauour of humilitie, and are agreeable to Ecclesiasticall veritie, may be builded and planted. And thus to plucke vp and to plant, to cast downe, and to build vp, pertaineth to *Hieremies* office and calling; but for deposing of Kings, and transferring kingdomes, no ancient writer could euer find any thing in this place.

h 2.Chron.26. The third example that they produce, is that of [h] *Vzziah*, who after much prosperitie in all that he tooke in hand, and many glorious victories obtained, not contenting himselfe with the honour of a King, but presuming to come into the Temple to offer incense, and intruding vpon the Priests office also, was by them resisted, and told, it would be displeasing to almightie God, that he did. But he waxing angrie, would not desist, till being striken with leprosie, and the verie earth trembling and quaking for horror of so vile a fact, he was by the Priests, and the remorse of his owne conscience forced to go hastily out of the Temple.

This leprosie departed not from him till his dying day, and therefore he was by vertue of Gods lawe constrained to depart from the societie of men, and to dwell apart; and *Iotham* his sonne ruled ouer the kings house, and iudged the people of the land.

How this place will proue, that the deposing of kings belongeth to Priests, I know not, for surely *Vzziah* was not deposed, but being forced to liue in an house apart by himselfe, and in that respect vnfit for the gouernment, his sonne supplied his place in iudging the people of the land: but he continued king still; and if he had bene cleansed from his leprosie before his death, no doubt, might, and would haue resumed his kingly dignitie, and the publique administration of iustice. Whereupon we

i 2.King.15.33. shall find that *Iotham* is sayd [i] to haue reigned no more but 16 yeares, because after his fathers death in his owne right he reigned no more. Though

k 2.Kings.15.30. otherwise we finde mention of things that fell out in the [k] 20 yeare of his reigne.

So including the time of his ruling for his father in his right. So that heere was nothing done by the Priests, but that which pertained to their priestly office, which was to keepe the holy places, and attend the Altars, and to iudge of the plague of leprosie. But for deposing the King, they medled not.

The fourth example is of *Iehoiada* the high Priest deposing *Athaliah*,

l 2.Chron.21. 22.& 23. and setting vp *Ioash*, as they tell vs. The storie is this.

[l] *Iehosaphat* dieth, and *Iehoram* his sonne succeedeth him. This *Iehoram*

ram marrieth *Athaliah* the daughter of *Ahab*, the ſonne of *Omri*; and he walked not in the wayes of *Iehoſaphat* and *Aſa* kings of *Iudah*, but of wicked *Ahab*, whoſe daughter he married. Whereupon God ſtirred vp the ſpirit of the *Philiſtines*, and *Arabians*, and they came, and tooke away all the ſubſtance that was found in his houſe, and his wiues and ſonnes, ſo that none was left him, but *Iehoahaz* or *Ahaziah* his youngeſt ſonne. After this *Iehoram* dieth, and *Ahaziah* reigneth in his ſtead, who followed the counſell of *Athaliah*, and did wickedly in the ſight of the Lord.

This *Ahaziah* going to *Iehoram* the ſonne of *Ahab*, and being found with him when *Iehu* came to execute iudgement againſt the houſe of *Ahab*, was there ſlaine by *Iehu*. After his death *Athaliah* his mother, deſtroyed all the Kings ſeede of the houſe of *Iudah*, and vſurped the kingdome: But *Iehoſhebiah* the wife of *Iehoiada* the Prieſt, ſiſter to *Ahaziah*, ſtale away *Ioaſh* the Kings ſonne, from among the Kings ſonnes, that hee ſhould not be ſlaine; & he was hid in the houſe of God ſixe yeares, all which time *Athaliah* reigned.

But in the ſeauenth yeare *Iehoiada* waxed bold, tooke the Captaines of hundreths in couenant with him, and went about in *Iudah*, and gathered the Leuites out of all the cities of *Iudah*, and the chiefe-fathers of *Iſrael*; and they came to *Ieruſalem*: and all the congregation made a couenant with the King, and ſayd, The kings ſonne muſt reigne, as the Lord hath ſayd of the ſonnes of *Dauid*. Hereupon the king is proclaimed, *Athaliah* is ſlaine, the houſe of *Baal* deſtroyed, and the Altars and idols that were in it, broken downe.

In all this narration there is nothing that maketh for the chiefe Prieſts power of depoſing lawfull kings, if they become heretiques: For firſt, *Athaliah* was an vſurper and no lawfull Queene. Secondly, here was nothing done by *Iehoiada* alone, but by him, and the Captaines of hundreths, and the chiefe Fathers of *Iſrael*, that entred into couenant with him.

Thirdly, there is great difference betweene the high Prieſt in the time of the Lawe, and in the time of Chriſt. For before the comming of Chriſt, the high Prieſt euen in the managing of the weightieſt ciuill affaires, and in iudgement of life and death, ſate in the Councell of State, as the ſecond perſon next vnto the king by Gods owne appointment. Whereas our Aduerſaries dare not claime any ſuch thing for the Pope.

And therefore it is not to bee maruailed at, if the high Prieſt, beeing the ſecond perſon in the kingdome of *Iudah*, by Gods owne appointment, and the Vnckle and Protector of the young king, whom his wife had ſaued from deſtruction, bee the firſt mouer for the bringing

of

of him to his right; and when things are resolued on by common consent, take on him not onely to commaund and direct the Priestes and Leuites, but the Captaines and souldiers also, for the establishing of their King, and the suppressing of a bloudie tyrant and vsurper. For all this might be done by *Iehoiada*, as a chiefe man in that state; and yet the Pope be so farre from obtaining that he claimeth (which is to depose lawfull kings for abusing their authoritie) that he may not presume to do all that the high Priest lawfully did; and might do: as not hauing so great preëminence from Christ, in respect of matters of ciuill state in any kingdome of the world, as the high Priest had by Gods owne appointment in the kingdome of *Iudah* and *Israel*.

m *De potest. & dignitate Papali, quæst. 1. cap. 10.*

In the old Lawe (saith [m] *Occham*) the high Priest medled in matters of warre, in the iudgement of life and death, and the losse of members, and vengeance of bloud; and it beseemed him well so to do: But the Priests of the new Law may not meddle with things of this nature. Wherefore from the power and dominion, which the high Priest of the olde Lawe had, it cannot be concluded, that the Pope hath any power in temporall matters.

The fourth example is of *Ambrose*, repelling *Theodosius* the Emperor from the communion of the church, after the bloudie and horrible murther, that was committed at *Thessalonica* by his commandement. The story is this.

n *Sozomen. lib. 7. cap. 24. Theodoret. lib. 5. ca. 16. & 17.*

[n] The coach-man of *Botherica*, the Captaine of the souldiers in that towne, for some fault was committed to prison. Now when the solemne horse-race and sporting fight of horsemen approched, the people of *Thessalonica* desired to haue him set at liberty, as one of whom there would be great vse in those ensuing solemne sports. Which being denied, the citie was in an vproar, and *Botherica*, and certaine other of the magistrates were stoned to death, and most despitefully vsed. *Theodosius* the Emperour hearing of this outrage, was exceedingly moued, and commanded a certaine number to be put to the sword, without all iudiciall forme of proceeding, or putting difference betweene offendors and such as were innocent: So that seauen thousand perished by the sword, and among them manie strangers (that were come into the citie vpon diuerse occasions, that had no part in the outrage, for which *Theodosius* was so sore displeased) were most cruelly and vniustly slaine. Saint *Ambrose* vnderstanding of this violent and vniust proceeding of the Emperour, the next time he came to *Millaine*, and was comming to the Church, after his wonted manner, met him at the doore, and stayd him from entring, with this speech: *Thou seemest not to know, O Emperour, what horrible and bloudie murthers haue bene committed by thee; neither doest thou bethinke thy selfe now thy rage is past, to what extremities thy furie carried thee; perhaps the glorie of thine Imperiall power, will not let thee take notice of any fault, and thy greatnesse repelleth all checke of reason controlling thee: but thou shouldest know the*

the frailtie of mans nature, and that the dust was that beginning whence we are taken, and to which we must returne. Let not therefore the glory of thy purple robes, make thee forget the weakenesse of that body of flesh that is couered with them: Thy subiects O Emperour are in nature like thee, and in service thy fellowes, for there is one Lord and commander ouer all, the maker of all things. Wherefore with what eyes wilt thou behold his temple, or with what feete wilt thou treade on the sacred pauement thereof? wilt thou lift vp to him those hands, from which the bloud yet droppeth? wilt thou receiue with them the sacred body of our Lord? or wilt thou presume to put to thy mouth the cup replenished with the precious bloud of Christ, which hast shed so much innocent bloud by the word of thy mouth, vttering the passion of thy furious minde? Depart therefore, adde not this iniquitie to the rest, and decline not those bands, which God aboue approueth.

With these speeches the Emperour was much moued: and, knowing the distinct duties, both of Emperours and Bishops (for that he had bin trayned vp in the knowledge of heauenly doctrine) returned to the Court, with teares and sighes. A long time after (for eight moneths were first past) the solemne feast of the Natiuitie of Christ approached, and all prepared themselues to solemnize the same with triumphant ioy. But the Emperour sate in the Court, lamenting and powring out riuers of teares: which when *Ruffinus*, maister of the pallace perceiued, he came vnto him, and asked the cause of his weeping: to whom (weeping more bitterly then before) he sayd, *O* Ruffinus, *thou makest but a sport of these things, for thou art touched with no sence of those euils, wherewith I am afflicted, but the consideration of my calamitie maketh me sigh and lament; for that whereas the dores of Gods temple are open to slaues and beggars, and they go freely into the same to make prayers vnto their Lord, they are shut against me; and, which is yet worse, the gates of heauen are shut against me also; for I cannot forget the words of our Lord, who saith,* Whom soeuer ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heauen. To whom *Ruffinus* replied, *I will runne, if it please thee, O Emperour, to the Bishop, and intreate him to vnloose these bands, wherewith he hath bound thee. No* (saith the Emperour) *it is to no purpose so to do, for he will not be intreated. I know his sentence is right and iust, and that he will not transgresse the law of God, for any respect of imperiall power.* Yet when *Ruffinus* was earnest, and promised confidently to pacifie *Ambrose*, he bade him go with speed, and himselfe followed after in hope of reconciliation, trusting vpon the promises of *Ruffinus*.

But when *Ambrose* saw *Ruffinus*, he sayd vnto him: *O* Ruffinus, *thou doest imitate the impudencie of shamelesse dogges; for hauing beene the adviser and counsellor to so vile murthers, thou hast hardned thy forehead, and hauing cast away all shame, blushest not, after the committing of so great and horrible outrages, against men made after the image of God.* And when hee was importunate with him, and told him the Emperour was comming, full of

fierie zeale, he brake foorth into theſe words: *I tell thee* Ruffinus, *I will not ſuffer him to paſſe the threſholds of Gods houſe; and if of an Emperour he become a tyrant, I will ioyfully ſuffer death.* Whereupon *Ruffinus* cauſed one to runne to the Emperour, and to deſire him to ſtay within the Court. But the Emperor being on the way when the meſſenger met him, reſolued to come forward, and to endure the reproofe of the Biſhop. So he came to the ſacred railes, but entred not into the Temple; and comming to the Biſhop, beſought him to vnlooſe him from the bands wherewith he was bound. The Biſhop ſomewhat offended with his comming, told him, the manner of his comming was tyrant-like, and that being mad againſt God, he trampled vnder his feete the lawes of God. *Not ſo* (ſayde the Emperour) *I preſſe not hither in deſpite of order, neither do I vniuſtly ſtriue to enter into the houſe of God: But, I beſeech thee, to vnlooſe me, to remember the mercifull diſpoſition of our common Lord, and not to ſhut the doore againſt me, that he would haue opened to all that repent. What repentance therefore* (ſaith the Biſhop) *haſt thou ſhewed, after ſo grieuous an offence? what medicines haſt thou applied to cure thy wounds? It pertaineth to thee* (ſayth the Emperour) *to prepare the medicines, that ſhould heale me, and to cure my wounds; and to me to vſe, that thou preſcribeſt. Then* (ſayd *Ambroſe*) *ſeeing thou makeſt thy diſpleaſure iudge, and it is not reaſon, that giueth ſentence, when thou ſitteſt vpon the throne to do right, but thy furious proceedings; make a law, that when ſentence of death and confiſcation of goods ſhall be paſſed, there may paſſe thirtie dayes before the execution of the ſame, that ſo, if within that ſpace it be found vniuſt, it may be reuerſed; or otherwiſe, it may proceede.*

This law the Emperour moſt willingly conſented to make, and thereupon *Ambroſe* vnlooſed him from his bands; and he entred into the Temple, and prayed vnto God, not ſtanding, nor kneeling, but proſtrate vpon the earth, and paſſionately vttering theſe words of *Dauid*; ° *My ſoule cleaueth to the pauement, Lord quicken me according to thy word.*

° Pſal. 119.25.

Here we ſee an excellent patterne of a good Biſhop, and a good Emperour; and it is hard to ſay, whether *Ambroſe* were more to be commended for his zeale, magnanimous reſolution and conſtancie, or the Emperour for his willing, and ſubmiſſiue obedience. But of depoſing Princes here is nothing; *Ambroſe* being ſo farre from any thought of lifting vp his hand againſt the Emperour, that he reſolued to ſubiect himſelfe vnto him, euen to the ſuffering of martyrdome, if neede ſhould require.

But (ſaith *Bellarmine*) *Ambroſe* exerciſed ciuill authoritie, in that he tooke notice of this murther of the Emperour, beeing a criminall cauſe, and forced him to make a ciuill law, for the preuenting of furious and bloudie proceedings in iudgement. This ſurely is a weake collection: for the Church hath power, by vertue of her Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction

to

to take notice of ſuch horrible crimes as murther, and to puniſh them with ſpirituall puniſhments. Neither was the inducing of *Theodoſius* to make a ciuill law for the preuenting of ſuch like euils, as he was now cenſured for, before he would reconcile him to the Church, an act of ciuill authoritie: But ſuch teſtimonies as this is, they that haue no better, muſt be forced to vſe.

That which followeth of p *Gregories* confirming the priuiledges granted to the Abbey of Saint *Medardus*, in ſuch ſort, that whatſoeuer Kings, Iudges, or ſecular perſons ſhould go about to violate them, ſhould be depriued of their honour, proueth not the thing in queſtion. For it is euident, that the confirmation of theſe priuiledges was paſſed, not by Saint *Gregorie* alone, but by a whole Councell, and more ſpecially by *Theodoricus* the King, and *Brunichildis* the Queene, who might binde their ſucceſſors, and other inferior ſecular rulers, vnder paine of depriuation, though neither *Gregorie* of himſelfe, nor yet a Councell of Biſhops, could do any ſuch thing by their authoritie alone. Wherefore let vs proceed to the next example.

p *In fine epiſtol. Gregorij.*

q *Gregorie* the ſecond (ſaith *Bellarmine*) excommunicated the Emperour *Leo* the third, who was an enemie to images; he forbade any tribute to be payd him out of *Italy*, and conſequently depriued him of part of his Empire. Surely if *Gregorie* the ſecond of himſelfe alone, had had ſuch power, as to forbid all *Italy*, vpon his diſlike to pay any more tribute to the Emperour, there were ſome good ſhew of proofe in this allegation. But if we examine the ſtories, we ſhall find the caſe to haue bene farre otherwiſe then *Bellarmine* would beare vs in hand it was.

q *Zonaras in vita Leonis Iſauri.*

For firſt, *Gregorie* did not excommunicate *Leo* of himſelfe, but called a Synode to do it.

Secondly, he did not forbid the paying of tribute out of *Italy*, to the Emperour; but the circumſtances of the hiſtorie are theſe.

Leo ſeeking to win the Biſhop of *Rome*, and the people of *Italy* to the caſting downe of Images in the Weſt, as he had done in the Eaſt, *Gregorie* the Biſhop did not onely refuſe to obey him, but admoniſhed all other to take heed, they did no ſuch thing for feare of any Edict of the Emperour.

By which exhortation the people of *Italy*, already miſ-conceited of the Emperours gouernement, were ſo animated, that they were likely to haue proceeded to the election of a new Emperour; and r *Nauclerus* ſheweth, that the decrees of the Biſhop of *Rome*, diſſwading the people of the Weſt from obeying the Emperour in caſting downe of Images, were of ſo great authoritie, that the people and ſouldiers of *Rauenna* firſt, and then of *Venice*, began to make ſhewe of rebellion againſt the Emperour, and his Exarche or Lieutenant; and to inforce the Biſhop of *Rome*, and the other people of *Italy* to diſclaime the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*,

r *Nauclerus in Chron. vol. 2. Generat. 25. pag. 654.*

and to chuſe another in *Italy*. And that this rebellion proceeded ſo farre, that euerie city putting downe the Magiſtrates of the Exarch, ſet vp Magiſtrates of their owne, whom they named Dukes; but that the Biſhop of *Rome*, at that time pacified them, and by his perſwaſions ſtayed them, from chuſing any new Emperour, in hope that he would amend. So that we ſee, the Biſhop of *Rome* with his Biſhops, by their authoritie did nothing but ſtay the people, from obeying the Emperours vnlawfull decrees, as they iudged them; but no way went about to depoſe the Emperour, or to depriue him of any thing that of right pertained to him. But the people of *Italy* moued againſt the Emperour, proceeded further then the Biſhop of *Rome* would haue had them to haue done. For they put downe the Magiſtrates appointed by the Emperour, and ſet vp other of their owne; and would haue forced the Biſhop of *Rome* and the other people of *Italy*, who yet conſented not vnto them, to diſclaime the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, and to chuſe another in *Italy*. And therefore, if at that time they forbare to pay any more tribute (as [f] *Zonaras* ſaith they did) it was not becauſe the Pope forbad them ſo to do (as hauing ſupreme power in ciuill things) but being auerſe from the Emperor, as for other diſlikes, ſo by the Popes perſwaſions, they ſtayed the tribute of themſelues, as of themſelues they put downe the Magiſtrates of the Emperour, without the liking of the Biſhop of *Rome*.

[f] *Vbi ſupra.*

That which [t] *Otho Friſingenſis* hath, that the Pope hauing often admoniſhed the Emperour, and found him incorrigible, perſwaded the people of *Italy* to depart from the Empire, ſeemeth to be contrary to the reports of [u] the Author of the great Chronicle, [x] *Nauclerus*, [y] *Rhegino*, and others; but yet maketh the Pope onely a perſwader, and the people of *Italy* the doers of that was done. And in like ſort it muſt bee vnderſtood that *Zonaras* ſaith, the Biſhop of *Rome* ſtayed the paying of tribute to the Emperour, namely, that his diſlike of the Emperours courſes, together with their owne diſtaſte of his actions, did ſo auert the minds of the *Italians* from the Emperour, that they refuſed to pay him tribute; that beeing attributed to him, as done by him, which his perſwaſions (though tending to another purpoſe) did worke without his liking, and againſt his will. And in the ſame ſence it is, that [z] *Sigebert* ſaith, *Gregorie* charged the Emperour with error, blamed him for it, and turned away the people of *Rome*, and the tribute of the Weſt from him.

[t] *Lib. 5. cap. 18. Chronici.*

[u] *Lib. Chronic. ab initio mundi cum figuris & imaginibus, in 6. ætate mundi.*

[x] *Vbi ſupra.*

[y] *Chronic. lib. 1.*

[z] *Chronic. anni. 731.*

The third inſtance of Popes intermedling in the diſpoſition of the kingdomes of the world, is that of *Zacharias* the Pope, of whom *Gregory* the ſeuenth in his Epiſtles writeth thus: [a] *Another* Romane *Biſhop alſo, to wit*, Zacharias, *depoſed the* French *king from his kingdome, not ſo much for any fault done by him, as for that he was vnfit to ſway ſo great power; and put* Pipine, *the father of* Charles *the great, afterwards Emperor, into his place, freeing and abſoluing all the Frenchmen from their oath of fealty.*

[a] *Gregor. 7. lib. 8. epiſt. 21.*

Which

Which words of *Gregorie* are found likewise in the [b] decrees. To this allegation [c] *Ockam* answereth, that *Zacharias* did not depose *Childericke* the *French* King (as *Gregorie* the seuenth vntruly reporteth) but onely gaue allowance of the Peeres deposing of him. And to that purpose allegeth the Glosse vpon the decrees, which saith, [d] *Dicitur deposuisse quia deponentibus consensit*: that is, The Pope is sayd to haue deposed the King, becausse he gaue consent to those that did depose him, & allowed their act. But he noteth also, that there are others, that do not so excuse the Pope, but doe thinke he put his sickle into another mans haruest, and tooke vpon him to do that he had no authority to doe; which other Popes likewise haue not feared to doe, in preiudice of the right of the laity, as they shew out of another [e] Glosse. So that the [f] Centurie writers are not alone in the reprehension of this fact of *Zacharias*, as (*Bellarmine* vntruly auoucheth) notwithstanding I rather follow the iudgemẽt of the author of the Glosse, and thinke, that he did but giue his opinion, what might be done, and approue the act when it was done. For confirmation whereof, I will lay downe the circumstances of the narration touching the proceedings in this matter, as I find them reported by ancient wryters. First, all [h] Historians agree, that the Kings of *France* in those times, giuing themselues to idlenesse and pleasures, wholy neglected the gouernement; that they were seene but onely once in the yeare of their subiects; and that the gouernor of the Kings house ruled all. Neither did things stand thus for a short space, but [i] *Sigebert* saith, they continued so 88 yeares. In this office of a prefect or gouernor, *Pipine* succeded his aunceſters, but exceeded them in the greatnesse of worthy exploits; neither did any thing hinder the course of his great and honorable actions, but that he was forced to suffer and endure a King almost witlesse and mad with diuers senceleſſe fooleries. Wherefore they who write the Histories of *France* report, that the nobles & people of that nation duely weighing the vertue of *Pipine* & the witles follies of *Childericke* the King, consulted *Zachary* then Bishop of *Rome*, & desired him to tell them, whether he thought so fooliſh aud vnworthy a king were any longer to be endured; or *Pipine* to be defrauded of royall dignity which he deserued, and was right worthy of. Who when they had receiued answere from the Pope, that he was to be esteemed the King, who knew best how to performe kingly duties; the *French* by the publicke and common aduice and counsell of the whole nation, proclaimed *Pipine* King, and shore the head of *Childerick*, and made him a Clearke. [k] *Naucleres* saith, the *French* men anciently had their Kings descended of an ancient stocke, who of *Merouens* the sonne of King *Clodius* the second, were called *Merouingians*; the race of which kings continued till *Childerick*, & in him ended. For long before, they were of no esteeme or authority, neither had they any thing, but the vaine and empty title of Kings, for the riches and power of the kingdome were in the hands of the prefects of

b *Part. 2. Causa. 15. cap. 6.*
c *Dialog. lib. 1. tract. 2. 3. part. cap. 18.*
d *Glosse super. cap. allegat.*
e *Gloss. extra de foro competen. ti. Ca. Siquis Clericus.*
f *Cent. 8. ca. 10.*
g *De Pontif. lib. 5. cap. 8.*
h *Lib. chron. Antate. 6. in Pipino.*
i *Chronico, anno 750.*
k *Naucler. Chronol. vol. 2. Gener. 26.*

the Pallace, who were called the chiefe of the Kings house, and swayed the whole kingdome, who at that time were the successors of *Charles Martell*, and were named Dukes. Neither was there any other thing permitted to the King, but that contenting himselfe with the bare name of a King, hauing long haire and a long beard, he should sit vpon the throne, and haue some shew of a ruler, and heare Embassadors comming from all parts, and giue such answers vnto them (as out of his owne power) which he was taught, and commanded to giue. He had nothing to liue on, but such a stipend and allowance, as the Prefects was pleased to allow vnto him. He possessed nothing but one little village: once onely in the yeare, he was seene of his subiects in a publick & solemne Assembly, and hauing saluted them all, returned againe to his priuate course of life, leauing the gouernment of all to the Prefects. *Pipine* therefore, who then supplied that place, as succeeding his ancestors in the same, considering the slouth and idlenesse of these Kings, who neglecting the common wealth did hide themselues in their owne priuate houses: and that both the nobles & people tooke notice as well of his vertue, as of the senceless follies of *Childericke*, consulted the Pope (as we heard before:) vpon whose answere (that he was to be reputed King, that could best doe the duty of a King) the *French* by the publicke decree of the whole nation, chose *Pipine* to bee King, which thing *Zachary* approued. [l] *Otho Frisingensis* saith, that the *French* sent messengers to *Rome scisciti an di gratia*, to aske the Popes aduice, and to be resolued by him: vpon whose answere, and by whose authority (warrãting them it was lawful so to do) *Bonifacius* Archbishop of *Mentz*, and the other Princes of the kingdome, met together, and chose *Pipine* King. And [m] *Rhegino* saith, *Pipine* was chosen king according to the manner and custome of the *French*, and being annointed by the hands of *Bonifacius* Arch-bishop of *Mentz*, was by the *French* lifted vp into the royall throne; and *Childericke* who was but in title onely a King, was shorne, and thrust into a Monastery. With these agreeth [n] *Sigebertus*, and the rest. Wherefore to conclude this point, touching the deposition of *Childericke*, we must obserue. First, that he was not deposed for heresy, or any way going about to hinder the course of religion; and that therefore the Pope could not depose him, vnlesse Princes be subiect to such censures for defects of nature, and negligence in doing their duties. Secondly that he and his predecessors for almost an hundred yeares, were put from all gouernement, & were but in name onely Kings, others hauing the authority, and that with the allowance of the whole state. So that it is the lesse to be maruelled, if the Pope being consulted as a Diuine, answered, it was fit rather that he should haue the name, title, and inauguration of a king, that was to do the duty, then he that was to be but a shadow onely. Yet doe I not say, that he spake like a good Diuine. Thirdly, that in those times the Vniuersity of *Paris* was not

l *Chron. lib. 5. decad. 21. & 22.*

m *Lib. 2.*

n *Loco citato.*

yet

yet founded: and the kingdome had few learned men, and that therefore they sought to forrainers. For otherwise wee know that afterwards the Kings and Princes of *France* rather o beleeued the Diuines of *Paris* then the Court of *Rome*, in greater matters then this. Fourthly, that the Bishop of *Rome* as Patriarch of the West, was the chiefe Bishop in these parts of the world, and therefore not vnfitly consulted in a matter of such consequence as this was.

o *Gerson in Serm. de paschate part. 4. operis eius*

Wherefore let vs now proceed to the fourth instance, which is that of the translation of the West Empire, from the Emperours of *Constantinople* to *Charles* the great, which our Aduersaries say, was done by Pope *Leo* the third.

But surely whosoeuer shall looke into the course of Histories shal find, that this instance maketh rather against them, then for them. For it is most certaine, that the Pope by his Papall power, did not translate the Empire. p The *Romanes* (saith *Sigebert*) who long before in their hearts were fallen away from the Emperour of *Constantinople*, now taking the opportunity of the occasion offered, while a woman hauing put out the eyes of *Constantine* the Emperour her sonne, tooke vpon her to rule ouer them, with one consent proclaimed *Charles* the King their Emperour, & by the hands of *Leo* the Pope set the crowne vpon his head, and gaue him the title of *Cæsar* and *Augustus*. With *Sigebertus* the Author of q the great Chronicle agreeth.

p *Sigebert. anno. 801*

q *Aetate. 6. in Leone*

His words are these. In the time of the solemnities of the Masse celebrated vpon *Christmas* day in Saint *Peters* Church, *Leo* the Pope by the decree of the people of *Rome*, and at their entreaty crowned *Charles* proclaimed Emperor of *Romanes*, and set such a Diademe vpon his head, as the ancient Emperours were wont to weare; & then the people, which was present in great number, with ioyfull acclamation cryed out thrise: *Carolo Augusto, à Deo coronato, magno et pacifico Imperatori, vita & victoria.*

So that we see, it was the decree of the *Romanes* that made *Charles* Emperour, and that they vsed *Leo* for the performance of the solemne rites of his Coronation, and vnction. With *Sigebert* and the Author of the great Chronicle, we may ioyne r *Lambertus Schaffnaburgensis*. His words are, *Carolus à Romanis Augustus est appellatus*. That is: the *Romanes* proclaimed *Charles Augustus*, And s *Nauclerus* saith, *Pontifex populi Romani consensu Carolum Romanorum Imperatorem declarat hic*. that is: The high Bishop, with the consent of the people of *Rome*, proclaimeth *Charles* Emperor of *Romans*, & crowneth him with a Diademe. The people with a ioyfull shout, crying out thrice, *Carolo Augusto, à Deo coronato, magno & pacifico Imperatori, vita et victoria*. But to cleare this point: and to make it euident to al the world, that howsoeuer the Pope & Clergy might concur in this act, with the people and nobles of *Italy*, as hauing part & interest in

r *Lib. Chron. a principio mundi cum figuris et imaginibus Anno. 800.*

s *Chronog. vol. Generat.*

matters of ſtate as well as other; yet the Pope by his Papal power did not tranſlate the Empire, three things are to be obſerued. The firſt, that in the time of *Gregory* the ſecond, there was a great rebellion in *Italy* againſt the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, and a deſire to chuſe a new Emperour, & that they of *Rauenna* and *Venice* proceeded ſo farre in it, that they would haue forced the Biſhop of *Rome*, and others to concurre with them: whereby it appeareth, that the act of tranſlation was not proper to the Biſhop of *Rome*, but proceeded from the concurring deſires of the *Italians*, and was their act, rather then his. The ſecond, that *Charles* [f] was a mighty, potent, and great Prince, hauing vnder him all *France*, *Spaine*, and a great part of *Germany*, with many other countries; and by his ſword had ſubiected to him, the *Lombardes*, & was Lord of the greateſt part of *Italy*, before either the people proclaimed him, or the Pope crowned him Emperour. So that howſoeuer the *Italians* by *Leo* the Biſhop, proclaimed, crowned, and accounted him Emperour; yet it was his right of inheritance, and his ſword that had poſſeſſed him of the thing, before euer they gaue him the title of the Weſt Empire. The third, that whether the *Italians* had right to chooſe an Emperour or not, it mattereth nothing, ſeeing they rebelled againſt their Emperour, and thought, that in caſe of ſuch neceſſity they might ſo doe; and that therefore the obiection of *Bellarmine* againſt our poſition, is too weake, when he ſaith the people had no power to chooſe the Emperour. For howſoeuer anciently the Emperours were choſen by the ſouldiers, or came to it by inheritance, yet the people at this time *de facto* took vpon them to chooſe, without curious diſputing the queſtion of right. The fourth inſtance of the Popes intermedling in the diſpoſition of the kingdomes of the world, is that of *Gregory* the 5, who (as *Bellarmine* ſaith) appointed the forme of chuſing the Emperour by the ſeauen Princes of *Germany*, and ordained that the Emperour ſhould euer after be choſen by them.

[f] *Great chron. in Carolo.*

For the clearing of which point, we muſt obſerue [t] that the Empire of the Weſt, being tranſlated from *Conſtantinople* into *France* in the perſon of *Charles* the great, he dyed, and *Ludouicus* his ſonne ſucceeded him. *Lotharius* ſucceeded *Ludouicus*, and *Ludouicus* his ſonne ſucceeded him. *Carolus Caluus* his vncle ſucceeded *Ludouicus*; *Carolus Craſſus* his brother *Ludouicus* ſonne, ſucceeded him. This *Carolus Craſſus* for his vnfitneſſe, was put from the Empire, & *Arnulphus* his nephew, ſonne of *Carlomaine* was choſen in his place; who was the laſt of the race of *Charles* the great, that was crowned Emperour, whom *Ludouicus* his ſonne ſucceeded, but was neuer crowned. In whom dying without children, the race of *Charles* did wholy ceaſe. After him *Otho* the Duke of *Saxony* was greatly deſired; but refuſing to be Emperour in reſpect of his old age, the *French* by his aduice choſe *Conradus*; and *Conradus* when he dyed named *Henry* the ſonne of *Otho* Duke of *Saxony*, who reigned in *Eaſt-France*.

[t] *Great chron. in Gregory 5. Naucler. vol. 2. Generat. 28. & ſequentibus.*

But

But vpon the death of *Ludouicus* the third, the *Lombardes* possessed themselues of the Empire in *Italy*, eight of them successiuely holding it for the space of 50 yeares, till *Otto*, the sonne of *Matilda* (daughter of *Theodoricus*, king of the *Saxons*) & *Henry* the king; who succeeding his father, & being very famous for the things he had done in *France* & *Germany*, was desired by *Agapetus* the Pope, and many nobles of *Italy* now weary of the tyranny of the *Lombards*, to come and releeue them; which he did, and entring *Italy* with 50000. armed men, put *Berengarius* the *Lombard* from the Empire, and *Albertus* from the kingdome of all *Italy*; and was crowned Emperour in *Rome* by *Iohn* the twelfth, who dyed Emperour, and *Otho* the second his sonne succeeded him, and *Otho* the third his sonne succeeded him. This third *Otho* (as [u] *Nauclerus* saith) hauing no heires male, by the aduice, and with the consent of the Princes of *Germany*, made a Decree, that after the death of the Emperour, an election of the new Emperour to succeed should for euer be made in the citty of *Franckford*; and appointed electors, three Arch-bishops, of *Mentz* for *Germany*, of *Coleyn* for *Italy*, and of *Treuers* for *France*: and with these foure other secular Princes, to wit, the *Palatine* of *Rheme*, who by office should be the Emperors Pantler; the Duke of *Saxony*, who should be his Marshal; the Marquesse of *Brandenburge*, who was to be his Chamberlaine; and the King of *Boheme*, who was to be chiefe Butler.

[u] *Vol 2. Generat. 34.*

This ordinance greatly displeased the *Romanes*, yet notwithstanding *Gregory* the fifth then Pope, who was a *Germane* borne, & of the Emperors house, seeing how hardly *Otho* the Emperor came to the Empire, though it were his inheritance, called a Synode; and with the consent of the Princes of *Germany*, confirmed the ordinance of the Emperor, & decreed, that these 7 electors, should for euer haue power to chuse the Emperor in the name of all; who being chosen, should be called *Cæsar* and king of *Romanes*, and after his coronation by the Pope, be named *Augustus* & Emperor. [x] Cardinall *Cusanus* saith, the Emperor *Otho*, with the consent of the nobles, Primates, and both the states of the Clergy & people, ordained electors in the time of *Gregory* the 5. who was a *Germane*, and decreed, that they should haue power for euer to chuse the Emperor in steed of all. It is not therefore to be granted (saith he) that the Princes electors haue their power of chusing the Emperor from the Pope, so that without his consent they should not haue it, or that he might take it from them if he would. Who therefore gaue the people of *Rome* power to chuse the Emperour, but the law of God, and nature? whence the Electors, appointed by the common consent of all the *Germanes*, and others subiect to the Empire in the time of *Henry* the second, haue their power originally from the common consent of them all, who by natures right had power to constitute them an Emperour; and not from the Bishop of *Rome*, who hath no power to giue to any prouince of the world, a King or Emperour, without

[x] *Concord. Catho. lib. 3. cap. 4.*

the

the consent thereof. But the consent of *Gregory* the 5. who as Bishop of *Rome* in his degree and place, had interest to giue voice in the chusing of the Emperour, concurred with the resolution of the Princes and people. The fifth instance is of *Gregory* the 7. deposing *Henry* the 4. who (indeed) was the first Pope that euer tooke vpon him to depose Emperour or King.

Wherfore for the better vnderstanding of the whole course of the proceedings of this Pope, we must obserue, [y] that in the time of *Henry* the 3. about the yeare of our Lord 1040. there was an horrible confusion of Gods Church and people in the citty of *Rome*, three seueral pretenders inuading the chaire of *Peter*, and challenging the name of his successors, and (which more increased the misery) the reuenues of the Church were diuided among these three, and seuerall Patriarchicall places assigned to them; one of them sitting at S. *Peters*, another at S. *Mary* the greater, and the third named *Benedict*, in the palace of *Lateran*; and all of them liued very lewdly and wickedly (as *Otho* saith the *Romanes* reported vnto him being in *Rome*.) A certaine religious Presbyter named *Gratian*, considering this miserable state of the Church, and taking pitty on his distressed mother, moued with the zeale of piety went to the three pretenders, and perswaded them for money to leaue the holy seate of *Peter*; assigning to *Benedict*, as being of greater esteeme among them, the reuenues of *England* for his maintenance, and as a recompence of his voluntary relinquishing the claime to the Popedome. The Citizens of *Rome* admiring the happy atchieuement of this Presbyter, chose him to be Pope, as being the deliuerer of the Church from so great a schisme; and changing his name, called him *Gregory* the 7. But when *Henry* the king heard of it, he passed into *Italy*. *Gratian* vnderstanding of his comming, met him at *Suterium*, and to pacifie his wrath, offered him a precious Diademe. The king at the first honorably receiued him; but afterwards calling a Councell of Bishops, induced him to giue ouer the Popedome, as hauing by Symony obtained it at the first; & with the consent of the *Romane* Church placed *Suidegerus* Bishop of *Babenberge* in the Papall chaire, who was named *Clemens*. This *Clemens* dyed, and *Popio* Patriarch of *Aquileia* succeeded him, and was named *Damasus*. *Damasus* dyed, and *Bruno* Bishop of the *Tullians* succeeded him, and was named *Leo*. This man being of a noble race in *France*, was appointed Pope by the authority of the Emperor; and hauing put on the Papall purple robe, iourneyed through *France*, till he came to *Cluniacke*, where one *Hildebrand* was Priour. This *Hildebrand* moued with zeale came to *Leo*, and told him he did ill to assume the Papall office by vertue of the Emperours nomination being a Lay-man, but that if he would be aduised by him, he would direct him into a course, whereby he might without offending the Emperour, preserue the liberty of the Church in chusing her chiefe Bishop.

[y] *Otho. Frisingē. Chronic. lib. 6. ca. 32. 33.*

This

This aduice *Leo* hearkned vnto, and putting off his purple robe, put on the weede of a pilgrime, and ſo going to *Rome* with this *Hildebrand* in his company, by his aduice and counſell, found the meanes to get himſelfe choſen Pope by the Clergy and people of *Rome*. *Leo* dyed, and *Ieuehardius* afterwards named *Victor*, ſucceeded him, and *Stephen* him: about whoſe time *Henry* the third dyed, and *Henry* the fourth his ſonne ſucceeded him; and after *Stephen*, *Benedict*, and *Nicholas*. *Alexander* gate the papall Sea, [z] againſt whom great exception was taken, for that contrary to the cuſtome, he was choſen without the Emperours conſent, and with the liking of the yong Emperour & his mother (as ſome report.) Another was ſet vp by the Biſhops of *Lombardy*, affirming that no man might be choſen or deſigned to the Popedome without the Emperours allowance. And beſides, *Anno* Arch-biſhop of *Coleyn* went to *Rome* to expoſtulate the matter with *Alexander* and the Cardinals adhering to him, and to know of him, how he durſt contrary to cuſtome, and the law preſcribed and impoſed anciently vpon the Popes, aſſume the Popedome without the conſent of the Emperour; alledging many things to ſhew the vnlawfulneſſe of this fact, and beginning at *Charles* the great, he named many Emperours who had either choſen or confirmed Popes, and made good their election. But being ready to go forward, & to adde more proofes vnto that which he had ſaid, *Hildebrand* the Arch-deacon (the whole company of Cardinals becking vnto him ſo to do) ſtood vp, & anſwered in this ſort. Arch-biſhop *Anno*, the Kings and Emperours of *Rome* neuer had any authority, right, or commanding power in the choyce of the Pope; and if at any time, any thing were done violently or diſorderly, it was afterwards corrected and ſet right againe by the cenſure of the Fathers. After the death of *Alexander*, this *Hildebrand*, who this euer oppoſed himſelfe againſt the Emperours claimes, was by the *Romanes* choſen Pope without the Emperors conſent. Which the Biſhops of *France* vnderſtanding, knowing well of how violent, ſeuere, and vntractable a diſpoſition hee was, vnwilling to haue him poſſeſſe ſo high a place in the Church, told the Emperour, that if he did not in time preuent the matter, and voyde his election, greater euils and perils would beſet him, then hee could at firſt thinke of. Whereupon he ſent Embaſſadours to *Rome*, to know the cauſe why the *Romanes* contrary to the ancient cuſtome, had choſen a Pope without his conſent. And if they gaue not ſatisfaction, to put *Hildebrand* from the Papall dignity which he had vniuſtly gotten. The Embaſſadours comming to *Rome*, were kindly and courteouſly entertained, and when they had deliuered their meſſage, *Hildebrand* (like a vile diſſembling hypocrite) contrary to his owne practiſe, & that which he had perſwaded other vnto, anſwered, that he neuer ſought this honor, but that it was put vpon him; and that yet hee would not accept of it, till by a certaine Embaſſadour, he was aſſured, that not onely the Emperour, but

z *Nauler, Vol. 2. Gener. 36.*

but the Princes of *Germany* consented to his election. Which answer whē the Emperour receiued, he was fully satisfied, and with all readinesse, by his royall consent, confirmed his election, and commanded, that he should be ordained. Thus we see, how to serue his owne turne, he could now acknowledge the Emperours interest, and refuse to be ordained before hee had obtained his confirmation, which yet before in the case of *Alexander* he disclaimed; though [a] some say, he neuer yeelded so much to the Emperour, but euer held out against him, disclaiming his intermedling, and that a most horrible schisme ensued thereupon. Howsoeuer, he was no sooner Pope, but he began to molest the Emperour, challenging him for Symony in conferring Ecclesiastical dignities, and requiring him to come to some Synodall answer; which when he refused to do, he excommunicated him, depriued him of his Empire, and absolued his subiects from their oath of obedience.

a *Otho. Frisingēs. li. 6. c. 34. & 35.*

This was the first Pope that euer presumed to depose any Emperour. *Lego & relego* (saith [b] *Otho Frisingensis*) *Romanorum Regum & Imperatorum gesta, & nusquam inuenio quenquam eorum ante hunc à Romano Pontifice excommunicatum, vel regno priuatum; nisi fortè quis pro anathemate habendum ducat, quòd Philippus ad breue tempus à Romano Pontifice inter pœnitentes collocatus; & Theodosius à beato Ambrosio propter cruentam cædem à liminibus Ecclesiæ sequestratus sit:* that is, I reade, and I reade ouer againe and againe, the acts of the *Romane* Kings and Emperours, and I no where find any one of them before this, excommunicated by the *Romane* Bishop, or depriued of his kingdome; vnlesse haply any man do thinke that is to be taken for an excommunicatiō, that *Philip* was for a short time, put among the Penitents by the Bishop of *Rome*; & *Theodosius* for his bloudy murther stopped by blessed *Ambrose* from entring into the Church. And therefore whatsoeuer [c] *Gregory* pretendeth to the contrary, professing that hee treadeth in the steps of the Saints, and his holy predecessors; yet it is true that [d] *Sigebert* saith, (which he hopeth hee may say with the leaue of all good men) that this nouelty (that hee say not heresie) had not shewed it selfe in the world in their time, that the Priests of that God which maketh hypocrites to reigne for the sins of his people, should teach his people, that they owe no subiectiō to wicked Kings; and that they owe no fealty vnto them, though they haue taken the oath of fealty: that they are free from periury that lift vp their hands against the King to whom they haue sworne: and that they are to bee taken for excommunicate persons that do obey him. What horrible confusions followed vpon this censure of *Gregory*, [e] *Otho Frisingesis* reporteth in most tragical manner. His words are these. How great euils, how many warres and dangers of warres followed thence? How often was miserable *Rome* besieged, taken, and sacked? How one Pope was intruded vpon another; as likewise one King set vp against another, it is irksome to me to remember. To conclude

b *Otho. Fris. li. 6. Chron. cap. 35.*

c *Decr. part. 2. caus. 15. quæst 6. & lib. 8. epist. 21.*

d *In Chronic. anno. 1088.*

e *Chron. lib. 6. cap. 36*

clude, the whirle-wind of this tempeſt inwrapped in it ſo many euils, ſo many ſchiſmes, ſo many perils of the ſoules & bodies of men, that it alone may ſuffiſe in reſpect of the cruelty of the perſecution, & the long continuance of the time thereof, to ſet before our eyes the infelicity of mans miſerable condition. For [i] firſt, the Emperor offended with the Pope for moleſting him about the Inueſtitures of Biſhops, which his predeceſſours anciently had and enioyed; and the Clergy diſcontented with him for his forbidding marriage; he was in an aſſembly of the ſtates and Biſhops of *Germany*, holden at *Wormes*, depoſed, and a letter written to him, requiring him no longer to meddle with the Epiſcopal office. But ſuch was the reſolution & ſtoutneſſe of this turbulent and vnquiet ſpirit, that being encouraged by certaine Biſhops of *Germany*, and promiſed their aide & helpe, he depriued the Biſhops that had giuen ſentence againſt him, and depoſed *Henry* the Emperor, abſoluing his ſubiects from their oath of obedience. Whereupon many of the Princes of *Germany*, and firſt of all the *Saxons* formerly auerſe from him, withdrew their ſubiection; pretending, that they might iuſtly caſt off the yoake, and refuſe to obey him any longer, ſeeing hauing bene called to giue ſatisfaction to two Popes, concerning certaine crimes obiected to him, he had refuſed to appeare, and was thereupon excommunicated. Theſe rebellions & defections ſo affrighted the Nobles & Princes of the Empire that ſtill remained well affected to the Emperor, that for the ſtaying of preſent confuſiõs, & preuenting of other, they thought good that the Pope ſhold be intreated to come into *Germany*, & that then the Emperor ſhould ſubmit himſelfe vnto him, and aske forgiueneſſe; which thing accordingly was effected: for the Pope was perſwaded, & conſented to come into *Germany*, & was cõming towards *Auguſta*, as farre as *Verſella*. But whẽ he came thither, pretending feare that the Emperor meant not well towards him, he brake off his iourney, and went to *Canoſſum*, & there ſtaied. Which the Emperour hearing of, and doubting what might be the cauſe of his ſtay, haſtned thither; and putting off all roiall robes, on his bare feete came to the gates of the towne, humbly beſeeching that he might be let in; but was ſtaied without 3. daies, thogh it were extreme cold winter weather; which he endured patiently, continually intreating, til in the end he was let in, & abſolued; but yet conditionally, that being called, he ſhould appeare in an aſſembly of Princes & Biſhops, to anſwer ſuch crimes as were obiected to him; and either to purge himſelfe and ſo retai ne his kingdome; or otherwiſe failing ſo to do, to loſe it. This his ſubmiſſion afterwards he made knowne to the *Italians*, who vnderſtanding what he had done, were exceedingly enraged againſt him, derided the Legates of the Pope, and contemned his curſes, as being depoſed by all the Biſhops of *Italy* for iuſt cauſes, as namely, for ſimony, murther, adultery, & other moſt horrible & capitall crimes; and told him, that he had done a moſt intollerable thing, in ſubmitting himſelfe & his kingly Maieſty to an heretick & moſt infamous perſon. Yea they proceeded ſo farre, that

[i] *Naucler. Vol. 2. Gener. 37.*

that they told him, becauſe he had ſo done, they were reſolued to make his ſon Emperor in his ſteed; and to go to *Rome* & chuſe a new Pope, by whō he might be conſecrated, & all the proceedings of this falſe Pope voided. But the Emperor excuſing himſelfe for that which he had done, as driuen by neceſſity ſo to do, & promiſing to reuenge theſe wrongs, when opportunity ſhould be offered, pacifyed thē in ſuch ſort, that they began to incline to him againe. Yet were not his euils at an end hereby. For his enemies among the *Germanes* preſently tooke the opportunity of this his relapſe, & calling an aſſembly with the Legats of the Pope, choſe a new Emperor, *Rodolphe* Duke of *Sueuia*; to whō the Pope ſent an imperial crowne, hauing this inſcription: *Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.* Which when he heard of, he called a Councell of the Biſhops of *Italy* & *Germany*, and charging *Hildebrand* the Pope with moſt horrible crimes of hereſie, necromancy, periury, murther, & the like, depoſed him; choſe *Guibertus*, Biſhop of *Rauenna* in his place, and gathering together a great & mighty army, went againſt *Rodolphe* abiding in *Saxony*; where a moſt terrible and bloody battell was fought betweene them: in which battell *Rodolphe* was wounded; & going aſide frō his cōpanions, with many other likewiſe woūded, was carried to *Mersberge*, where he died; who a litle before his death, beholding his right hand cut off in that battel, fetching a deep ſigh, ſaid to the Biſhops which by chance were preſēt: *Behold, this is the hand with which by ſolemne vow & oath I obliged my faith & feaulty to* Henry *my Lord. Behold now I leaue his kingdom & this preſent life, ſee you that made me climb vp into his throne, what you haue done: would to God you had led me the right way, whō you found ſo willing to follow your aduice & counſell, & to be directed by you.* Yet did neither the ill ſucceſſe of the former attempt, nor the ſpeeches of *Rodolphe* at his death, blaming thoſe that had ſet him a work, & condēning himſelfe for that which he had done, diſcourage the ill affected from proceeding on in their rebellious practiſes. For they ſet vp *Hermannus*, Prince of *Lorrayne*, in ſteed of *Rodolphe*, & proclaimed him Emperor, whō the Emperor *Henry* ſlew likewiſe, as he had done the other; & reſted not till hee made Pope *Hildebrand* leaue *Rome*, & flye to *Salernū*; & brought the new Pope named *Clement*, to be inthronized, & himſelfe crowned by him in *Rome*. The acts of *Hildebrand* (ſaith *Nauclerus*) were ſuch, that the writers be very doubtful, whether the things that were done by him, were done out of any loue of vertue, or any zeale he bare to the faith, or not. They that loued him beſt, diſliked his ſtiffenes, as [k] *Auentinus* witneſſeth. [l] *Otho Friſingenſis* noteth, that his diſpoſition was ſuch, that for the moſt part, he euer liked that which others diſliked. So that that of *Lucane* might be verified of him: *Victrix cauſa Diis placuit ſed victa Catoni*: that is, the preuailing part & cauſe beſt pleaſed God, but that which fel, & had the ouerthrow, had *Catoes* wiſhes. And though he commend his zeale, yet in his prologue of his 7. booke he taxeth him, & others like vnto him, in very bitter ſort. His words are theſe: *Videntur tamen culpandi Sacerdotes per omnia, qui regnum*

k *Annal.*
l *Lib. 6. cap. 32.*

num ſuo gladio, quem ipſi ex Regum habent gratia, ferire conantur. Niſi forte Dauid imitari cogitant, qui Philiſtæũ primò virtute Dei ſtrauit, poſtmodùm proprio gladio iugulauit: that is, Notwithſtanding whatſoeuer may bee ſaid, the Prieſts ſeeme altogether blameable, & worthy of reproofe & reprehẽſion, which go about to ſtrike Kinges & Princes with that their ſword which they haue by the grace & fauour of Princes; vnleſſe haply they do thinke it lawfull for them to imitate *Dauid*, who firſt ouerthrew and caſt to the ground the proud Philiſtine by the power of God, & afterwards ſlew him with his owne ſword. Of this *Hildebrand*, [1] *Sigebert* ſaith, he found it thus written: We will haue you know, you that manage the Eccleſiaſticall affaires, & to whom the care of the Church is cõmitted, that the Lord, Pope *Hildebrand*, who alſo was called *Gregory*, being in *extremis*, & drawing neare his end, called vnto him one of the 12 Cardinals, whom hee loued dearely, & more then any of the reſt; and in his hearing confeſſed to God, to holy *Peter*, & to the whole Church, that he had ſinned exceedingly, & grieuouſly offended in the Paſtorall charge committed to him, & in gouerning the people of whom he had vndertaken the care; and that by the perſwaſion & inſtigation of the Diuell, he had ſtirred vp hatred & wrath againſt mankind: & then commanded the forenamed Confeſſor to make haſte to go to the Emperour, & to the whole Church of God, to aske forgiueneſſe for him, becauſe he ſaw the end of his life was neare at hand. And beſides all this, in great haſte put on him an Angelicall veſture or robe, & releaſed & brake in ſunder the bands of all thoſe bitter curſes whereunto he had ſubiected the Emperor. Theſe were the turbulent proceedings of this curſed *Hildebrand*, indeed a brand taken out of the very fire of hell, to ſet on fire the courſe of nature, & to put the whole world into a cõbuſtion; wherof (if this report mentioned by *Sigebertus* be true) it repẽted him not a little before his death. But howſoeuer, it is moſt certaine, that his beſt friends in the end began wholy to diſlike him, when they ſaw whither his violent & furious paſſions carried him, & what wofull effects followed the ſame. *Gerochus* (ſaith [m] *Auentinus*) then whom no man was found more earneſtly to defend *Hildebrãd* by bookes writtẽ to iuſtifie his proceedings, and who publiſhed to the world diuers crimes obiected to the Emperor, mentioned by no other writer, at the laſt, cõſtrained by the force of truth, taxed the pertinacy, if not the tyranny, of the Pope & his adherents, in this ſort: *Romani (inquit) ſibi diuinum vſurpant honorem, rationem actorum reddere nolunt, nec ſibi dici æquo animo ferunt, cur ita agis? Illud Satyricum inculcant, Sic volo, ſic iubeo, ſit pro ratione voluntas*; that is, The *Romanes* take vnto themſelues the honour that is proper vnto God: they will giue no account for any thing they do; they wil be ſubiect to no controll, neither can they endure with any patience, that any man ſhould ſay to any of them, ſir, why do you ſo? That Satyricall ſaying they haue often in their mouthes: ſo I will haue it, ſo I command it to be. Let my will ſtand for a reaſon, for ſo it ſhall. Thus we ſee how ill a beginning the Popes made of depoſing

[1] *Anno* 1085.

[m] *Annot. lib. 5. pag. 563.*

Emperours,

Emperors, & how bad ſucceſſe they had. Which is not to be marualled at, ſeeing in theſe attempts & practiſes they were contrary to Chriſt and his Apoſtles. For theſe (as *Auentinus* noteth) acknowledged the Emperors, as alſo al the holy Fathers did, to be in the ſecond place & ranke after God, & before all mortall men, giuen, appointed, & choſen by the immortal God; and honored them, as hauing the crowne ſet vpon their heads by God himſelfe; they prayed daily for their proſperity, they paid tribute vnto them, & proclaimed them rebels againſt God, that refuſed to be ſubiect to them. After this bad beginning, ſome 2. or 3. other Popes ſucceeding, attempted in like ſort as *Hildebrand* had done, to depoſe ſuch Emperors as they were offended with. Concerning whoſe attempts & practiſes, let the Reader conſider the cenſure of Cardinall *Cuſanus*. His words are theſe:

n *Cuſanus. de Concord. Cathol. lib. 3. cap. 41.*

n Let it ſuffiſe the Pope, that he excelleth the Emperor, as much as the Sun doth the Moone, and the ſoule the body; and let him not challenge that which pertaineth not to him: neither let him affirme, that the Empire is not but by him, & in depẽdance on him: & if haply the depoſing of ſome kings & Emperors, the tranſlation of the Empire moue him ſo preſumptuouſly for to thinke, let him know, that if the reſpect of religion, & due cõſideration of humility hindered not, it were eaſie to anſwer all thoſe things truly & moſt clearely; and ſo, that haply theſe things ſhould no way argue ſo great a power in the Pope, as Pope, without the conſent or willing acceptation of the parties contending, as is imagined. For there wanted not in ancient times men to defend *Henry* the 4. crowned at *Baſil* by the Legates of *Rome*, from the excommunication of *Gregory* or *Hildebrand*. Yea ſuch there were that were Cardinals at that time, and a certaine Councell holden at *Rome*, nay which more is, the generall Councell at *Baſil*, holden at that time, did the ſame things cõcerning the chuſing of *Honorius* Pope, for which *Henry* the Emperor was pronounced excõmunicate. And in like ſort, there are found things excellently & ſtrongly written in defence of *Fredericke* the ſecond, a moſt valiant man, & a moſt conſtant defender of the faith, as alſo in defence of other Emperors. How much the Popes proceedings againſt *Fredericke* the ſecond, hindered the courſe of the ſacred warre vndertaken at that time againſt the Infidels, how many things the Pope charged him with, which he vtterly diſclaimed, and how much all Chriſtiã Princes in the end begã to diſlike the pride of the *Romane* Court, the o Hiſtories of thoſe times do ſufficiently make known vnto vs. Wherefore to conclude this point, touching the Popes pretẽded power of depoſing Princes; ſeeing the firſt that euer attẽpted to excerciſe the ſame, was that brãd of hel, *Gregory* the 7. ſeeing he had ſo il ſucceſſe in this his proud attempt, & cauſed ſuch confuſions in the Chriſtian world, as the like had ſeldom, or neuer bene before; & ſeeing the beſt learned about thoſe times, & ſince, condemned the opinion of them that think the Pope may depoſe Princes, as new & ſtrange, if not hereticall: we may ſafely reſolue, that the Pope taking vpon him to giue and take away kingdomes, which is proper to God, is that Antichriſt that ſits in the tẽple of God, as if he were God.

o *See Matth. Pariſ. Henric. 3. pag. 632.*

CHAP.

Chap. 47.

Of the Ciuill dominion which the Popes haue by the gift of Princes.



Hauing prooued, that the Popes neither directly nor indirectly, haue power ouer Princes and the Kingdomes of the world, or any thing to doe in the managing and disposing of ciuill affaires, by vertue of any grant from Christ, let vs proceed to see what temporall dominion and ciuill power they haue by the grant of Princes. It is the resolued opinion almost of all men (saith [a] *Cusanus*) that *Constantine* the Emperour gaue the whole Empire, of the West to *Sylvester* Bishop of *Rome*, and to his successors for euer, so that there can bee no Emperour of the West, but such a one as must wholy depend of the Pope, and acknowledge that he holdeth the Imperiall crowne of him. Neither were there many found in ancient times, that durst make question of this donation of *Constantine*, yet doth this great Cardinall and worthy Diuine professe, that hauing sought diligently to finde out the originall of this supposed grant, and the certainty of it (presupposing that *Constantine* might make such a grant which yet will neuer bee prooued) hee greatly wondereth if euer there were any such thing. For that there is no such thing to be found in authentieall bookes, and approued Histories. I haue read ouer (saith he) againe and againe, all the acts of Popes and Emperours, that by any meanes I could meete with, the histories of Saint *Hierome*, who was most diligent in collecting all things, the workes of *Augustine*, *Ambrose*, and other learned Fathers, and the actes of generall Councels which haue beene since the Councell of *Nice*, and can finde no such thing, as this supposed donation, nor any thing that may import, that euer there was any such donation, neither can it stand with the course of things reported vnto vs by the ancient Historians & writers: *Damasus* at the request of *Hierome*, wrote the liues and actions of his Predecessors: and yet in the life of *Sylvester* reporteth no such thing. Hee addeth further, that hauing diligently perused the Charter of this grant, hee found in it most euident arguments of forgery and falshood, and therefore saith, hee thinketh these things concerning *Constantines* donation to bee apocryphall, as some other large writings attributed to *Clemens* and *Anacletus* the Popes. For first the Epistle of *Melchiades* touching the Primitiue Church, and the bounty of *Constantine* is prooued counterfaite, in that hee speaketh of the Councell of *Nice* holden after his death, and of *Constantines* donation, supposed to haue beene granted in the time of *Sylvester*, who succeeded him. Besides this in the Charter of donation, *Constantine* professeth that he was a Leper, that he was freed from the same by *Sylvesters* meanes, by whom he was baptized, and that he was first instructed in Christ-

[a] *De Concord. Cathol. lib. 3. cap. 2.*

Christianity by him. Whereas it is a meere fable that is reported of *Constantines* leprosie, and it is most certaine, that hee was a Christian before *Sylvester* was Bishop of Rome. I no where euer read (saith [b] *Melchior Canus*) in any good and approoued authors, that *Constantine* was a Leper. But another of that name surnamed *Copronymus*, whence haply, through ambiguity of the name, this error might spring, vnlesse this rumor concerning the Leprosie of *Constantine* may seeme to haue sprung from that we finde reported of him; that he went out of the Citty of Byzantium to certaine hot baithes for his healths sake. *Thomas Aquinas* in his [c] summe mentioneth this vulgar history of *Constantines* Leprosie, & (as it seemeth) approoueth the same; but [d] *Caietane* doth not so, writing vpon *Thomas*; neither wanteth hee good authors to induce him to reiect this fabulous report: for he hath *Platina* in the life of *Marke*, *Ludouicus Viues* in his booke *de corruptis disciplinis*, and [e] *Alcuat*, all flatly denying and reiecting this report; and he hath all ancient writers of that age, passing it ouer in silence: who would neuer haue omitted it, if they had knowne of any such thing, and would vndoubtedly haue knowne it, if there had been any such thing. Touching his Baptisme, all the ancient Historians [f] *Hierome*, [g] *Eusebius*, [h] *Socrates*, [i] *Theodoritus*, [k] *Zozomen*, [l] *Cassiodorus*: *Pomponius Laetus*, and other of that ranke affirme, that hee was Baptized by *Eusebius* Bishop of Nicomedia, a little before his death, and not by *Sylvester*. The author of the Pontificall, who is full of fables, the fained Charter of *Constantines* donation, and some late writers, deceiued by these forgeries, affirme, that hee was first conuerted to Christianity by *Sylvester* Bishop of Rome, and by him baptized, which by no meanes can bee true; it being most certaine he was a Christian in the time of *Melchiades*, *Sylvesters* predecessor. It is most certainely true (saith [m] *Cusanus*) that *Constantine* the Emperor was a Christian in the time of *Melchiades* the Pope, as it appeareth by *Austine* in diuers places, especially in his Epistle to *Glorius* & *Eleusius*. These are proofes more then sufficient, that the Edict of donation attributed to *Constantine* is counterfaite and forged; and therefore [n] *Melchior Canus* writeth thus of it. The Lawyers do sufficiently shew, that that forme of donation, which is attributed to *Constantine*, and commonly caried about, is fained and counterfaite, in that they brand it with the disgracefull inscription of Chaffe. *Eusebius*, *Ruffinus*, *Theodoret*, *Socrates*, *Zozomen*, *Eutropius*, *Victor*, and the other approoued authors, who most diligently wrote all the acts of *Constantine* do not onely passe by this supposed donation, without making any mention of it, but also deliuer, that *Constantine* by his last will and testament, so deuided the Prouinces, subiect to the Romaine Empire, among his three sonnes, that all Italy fell to the lot of one of them: which being so religious a Prince, hee would not haue done, if hee had formerly giuen Italy, and all the Westerne part of the Empire to the Pope. [o] *Ammianus Marcellinus* reporteth, that *Constantine* held the Soueraigntie of Rome, and appointed *Leontius*

[b] *Locorum Theologic. lib. 12. cap. 5.*

[c] *3. parte quest. 69 in 4. argumento.*
[d] *Lib. 2.*
[e] *Lib. Parerg. 7. cap. 19.*
[f] *In Chronic.*
[g] *Lib. 4. de vita Constantin.*
[h] *Li. 1. cap. 39.*
[i] *Lib. 1. hist. Eccl. cap. 31.*
[k] *Li 2. cap. 34.*
[l] *Tripart. hist.*

[m] *Concord. Cathol. lib. 3. cap. 2.*

[n] *Vbi suprà.*

Dist. 96. cap. Constantinus.

[o] *Lib. 15.*

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to bee his Lieutenant there, and all Hiſtorians do report that ſundry Emperors long after the time of *Conſtantines* ſuppoſed donation, ruled and raigned as ſoueraigne Lordes in Italy: and euen in Rome it ſelfe p Pope *Agatho* writing to *Conſtantine*, that called the ſixth Generall Councell, acknowledgeth that Rome is *Imperatoris ſeruilis vrbs*, that is, the Emperors citty in all humble and ſubmiſſiue ſubiection: and it is moſt euident that q in the time of *Gregory* the firſt, the Emperor held the citty of Rome, and gouerned it by a Lord Deputy. But ſome man perhaps will ſay, that the acts of *Syluester* in which this donation is found, are approued by *Gelaſius*, and a ſynode of Biſhoppes, and that therefore wee may not doubt of it. This allogation is eaſily anſwered. For (as r *Cuſanus* rightly noteth) it is a very weake and ſlender confirmation of the actes of Pope *Syluester*, that is found in *Gelaſius*, and the ſynode of Biſhpps holden by him. For *Gelaſius* ſaith onely, the author of theſe Actes is not knowne, and that yet they are read by ſome Catholikes in the Church of Rome, and many Churches by ancient vſe imitate the ſame. The writings alſo (ſaith hee) concerning the inuention of the holy croſſe of our Lord, and ſome other writings concerning the inuention of the head of S. *Iohn Baptiſt*, are truely but nouell and late reuelations, and yet ſome Catholikes read them. But when writings of this kind ſhall come into the hands of Catholikes, let that ſentence of bleſſed *Paul* the Apoſtle go before them, s *that proue all things, and hold that which is good.* Touching *Gratian* in whome this Charter of Donation is now found, t *Antoninus* Arch-biſhop of Florence noteth, that in the old bookes it was not found, and therefore is rightly noted and diſtinguiſhed from other things of more credit by the inſcription of *Palea*, that is chaffe, becauſe there is no good corne in them as *Platina* obſerueth in the life of *Iohn* the ſeauenth, with whome x *Contius*, the author of a Preface before the Decrees, agreeth: affirming that thoſe things that are ſo noted, were at firſt put into the margent onely, and ſo after crept into the text, and that many of them are not found in the moſt ancient booke of Decrees. And in his Annotations vppon that y part of the Decrees, where this fayned charter of *Conſtantine* is found, inſinuateth, that this Chaffe is not in all bookes of Decrees. Touching *Iſidore*, the z *Magdeburgians* teſtifie, that in old copyes there is nothing found concerning this ſuppoſed donation, and the like may bee thought of *Iuo*; ſo that there is no Author of any credit, that giueth teſtimony to this donation: and they that doe ſpeake of it, ſpeake ſo differently and vncertainely, that from thence a *Nauclere* gathereth, that the whole is but a forged matter, and meere deuiſe. For in the b Decrees there is mention of a donation of the citty of Rome, of all Italy, and other Prouinces of the Weſt, but in the fained c Epiſtle of *Melchiades*, and in the d Decretall of *Bonifacius*, the eighth there is no mention but onely of the citty of Rome: ſo that though it be

p *Epiſt. Agathonis. Icel. in 6. action. 4.*
q *Io. Diaconus in vita Gregorij. lib. 1. cap. 40.*
r *Concord. Cathol. lib. 3. cap. 2.*
s *Diſt. 15. cap. 3.*
t *1. Theſſ. 5. 21.*
u *Hiſt. part. 1. tit. 8. cap. 2. Citatus ab Fl. lyrico in Catolog. teſt. veritatis. tit. Donatio Conſtantini.*
x *Cap. cum. Ex. xa Diſt. 5. in annot.*
y *part. 1. decr. Diſt. 96. cap. Conſtantinus.*
z *Centur. 4. cap. 7.*
a *Chronogr. vol. 2. Gener. 11.*
b *vbi ſupra.*
c *Decret. 2. part. 2. cauſa. 12. quæſt. 1. cap. 15.*
d *6. Decretal. Bonifac. 8. lib. 1. tit. 6. electione & elect. poteſt. cap. 17.*

not to bee doubted, but that *Constantine* gaue Princely gifts vnto the Church, and other Emperours and Princes augmented the same in such sort, that the Church long since had ample possessions, great reuenues, and a goodly patrimony in sundry parts of the West: yet I thinke wee may most safely affirme with *Platina*, *Otho Frisingensis*, *Cusanus*, *Valla*, *Naucle-rus*, *Canus*, and sundry other, that there neuer was any such donation as is imagined, but that both *Rome* and all *Italy*, with the Westerne Prouinces remained still subiect to the Emperour, till the time of *Pipine* the father of *Charles* the great, beeing gouerned either by the Emperours them-selues, or by such as they appointed when they liued away and made their abode in other places, as in processe of time they resided in a manner altogether at Constantinople, made great by *Constantine*; and better liked of by his successors then Rome it selfe. Wherevpon wee read of one [c] *Narses* the Emperours Lieutenant, a good man, and a good gouernour, who hauing vanquished the Gothes, ruled the Romaines in great peace and quietnesse for a long time; till mooued with enuie they made complaints of him to the Emperour *Iustinus*, and *Sophia* his wife, professing that it were better for them to be vnder the Gothes againe, then to endure the proud and insolent command of this Lieutenant. Vpon which complaints the Emperor displaced him, and sent one *Longinus* to succeed him. Which thing so offended *Narses*, that hee called the *Lumbards* into Italy, whose comming made the Greeke Emperours in time to lose Rome, and all Italy. *Longinus* the successor of *Narses*, after he was established in his place, (whereas before there were no Garrisons in the townes of Italy, but euery citty was gouerned by her owne Magistrates) put garrisons into diuerse townes, and brought in a new forme of gouernment into Rome, & into all Italy, which more afflicted it, then all the calamities that it had beene subiect vnto for the space of 160. yeares before, though such and so grieuous, that Rome was some-time left desolate, to bee inhabited by wilde beasts. This man brought in a new name of dignity to expresse the honourable place and office of the chiefe commander in Italy vnder the Emperour, calling it the *Exarchate*, and him that so ruled the *Exarch*. This *Exarch* remained at Rauenna, and went not at all to Rome: hee appointed no one President ouer a whole Prouince or country, but left euery Citty to bee gouerned by her owne Magistrates, whome hee called Dukes, and made none other difference betweene Rome and other cities, but that whereas the Gouernours of other places were called Dukes, the Gouernour of Rome first placed, was called a President, and they that followed him Dukes, whence wee reade of the Romaine Dukedome. Neither had the Romaines after the times of *Narses* and *Basilius*, either Consulls or Senate lawfully called together, but all their affaires were managed by some Grecian Duke, whom the *Exarch* sent vnto them. This forme of gouernment continued till the time of *Leo* the third, who breaking downe Images in the East

[c] *Naucler. vol. 2. Gen. 19. & 20.*

East parts of the world, and seeking to bring the Pope and Christians of the West to doe the like, procured himselfe so great dislike and ill will among them, (the Pope perswading them to contemne his commandements in this behalfe as vnlawfull) that they of Rauenna and Venice began to rebell against him and his *Exarch*, and would haue chosen a new Emperour, but that the Pope (in hope that he would amend) staide them by his perswasions from so dooing. [f] Yet this rebellion proceeded so farre, that the Cities deposed the Magistrates set ouer them by the *Exarch*, and appointed new of their owne. The City of Rome slew *Marius Spatharius*, that was her Duke, and his sonne *Adrian*, and chose another. They of Rauenna were deuided among themselues: wherupon the *Exarch* was slaine, and in the meane while the Lombards brought into Italy by *Narses* and now growne to be strong, possessed them-selues of Bononia, and other places. The Emperour hearing of these innouations in Italy, [g] sent another *Exarch*, who sought to appease the Lombards with gifts, and to incite certaine Romaines against the Pope to take away his life. So that the Pope was greatly distressed on euery side, fearing both the Emperour and the Lombards. But being incouraged by the people so to do, hee excommunicated the *Exarch*, whom the Emperor had sent, & pacified the Lombards, and afterwards wrought a reconciliation betweene the *Exarch* and himselfe: and perswaded him to go to Rauenna, and there to make his abode as other his predecessors had done. After this the Lombard besiegeth Rome againe, and putteth the Pope and the inhabitants in great feare, yet did they not send to the Emperour for helpe, by reason of the great dislikes that were betweene them, as also for that there was little hope of any helpe to come from him, beeing scarce able to defend the Citty of Constantinople from the Saracens, but to *Charles Martell*, Father of *Pipine*, who by intreaty perswaded the Lombarde to remooue his siege and goe away. After this againe *Aistulphus* King of the Lombards besieged Rauenna, and tooke it, and put the Romains into as great a feare, as euer they had bin in before. Where-upon the Pope writeth to the Emperour, signifying in what state Rome and all Italy was, and that if hee did not presently send aide, they must fall into the hands of *Aistulphus*. Vpon these letters of the Pope, the Emperor sendeth to *Aistulphus* to perswade him to desist from inuading his countries and territories, but effecteth nothing. And therefore the Pope consulteth with the Romaines what was fit to be done. Who resolue to send to the Emperour, and to let him know, that if hee would not presently come in person with the forces of the Empire to relieue Italy, they must be forced to seeke defence and relieue else-where. According to this resolution, messengers were presently sent to Constantinople, but not returning in time, the Romains were forced to seeke to *Pipine* for helpe: who came in person, and restored the Bishop of Rome to his place from whence hee was fled, forced *Aistulphus* to sweare and giue

[f] *Idem gener. 25. Rhegino. lib. 1.*

[g] *Naucler. gener. 25.*

pledges to reſtore all things to him that hee had taken away: but he was no ſooner gone out of the countrey, but he did more miſchiefe then euer, whereof *Pipin* vnderſtanding, gathered a new army and returned into Italy, with a full reſolution to ſubdue this Tyrant, and to ſettle the peace of the Church of Rome. The Emperour hearing that the Romans had ſought helpe of *Pipin*, ſendeth to him great gifts and preſents, and beſeecheth him to reſtore *Rauenna* and the *Exarchate* to the Empire, whereunto of right it pertained, and not to giue them to the Romans or Pope. Whereunto *Pipine* anſwered; That hee was now the ſecond time come into Italy, not for gaine, but for his ſoules health, and to repreſſe the inſolencies of the Lombards, that they might not hurt the Church, and that therefore hee meant to take Rauenna and the *Exarchate*, and other parts of Italy out of the Lombards hand, and to giue them to the Pope and Romaine Church, and ſo he did. Now the *Exarchate* was deuided into two regions, the one named Pentapolis, containing fiue citties, to wit, Rauenna, Cæſena Claſſis, Forum Liuii, and Forum Popilii: the other Æmilia, wherein were Bononia, Rhegium, Parma, Placentia, and whatſoeuer land there is from the bounds of thoſe of Placentia and Ticine to Adria, and from Adria to Ariminium: But the ſtate of things was not ſo ſetled by *Pipine*, but that *Deſiderius*, who ſucceeded *Aiſtulphus* in the kingdome of the Lombards, began a freſh to wrong the Church of Rome againe, and therefore in the time of *Adrian* the Pope, *Charles the Great*, was intreated to come into Italy; which thing hee willingly yeelded to performe, and came to relieue them whom his father before had ſet free, and reſted not till hee had ſubdued the Lombards, and reſtored to the Church of Rome all that which *Pipin* had giuen, confirming his gift with more ample priuiledges then before, and therefore to ſhew their thankfulneſſe to him, the Romans did him all the honour that poſſibly they could deuiſe, and a [g] Synode was holden in Rome called by *Adrian*, conſiſting of an hundred fifty and three Biſhops, religious men and Abbots, and *Adrian* the Pope and the Biſhops aſſembled in Councell, with vnanimous conſent yeelded to *Charles* right and power to chooſe the Pope, and to order the Apoſtolicke Sea, they granted vnto him alſo the dignity of beeing *Patricius* or Father of the common-wealth, and beſides all this decreed, that Archbiſhops and Biſhops in all Prouinces, ſhould receiue inueſture from him; and that no man ſhould bee conſecrated a Biſhop, vnleſſe hee were firſt approoued and commended by the King, and inueſted by him; ſubiecting all ſuch as ſhould dare to goe againſt this decree, to excommunication and confiſcation of goods, if they ſhould not ſpeedily repent, and ſhew themſelues ſorry for ſo dooing. This priuiledge the French Kings enioy in a ſort vnto this day, eſpecially in certaine Prouinces of France. After this, the ſecond time, *Charles the Great* was occaſioned to come to Rome, by reaſon of ſome violences offered to *Leo* Biſhop thereof, at what

[g] Diſt. 63. cap. Adrianum.

what time the Bishop of Rome considering, that the Emperours of Constantinople did hardly holde the title of Emperours, that they were able to yeeld little reliefe in time of neede, and that they did in a sort forsake the Westerne part of the Empire, and besides all this, differed in some matters of religion: and on the other side, considering that *Charles* was a most mighty Prince, and one that deserued well of the Church, as *Pipin* and *Martell* had done before him, with the consent of the people of Rome, proclaimeth him Emperour, and taketh from him the name of *Patricius*, or Father of the common-wealth.

Thus we see *Pipin* gaue certaine countries to the Pope and Church, and *Charles* confirmed the same gift. But they did not so giue them, but that they retained (as [h] *Sigonius* noteth,) *Ius, principalem & dationem*, that is, the right soueraignty and royalty to them-selues, and their successors, so that the Romaines were to doe the Emperour seruice, and pay him tributes, they were by an oath of fealtie to oblige them-selues vnto him, and [i] hee by his princely power might appoint Magistrates to iudge and rule the people, yet such was the encroching of the Romaine Bishops, that they could not endure long to bee in this subiection, but sought wholy to cast off the yoake of the Emperours. Whereupon *Fredericke Barbarossa* (as [k] *Nauclerus* reporteth out of [l] *Frisingensis*) som differences growing betweene him and the Pope, and Citties of Italy, inquired of the Princes and Lawyers, in what sort and how farre forth the Citties of Italy were subiect to the Empire: and they with one consent did all adiudge vnto him all royalties, as coynes, tolles, shippings, confirmation of dignities, of Iudges and Consulls, tributes and iudgements anciently established, besides such other things as hee might require when the Empire should stand in need. But the Pope alleadged at the same time, that the Emperour might send no Embassadors to Rome, without his conniuence, and that they of his Eschequer might make no collection of money, in the Castles, Villages or townes, subiect to the Pope, but onely at that time when first hee putteth on the Imperiall Crowne in Rome.

And *Otho Frisingensis* addeth, [m] that these articles were proposed to the Emperour by the Popes Legates, to witt, that no messengers or Embassadors should be sent to the citty without the Popes priuity, seeing all the Magistrates of that towne are the officers of Saint *Peter*, with all royalties: that no money should bee collected out of the Popes Lordshipps, but onely at the time of the Emperours Coronation; that the Bishops of Italye should onely take the oath of fealtie, and doe no homage to the Emperour; and lastly that the Emperours Embassadours should not challenge any entertainement in Bishoppes Pallaces. To these Articles [n] the Emperour answered in this sort.

I truely desire not the homage of the Bishoppes of Italye, if

[h] *De regno Italiæ. lib. 4.*

[i] *As Lotharius did. Naucler. vol. 2. generat. 28.*

[k] *Gener. 39.*

[l] *de gestis Frederici lib. 2. cap. 5.*

[m] *Radevici Frising. append. ad Othon. de reb. gestis Frederici lib. 2. cap. 30.*

[n] *Ibid.*

if they pleaſe to renounce thoſe royalties that doe belong vnto vs; who, if they willingly heare from the Pope, What haſt thou to doe with the King? they muſt be content to heare from the Emperour alſo, What haſt thou to do with mundane poſſeſſions? That our Embaſſadors are not to be receiued and intertained, I will eaſily graunt, if any Biſhop may bee found, whoſe Pallace ſtands vpon his owne ground, and not vpon ours. But whereas the Pope pretendeth that the Emperor may ſend no Embaſſadors to Rome without his priuity, that all Magiſtrates there are the officers of Saint *Peter*, this matter, I confeſſe, is of moment & conſequence, and will require a more graue and mature deliberation. For ſeeing by the prouidence and ordinance of God, I am the Emperour of Rome, and ſo called, I ſhall but onely carry a ſhew of a Soueraigne Lord, and haue the empty title without the thing, if the ſoueraignty and command of the Citie of Rome bee taken from mee. Thus did the good Emperour ſeeke to maintaine the right of the Empire, yet out of a good and Chriſtian diſpoſition, was willing to referre all differences betweene the Pope and him, to the tryall of law, or of arbitrement. But the Pope would not conſent to any ſuch thing. Wherein hee ſhewed more pollicy, then good diſpoſition, as knowing that hee muſt needes fall in this ſuite, if the matter came to tryall. For it is moſt euident, that ° *Lotharius* appointed Magiſtrates euen in Rome it ſelfe, to iudge the people; That the Nobles of Rome tooke the oath of fealty to the Emperour *Ludouicus* father to *Lotharius*. This oath was taken in the time of *Fredericke* the firſt, in Verona; The forme of the oath was this: P *I doe ſweare that from this time forward, I will bee faithfull and true to my Lord Fredericke Emperour of Romanes againſt all men, &c. And that I will neuer goe about to take from him his royalties, &c.* Theſe were the differences betweene *Frederick Barbaroſſa* and the Pope, and the oppoſition grew ſo great and ſtrong, that diuerſe of the Cardinalls conſpired againſt the Emperour, and gaue large ſummes of money to *Adrian* the Pope to excommunicate him. And this conſpiracie was confirmed with oathes, that none ſhould drawe backe or ſeeke the Emperours fauour without the reſt. And that if the Pope ſhould dye, they ſhould chooſe none, but one of the conſpiring Cardinalls to ſucceed him, But as *Dauid* ſayd, q *They ſhall curſe, but thou ſhalt bleſſe*; ſo GOD that ſpake by the mouth of *Dauid*, turned all that theſe conſpiratours did to a contrary effect. For it came to paſſe that ſome fewe dayes after the Pope had denounced excommunication againſt the Emperour at Anagnia, going forth to refreſh himſelfe with ſome few accompanying him, he dranke of the water of a certaine Well, & preſently a Flie entred into his mouth & ſtuck ſo faſt in his throat, that by no skill of Phiſitions it could be drawne out, till hee had breathed out his laſt breath. Yet were not the conſpirators diſcouraged by this accident, but after his death, the greater part of Cardinalls choſe *Rowland*

° *Supra.*

P *Radeuici appen. 1. ad. Othon. m li. 1. cap. 19.*

q *Pſal. 109. 28*

r *Naucler. vol. 2. gener. 39.*

the

the Chancelor a professed enemie to the Empire, and one of the conspiratours in contempt of *Fredericke* and the Germaine Nation, (though there were some other that chose Cardinall *Octauian* and named him *Victor*.) This *Rowland* naming him-selfe *Alexander* the third, after hee came to the Popedome, had many dangerous conflicts with the Emperour, and was oftentimes put to the worse by him, in so much that in the end hee was forced to disguise him-selfe, and in the habite of a Cooke, to flye to Venice, where hee liued for a certaine space in base condition; till in the end being knowne, hee was honorably entertained, and kindly intreated by the Venetians: which when *Fredericke* vnderstood of, hee was greatly displeased with them for intertayning his enemy, and sent his Sonne with a great Nauy and strong army by force and violence to fetch him thence. But such was the ill hap of the yong Prince, that beeing incountred by the Venetians, hee was by them taken prisoner: neither could his deliuerance by any meanes bee procured, vnlesse *Fredericke* would come in Person to Venice, and seeke to bee reconciled to the Pope. This hard condition the Emperour yeelded to for his Sonnes sake, came to Venice in Person, and was reconciled to the Pope vppon this condition, that hee should restore to the Pope the City of Rome, and whatsoeuer belonged to the royalty of it, and that hee should doe such penaunce as hee should inioyne him: which beeing yeelded vnto, hee came to the dore of Saint *Markes* Church, and all the people looking on, the Pope commaunded him to prostrate him-selfe vppon the ground, and to aske forgiuenesse, and then treading on his necke said: It is written, *thou shalt goe vppon the Aspe and Basiliske, and thou shalt treade vppon the Lyon and the Dragon*: and when *Fridericke* said vnto him. *Non tibi sed Petro cuius successor es, pareo*: that is, I do not thus submit my selfe to thee but to *Peter*: the Pope answered, *et mihi et Petro*: that is, thou shalt doe it both vnto mee and vnto *Peter*. This story so liuely describing the insolency and pride of the Pope, which hitherto hath gone for current, is by now certaine Romanists called in question, (so little do they regard their owne Historians, and so freely may they cast aside whatsoeuer standeth in their way.) Howsoeuer, wee see how mainely the Popes did striue, after they had gotten a kind of ciuill dominion vnder the Emperours, to cast off their yoke wholy, and not content therewith, sought to be Lords also ouer the Emperours, and to make them acknowledge that they hold their Empire from them. [r] Psal. 91. 13.

How and vppon what occasion *Leo* the third, with the consent of the people of Rome proclaimed, and annointed *Charles* the Great, King of France by inheritance, and of Italy by conquest Emperor of Rome, I haue shewed before. Yet (as [t] *Sabellicus* noteth) the opinions of men in the world were greatly altered & changed after this new inauguration, for whereas before the Empyre was thought to be from heauen, and the [t] *Sabel. Enead. 8. lib. 9.*

gift of God. Now many began to thinke it to bee the gift of the Pope. Whereupon we read that *Adrian* the fourth vpon the report of som vilanies offered to the Bishop of Landa in the parts of Germany as he returned from Rome, and not so pursued, sought out and reuenged, as was expected by [x] *Fredericke Barbarossa* then Emperor, writeth vnto him, and matuayling at his negligence in reuenging wrongs offered to men of the Church putteth him in mind, what benefits he had receiued from him, and the Church of Rome, as namely the fulnes of Imperial dignity and honor, and the crowne appertayning there-vnto, and professeth that hee would haue beene willing to haue conferred greater benefits, then these vppon him, knowing right wel how much good he might doe vnto the Church. [y] This letter being brought to the Emperor by two Cardinals, *Bernard* and *Rowland*, offended the Emperor and Princes exceedingly, especially in that so was said in the letter that the fulnesse of dignity and honor was conferred vppon the Emperour by the Pope, and that hee had receiued the Imperial crown of his hand; & that it would not grieue him if he had receiued greater benefits of his hand. They which heard this letter read, were induced to make a strickt construction of the words, and to thinke the Pope vttered them in the sence which they conceiued, because they knew well, that certaine Romanists had not feared to affirme, that the Emperors had hetherto possessed the Empyre of Rome, and the Kingdom of Italy by the Popes guift, & that they had not only vttered such words, but that by writing they had affirmed the same, and by painting, liuely represented it, that so it might be transmitted and sent ouer to posterities.

For in the Pallace of *Lateran* they had painted the manner of *Lotharius* the Emperour his receiuing the crowne of the Pope, and written ouer it these wordes. *Rex venit ante fores iurans prius vrbis honores, post homo fit pape sumit quo dante coronam.* That is, the King doth come before the gate, first swearing to the Cities state: the Popes man then doth hee become, and of his gift doth take the crowne. This painting and superscription, being reported to the Emperour the yeare before, when hee was neere the Citty, by certaine faithfull and trusty subiectes of his, greatly displeased him. But the Pope perceiuing his dislike, promised that both the writing and the painting should bee taken away, that it might giue no occasion of contention and discord.

These Romish practises making the Emperor and his Nobles to vnderstand the wordes of the Popes letter in the worst sence, caused the message of these Cardinals to bee very offensiue, and a generall murmuring against them was heard among the Princes: which growing more lowd, and being heard and discerned by the Legates, one of them aduentured in the quarrell of his maister to demand of whome the Emperor hath his Empyre, if he haue it not of the Lord Pope? Which speach of the Cardinal so inraged the Princes, that one of them (to wit *Otto* the County *Palatine*,

of

x which Ocka. Dial. lib. 1. tract. 2. part. 3. proueth to bee false & heretical by many reasons.

x Radevicus. Frising. in Append. ad Othon. lib. 1. Cap. 9.

y Ibid. c. 10.

of Boiaria had with his ſword run him through, had not *Fredericke* the Emperor interpoſed his authority, and pacified the preſent rage. The Emperor ſeeing in what termes things ſtood, tooke the beſt courſe he could for the ſecurity of the Legates, and commanded that they ſhould preſently be had to their lodgings, & that the next morning they ſhould be gon, and returne directly to him that ſent them, and not to wander vp & down in the Territories of Biſhops and Abbots, and as he thus happily diſpatched them away in ſafety; ſo after they were gon (prouidently by letters) he cauſed it to be made known throughout the whole Empyre, what had paſſed betweene him and the Pope. The Tenor of his letters was this.

Wheras the diuine power, from which all power proceedeth both in heauen and earth, hath committed to vs, his annoynted, the rule of the Kingdome and Empyre; and ordayned that by Imperial armes we ſhould preſerue the peace of the Churches, we are forced not without great griefe of heart to complain vnto you, that from the head of the holy Church (in which Chriſt imprinted the character of his peace and loue) the cauſes of diſſention, the ſeminary of euils, and the poyſon of a moſt peſtiferous diſeaſe do ſeeme to flow: by meanes wherof if God turne not away this euill, there is danger, leaſt the vnity betwixt the Prieſt-hood and Kindome bee broken, and a ſchiſme follow. For of late, as we were in the Court of Beſuntium, conſulting about things concerning the honor of the Empyre & good of the Churches, there came vnto vs certain Legates from the Pope, who profeſſed to bring ſuch a meſſage as tended greatly to the increaſe of the honour of the Empyre. But when wee had the firſt day honorably intertayned them (as the manner is) and the ſecond day ſat with our Princes to heare their meſſage, They (as it were) puffed vp by reaſon of the Mammon of iniquity, out of the height of their pride, out of the haughtineſſe of their arrogant mindes, and out of the execrable elation of their ſwelling hearts, preſented vnto vs an Ambaſſage contayned in letters written by the Pope, the tenor wherof was: That we ſhould alwaies haue before the eyes of our minde in what ſort the Lord Pope had conferred vpon vs, the Enſigne of the Imperiall crowne, and that yet notwithſtanding it would no way repent him, if he had done vs greater fauors, and we had receiued more benefits of him. Theſe thinges not onely much affected, but ſo moued the Princes, and inraged them in ſuch ſort, that if we had not ſtayed them by our Princely authority, the two wicked Prieſtes, (the Legates) had neuer returned aliue.

Wherfore ſeeing they had many ſchedules ſealed to be written in at their pleaſure, by which (as formerly they were wont to do) they might ſcatter the poyſon of their iniquity throughout al the Churches of the Germaine kingdom; make bare & naked the holy Altas, & carry away with them the veſſels of ỹ houſe of God as a prey; that they might proceed no further in miſchief, we cõmanded them without wandring or going aſide to returne

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the same way they came. For whereas we haue our Kingdome by the election of the Princes from God only, who in the passion of his sonne subiected the world to two swordes, and the Apostle *Peter* informed the world
1 Pet. 2. 17. with the same doctrine saying, *Feare God and honour the King*. We are wel assured that whosoeuer shall say, that we receiue our Imperial Crowne as a benefite from the Pope, he is contrary to the institution of God, the doctrine of blessed *Peter*, and a lyer: and therefore our hope is, that you will not suffer the honour of the Empire (which hath continued from the Constitution of the Citty, and the Institution of Christian Religion, inviolable till our times) to be diminished by such vnheard-off nouelties and proud imperious pride. But how-soeuer know yee, that we will rather runne into perill of death it selfe, then suffer such a shameful confusion to fall out in our times.

a *Radeuic. vbi supra. cap.* 15. After the returne of the Cardinalls, and their complaints made, the Pope wrote letters to the Arch-bishops and Bishops of Germany, telling them with what indignity the Emperor dismissed his Legates, and how hee forbad any to come to Rome out of his Kingdome: and prayed them to aduise him better, and to let him know that the Church (which is builded vppon a most firme and sure rocke) shall continue for euer, how-soeuer it may be shaken with windes and tempests. b The Bishoppes of Germany hauing receiued these letters from the Pope, writ back vnto him, that how-soeuer the Church cannot bee mooued, yet they were greatly shaken by reason of these differences betweene him and the Emperor: and tell him that the wordes of his letter were such as that neyther the Emperor and Princes could indure them, nor they knew how to defend them, as being strange and vnheard-off before these times. Notwithstanding they let him know, that after the receipt of his letters, they communed with the Emperor about these affaires, and receiued from him such an answer, as beseemed a Catholike Prince; to witt, that there are two things whereby his Empire must be swayed; the Lawes of Emperors, and the vse and custome of his ancestors. Those limits hee is resolued not to passe & whatsoeuer will not stand with these, he vtterly refuse and reiect: he is willing to giue all due reuerence vnto his ghostly father, but that he ascribeth the crowne of his Empire to the diuine fauor onely, the first voice in the election to the Arch-bishop of Mentz, & the rest to the other Princes in order: that hee acknowledgeth to haue receiued the vnction of a King from the Arch-bishop of Coleyn, & the supreme vnction, which is that of an Emperor, from the Pope: and that what-soeuer is besides these, is more then ynough, and proceedeth from that which is euill: that he had not sent away the Cardinals in contempt, but forbad them to proceed any further with such writings as they had, tending to the dishonour and scandall of the Empire: and that hee had not restrayned the going of men into Italy vppon necessary occasions, to bee allowed by their Bishops,

b *Cap.* 16.

nor

nor simply inhibited the comming of men from thence, but that his meaning was to meete with certaine abuses, whereby the Churches of his Kingdome had bene greeued, impouerished, and oppressed; all discipline of men liuing retyred and in cloysters vtterly ouerthrowne. Lastly, that God hauing exalted his Church, by meanes of the Empire, in the head Citty of the world, it should not be by any meanes, that the Church in the head Citty of the world should ouerthrow the state of the Empire, that the matter began with painting, that it proceeded from painting to writing, that the writing now begins to be vrged as good authority, but that he will not suffer it, nor indure it so to be, being resolued first to lose his crowne before hee giue any consent to the abasing of the crowne of the Empire in such sort: and therfore requireth the paintings to be raced out, and the writings to be recalled, that such monuments of emnity between the Kingdome and the Priest-hood may not remaine: and here-vppon they beseech the Pope by new letters to mollifie that which was too hard, and to sweeten that which was too sowre in the former. [c] This so wise, iust, and reasonable an answer of the Germain Bishops, preuayled so farre with the Pope that hee sent other Legates of a milder spirit and better temper to the Emperor, with new letters, wherein he sought to qualifie what-soeuer was offensiue in the former: for [d] touching that hee wrote of the benefit the Emperor had receiued of him (which so highly displeased the Emperor, supposing that hee meant that hee had receiued the Imperiall crowne, as a meere fauor or good turne from him) he answered that how-soeuer the word *Benefit* bee taken in another sence some times, yet he vsed it in that signification which it hath by Originall institution and first imposition. So that the word Benefit being compounded of two simple wordes, *bene* and *factum*, signifieth a good fact, or a thing well done, and in this sence his setting of the crowne vpon the Emperors head might be called a Benefit, not as being a meere fauor or good turne, but for that it was well and honorably done of him to set the Ensigne of Imperiall maiesty and power vpon the head of him, to whome such power pertained: and so were things at that time pacified by the good indeauor of the Cardinals, and by this milde letter of the Pope. But afterwards they brake out againe; Where-vppon the Pope wrote in this sort to the Emperor.

[c] *Cap.* 15.

[d] *Cap.* 22.

[e] *Adrian* the Bishop, seruant of the seruants of God, to *Frederick* the Romaine Emperor, greeting and Apostolical blessing. The diuine law, as it promiseth long life to them that honour their parents, so doth it pronounce the sentence of death against them that curse father or mother. For we are taught by the voyce of truth, that who-soeuer exalteth himselfe shall be brought low. Wherefore sonne beloued in the Lord, we do not a little maruaile, that you seeme not to giue so much reuerence to blessed Peter, and vnto the holy Church of Rome as you ought to do. For in

[e] *Appendix veteris scriptoris ad Radewinum in fine hist. Othonis Frisingensis. Naucler. vol. 2. gener. 39.*

your letters written to vs, you put your name before outs. Wherein you incurre the note of insolency: That I say not arrogancie, what shall I say of the fealty you promised and sware to blessed *Peter*? how doe you obserue it, when you require of them, who are Gods, and the sonnes of the most high, to wit Bishops, the doing of homage vnto you, and exact fealty of them, inclosing their sacred hands in your hands, and manifestly opposing your selfe against vs, shut not onely the doores of the Churches, but the gates of the Cities of your kingdome also, against our Cardinalls sent as Legates vnto you from our owne side? Repent, repent therefore wee aduise thee, of vs thou receiuedst thy consecration, and therfore take heed, least affecting things denyed vnto thee, thou lose that which is yeelded to thee. To this letter of the Pope, the worthy Emperor answered in this sort. [f] *Fredericke* by the grace of God Emperour of Romans, to *Adrian* Bishop of the Catholick Church, wishing vnto him a firme adhering and cleauing to all those things which *Iesus* began to doe and speake. The law of Iustice giueth to euery one that which is his owne. Neither doe wee offend in this behalfe; for wee derogate nothing from our parents, but giue vnto them in this our Imperiall state all due honour, to witt, to those our noble progenitours, from whome wee receiued the dignity of our kingdome, and our crowne, and not from the Pope. Had *Sylvester* Bishop of Rome any thing pertaining to royall state and dignity in the time of *Constantine*? was not liberty restored to the Church, and peace by his meanes? And hath not your Popedome receiued all such royall dignities, as it now enioyeth from Princes? And why then is it so much disliked, that when wee write vnto the Bishop of Rome by ancient right, and after the old manner, wee put our name before his, and according vnto the rule of iustice, permitt him writing vnto vs to doe the like? Turne ouer the Histories and Monuments of Antiquitie, and if you haue not yet obserued it, you shall there finde that which wee auouch: and why should wee not require homage and the performance of other duties due from subiects to Princes, of them who are Gods by adoption, and yet thinke it no disparagement to hold things pertaining to our royall state? especially, seeing hee who was author and beginner both of your dignity and ours, who neuer receiued any thing of any mortall King, but gaue all good things vnto all, paide tribute vnto *Cæsar* for himselfe and *Peter*, and gaue you an example to doe the like; eyther therefore let them put from them the things they hold of vs, or if they thinke it behouefull to retaine and keepe them still, let them yeeld vnto God, the things that are Gods, and to *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsars*. The doores of our Churches, and the gates of our Cities are shutt against your Cardinalls, because wee finde them not to be Preachers, but men desirous of a prey, not Confirmers of peace, but polling companions to get money, not such as come to repayre the breaches of the world,

[f] *Ibidem.*

but

but greedily and insatiably to gather gold. But when-soeuer wee shall see them such as the Church requireth them to bee, men bringing peace, enlighting their country, assisting the cause of those of mean degree in equity and right; they shal want nothing that is necessary for them. To conclude; When you thus contend about things little pertayning to religion, and striue with secular persons about titles of honour, you seeme to haue forgotten that humility which is the keeper of all vertues, and that meeknesse that should be in you. Let your Father-hood therfore take heed, least while you moue questions about things vnworthy to be stood vpon, you scandalize them, who with attentiue eares listen to the wordes of your mouth, and waite for your speaches as for the latter raine. Wee are forced thus to write vnto you, because we see the detestable beast of pride hath crept vp euen to the seate of *Peter*. Prouide alwaies well for the peace of the Church, and fare you alwaies well.

Thus we see how the Popes not contenting them-selues with the fulnes of Ecclesiastical iurisdiction, though they had no iust title vnto it, proceeded yet further; & partly by the fauour of Christian Princes, and partly by fraud and violence gate to be great Princes in the world, & stayed not till they made challenge to be ouer the mightiest Emperors, and to dispose of their crownes and dignities. So shewing them-selues to haue the perfect marke and character of him, of whome the Apostle speaketh: *Who sitteth in the temple of God as God, and is lifted vppe aboue all that is called God.* Yet could they not so preuaile in these their nellish practises, nor so carry away the truth of God, and the liberty of his Church into captiuity, but that there were euer found both Christian Emperors, and learned Diuines to resist them in their vniust claymes. 2. Thes. 2. 4.

Cahp. 48.

Of Generall Councels, and of the end, vse, and necessity of them.



Auing examined what may bee said for proofe of the Vniuersality of the Bishoppe of Romes power and iurisdiction, first wee finde that the Sonne of GOD gaue him no power in the common-wealth, but a Father-hood onely in the Church. Secondly, that in the Church, hee neyther gaue him an illimited power of commanding, nor infallible iudgement in discerning, but that the greatest thing that eyther hee can challenge or wee yeelde vnto him, is to bee the prime Bishop in order and honour; the first and not of himselfe alone, or out of the fulnesse of his owne power, but with the

ioynt concurrence of others equall in commission with him, to manage the great affaires of Almighty God, and to gouerne the Christian church: so that the fulnesse of Ecclesiasticall power and iurisdiction is in the companies, assemblies, and synodes of Bishops and Pastors, and not in any one man alone.

[a] Chap. 27. I shewed [a] before, that in the Churches founded and established by the Apostles, contayning whole Citties and places adioyning, though there were many ministers of the word and sacraments, yet one was so the Pastor of each of these Churches, that the rest were but his assistants, & might do nothing without him: and that therfore there was an inæquality established euen from the beginning, not of order only, but of degree also, betweene such as are Pastors of Churches, and are named Bishops, and such as are but their assistants named by the common name of Presbyters, yet is the power of him that excelleth the rest in degree in each Church [b] fatherly not princely: for things were so ordered in the beginning, that as the Presbyters could doe nothing without the Bishop, so the Bishop in matters of moment might do nothing without his Presbyters: and there-vppon the Councel of Carthage decreeth, [c] that the Bishop shal not presume to heare and sententiate any mans cause without the presence of his Cleargy. And though it be said that the Bishop alone may heare and determine the causes of such Cleargy men as are below the degree of Presbyters and Deacons; yet that alone excludeth not his Cleargy, but the concurrence of other Bishoppes, which in the causes of Presbyters and Deacons is necessarily required. For without the presence and concurrence of his Cleargy, the Bishop may proceed to no sentence at all. If any difference grew betweene the Bishop and his Cleargy, or if [consenting] any one found him-selfe greeued with their proceedings, there was a prouinciall synode holden twise euery yeare, in which the acts of Episcopall synodes might bee re-examined. These prouinciall synodes were subordinate to Nationall and Patriarchicall synodes, wherein the Primate of a Nation or Kingdome, or one of the Patriarches sat, as President. And in these Nationall or Patriarchicall synodes, the acts of prouinciall synodes might bee re-examined and reuersed. Of all which I [d] Chap. 30. haue spoken before, in due place and vpon fit occasion, and haue [d] shewed at large of whome these synodes do consist. So that it is euident, that the power of Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction resteth not in Bishops alone, but in Presbyters also, being admitted to Prouinciall and Nationall synodes, and hauing decisiue voyces in them as well as Bishops, nor in any one Metropolitane, Primat or Patriarch, within their seuerall precincts and dimisions, but in these and their fellow Bishops iointly, and that much lesse there is any one in whom the fulnesse of all Ecclesiastical power, and the right to command the whole Church doth rest. So that this fulnesse of power is found only in the Generall assembly of Pastors, called a generall

[b] See D. Bilso of the perpetual gouernment of the Church cap. 14. Pag. 107.

[c] Concil. Carthag. 4. Can. 23.

Councell

cell. Wherefore now it remaineth that we speake of Generall Councels. Wherin, first wee are to consider the vtility and necessity of such synodall assemblies and meetings. Secondly, of whom they must consist. Thirdly, what assurance they haue of diuine assistance and direction: and Fourthly, who must call them.

Touching the first, the causes why Generall Councels are called, are 3. The first is, the suppressing of new heresies, formerly not condemned. The second, a generall and vniforme reformation of abuses crept into the Church. The third, the taking away of Schismes growing in Patriarchicall Churches, about the election of their Pastors, and the reiecting of intruders, violently & disorderedly possessing themselues of those Patriarchicall Thrones. And so we find, that the Councell of Nice was called by *Constantine*, for the suppressing of the damnable heresie of the Arrians: the eyght generall Councell, by *Basilius*, for the ending of the difference that was growne in the Church of Constantinople about *Ignatius* and *Photius*, contending for the Episcopall Chayre: and that all Generall Councels, intended and sought the reformation of abuses, there beeing scarse any one wherein Canons were not made, for the reformation of disorders, in so much that the Fathers of the sixth Generall Councell, hauing onely condemned the Heresie of the *Monothelites*, and made no Canons, met afterwards againe many of them, and made those Canons that are now extant, and are the chiefe direction of the Greeke Church vnto this day. These beeing the causes for which Councells are called, it is euident that the holding of them is not absolutely and simply necessary, but in a sort onely. For Heresies may bee suppressed by the concurrence of Prouinciall Synodes, holden in the seuerall parts of the world; as they were in the first 300. yeares, when there were no Generall Councels: But one part of the Christian Church seeking the helpe of another, in common dangers, and one part readily concurring with another (as for the extinguishing of a dangerous fire threatning all, or the repressing and repelling of a common enemy) by mutuall intelligence passing from one to another; they abandoned Heresies newly springing vp, and preserued the vnity of the common faith. Neither was this course holden onely in the time of persecution, during the first 300. yeares, but afterwards also, in the time of the Churches peace, we finde the same course to haue beene followed, in the suppressing of the *Pelagians*; and therefore [c] *Austine* affirmeth, that there were but some few heresies of that nature, that a Generall Councell of all the Bishops of the East and West, was necessarily to bee called for the suppressing of them. And indeed wee finde, that, if some fiue or sixe heresies haue beene condemned by the censure of Generall Councels, an 100. haue been suppressed and extinguished by other meanes. And of those, for the condemning whereof Generall Councels were holden, some were not extinguished

[c] *Aug lib. 4. contra duas Epist. Pelagian. cap. 12.*

shed a long time after. For that of the *Arrians* grew stronger after, then euer it was before, and those of *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*, continued some hundreds of yeares after the ending of those Councels, in which they receiued the sentence of condemnation. How is it then that [f] *Isidore* saith, the Church before *Constantines* time was diuided and rent into diuers Factions and Sects, because there was no Generall Councell? as if there were no other meanes to preserue Vnity, but Generall Councels, and that whersoeuer they may be had, Peace were presently established. For the clearing hereof we say, that such new opinios, as growing vp in those times, found a concurring dislike in the seuerall Churches, seeking one to another, were then suppressed, when yet there could bee no Generall Councels, as the heresies of the *Marcionites*, *Valentinians* and the like. But they, wherein there grew difference among the cheife Pastours and Bishops of the Churches, could not be determined in those times, as the errours of the *Millenaries*, of those that kept Easter after the Iewish obseruation, and of those that held the necessity of re-baptizing of such as were baptized by heretickes: in which point many worthy Pastors and Bishops of the Church did erre, in the first ages of the Church, neyther could their error bee extinguished, as *Austine* noteth: nor the truth so cleared, as that all dissenters should incurre the note of heresie, till the decree of a Councell passed about it. [g] *Quæstionis huius obscuritas*, (saith *Austine*) *Prioribus Ecclesiæ temporibus ante schisma* Donati, *magnos viros & magna charitate præditos, Patres & Episcopos, ita inter se compulit, salua pace, disceptare & fluctuare, vt diu Conciliorũ in suis quibusq; regionibus diuersa statuta mutauerint, donec Plenaria totius orbis Concilio, quod saluberrime sentiebatur, etiam remotis dubitationibus formaretur.* That is, the obscurity of this question, in former ages of the Church before the schisme of *Donatus*, did cause great men, and Fathers, and bishops, indued with great charity, so to striue among themselues, and to waue as doubtfull & vncertaine, without breaking the bond of Peace, that for a long time the Decrees of Councels in seuerall regions, were diuerse and different, without any settled certainty, till that which was most wholesomely conceiued, was fully formed, settled and established, by a plenary Councell of the Bishops of the whole world, and no place left for doubting and vncertainty any longer. Thus we see, that some heresies may easily be suppressed, without troubling all the Bishops of the world to meet in a Generall Councell, and that some others cannot easily bee suppressed without Generall Councels: and as heresies may bee suppressed by the mutuall concurrence of seuerall Churches, so by the like correspondence, the seuerity of discipline may be vpholden vniformely, and Schismes preuented. [h] When *Cornelius* was elected, and ordained Bishop of Rome, at the first, because there was some opposition, *Cyprian* and other were fearefull to write vnto him as to the Bishop of Rome, but afterwards being fully informed, touching the lawfulnesse of his election

[f] *In prefat. Conciliorum.*

[g] *Aug lib. 7. de Baptismo. Contra Donatist. cap. 7.*

[h] *Cypriã. Epist. 45. & 55.*

and

and ordination, they reiected his Competitors, and communicated with him onely: and the like wee shall finde to haue beene practised generally by all Bishops, carefully seeking to bee certified out of other Prouinces and Partes of the Church, by such Bishoppes as were knowne to be Catholikes, who came lawfully into places of Ministery, and being so come, held the vnity of Faith and Charity, that so they might hold Communion with them, and reiect those that entered otherwise. Whereupon *Cyprian* telleth *Cornelius*, Bishop of Rome, to whome in Affrica he might write as to Catholike Bishopps, and from whome he might receiue letters, as from Catholikes. i *Vbi supra.*

Not-withstanding, Generall Councells are the best meanes for preseruing of vnity of doctrine, seuerity of discipline, and preuenting of Schismes, when they may be had: and though they be not absolutely necessary to the being of the Church, yet are they most behooefull for the best, readiest, and most gratious gouerning of the same: and how-soeuer there may be a kind of increase of the supreme iurisdiction that is in the Church, by the concurrence of particular Synodes, and the correspondence of seuerall Pastors, vpon mutual intelligence, of the sence, iudgement, and resolution of euery of them; yet the highest and most excellent exercise of the supreme Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, is in Generall Councels. Heere the Papists are wont to argue, that the Protestants hauing no Generall Councels, haue not the exercise of the supreme Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction: and consequently ỹ they are not that Church, out of which no saluation is found: but this is a very silly trifeling and playing with their owne shadowes; neyther is it any thing else but a meere abusing of themselues and others, thus idely and fondly to iangle. For, first the Protestants being but a part of the Christian Church, neuer challenged to them-selues the authority that belongeth to the whole as the Papists do, who excluding al the Christians of Græcia, Armenia, Russia, & Æthiopia, out of the fellowship & communion of Saints, and (as much as in them lieth) casting them into hell, suppose a generall meeting of those of their owne faction, to be a Generall Councell. And secondly, if the Protestants did thinke them-selues to bee the whole Church, yet their argument were of no force, seeing the whole Church may be without the benefit of Generall Councels, much longer then the Protestants haue bene, since the diuision betweene them & the Papists: for the Christians of the Primitiue Church had no Generall Councel for the space of 300. yeares after Christ. But to returne to the point from which wee are a little digressed (occasioned so to do by this friuolous obiection of the Papists) touching the good & profitable vse of Generall Councels, there is no difference betweene vs and our aduersaries, but it is agreed on both sides, that though they bee not absolutely necessary, yet they are very behooefull and much to be desired in diuers cases: neither euer was there any man of iudgemẽt that thought otherwise. For, that which k *Nazianzen* hath, that he neuer saw k *Epist. ad. Procopium.*

saw good: and for any Councell, is not to bee vnderstood as spoken generally and absolutely, but respectively, to the turbulent times wherein he liued, and the Arrian faction so preuayled, that many Synodes were holden for the ouerthrow of the Nicene faith, without all respect to the good of the Church.

CAHP. 49.

Of the persons that may bee present in Generall Councels: and who they are of whome Generall Councels do consist.

HAuing spoken of the necessity, profit and vse of Generall Councells, it remaineth that wee proceed to see, who they are, that may bee present in such Councells, and of whome they doe consist. The persons that may bee present, are of diuers sorts. For, some are there with authority to teach, define, prescribe, and to direct: others are there to heare, set forward and consent vnto, that which is there to bee done.

In the Councell of *Eliberis*: in the first Councel of Carthage about rebaptization & in the third Councell of Rome vnder *Felix* the 3. many of the People were present.

In the former sort, none but only *Ministers* of the word, and sacraments are present in Councels, and they onely haue decyding and defining voyces; but in the latter sort, [a] Lay-men also may be present; whereupon wee shall find, that Bishoppes and Presbyters subscribe in this sort: *Ego N. definiens, subscripsi.* that is I, as hauing power to define & decree, haue subscribed. But the Emperor or any other Lay-person, *Ego N. consentiens, subscripsi*: that is, I, as one giuing consent to that which is agreed on by the spirituall Pastors, haue subscribed. That the Emperor and other Lay-men of place and sort may bee present in Generall Councels, no man maketh doubt. For though Pope *Nicholas* seeme to deny, that the Emperors may bee present in other Councels, where matters of faith are not handled; yet he confesseth, they may bee present in Generall Councels, where the faith, which is common to all, and pertayneth not to Cleargy men alone, but to Lay-men and al Christians generally, is treated off, it being a rule in nature and reason, [b] *Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari debere*: that is, that that which concerneth all, may be handled and medled with by al, so farre forth as conueniently it may, & as there is no manifest reason, in respect of the disturbance and hinderance of the deliberation, to repell them from such intermedling: for, in such cases there may bee a repelling of men hauing interest in such businesses and affaires: and therefore [c] *Pulcheria* the Empresse, cōmanded the Captain of Bythinia, with violence to driue out of the Councel of Chalcedon, such Monks, Clearks & Lay-men, as being of no vse, did but pester the Councel, & to leaue none there but such as the Bishops brought with thē. But our [d] aduersaries say the Protestants affirm that

[a] *Dist. 96. cap. Vbinam.*

[b] *Ockam. Dialog. 2. part. lib. 6. part. 2. cap. 85.*

[c] *In Epist. ad Strateg. Bythiniæ ante Concil. Chalcedon.*

[d] *Bellarm. lib. 1 de concilijs. cap. 15.*

that Lay-men ought not onely to bee present in Generall Councells, but also to haue decisiue voyces, as well as they of the Cleargy, and there-vppon charge vs with great absurdity.

Wherefore, for the answering and clearing of this obiection, wee must obserue, that there is a three-fold decision of things doubtfull and questionable. The one, such as euery one vpon the knowledge of it must yeeld vnto vppon perill of damnation, vppon the bare worde of him that decideth. The second, to which euery one must yeeld vpon like perill, not vppon the bare worde of him that decideth, but vppon the euidence of proofe hee bringeth. The third, such as euery one must yeeld vnto, not vppon perill of damnation, but of excommunication, and the like censure Ecclesiasticall. In the first sort the Protestants say, that onely CHRIST the sonne of God hath a decisiue voyce: In the second sort, that any Lay-men as wel as Cleargy-men: for who-soeuer it is that bringeth conuincing proofes, decideth a doubt in such sort, as that no man ought to resist against it.

Where-vppon [a] *Panormitan* saith, that the iudgement of one priuate man is to bee preferred before the sentence of the Pope, if hee haue better authorities of the Old and New Testament, to confirme his iudgement. And [f] *Gerson* saith, that any Learned man may and ought to resist against a whole Councell, if hee discerne it to erre of malice or ignorance; and what-soeuer Bishoppes determine, their determinations binde not the conscience further then they approue that they propose, some other way then by their authority onely. So that in this sence, the Protestants truely say, that Bishops must not proceed Prætor-like, but that all that they doe, must be, but in the nature of an Inquiry, and their Decrees no farther of force, then reason doth warrant them. For how-soeuer the Sonne of GOD haue promised to bee with his Church to the end of the World, which shalbee fulfilled in respect of his Elect and Chosen, who cannot erre damnably and finally, yet hath hee not tyed him-selfe to any one sort or company of men, neyther is it certainely knowne, but that all they that meete in a Councel, may erre notwithstanding Christes promise.

[a] *In cap. Significasti de elect. tione.*

[f] *Part. 1. de examin. Doctrinarum.*

To which purpose it is, that *Brentius*, and others say, Wee cannot bee certaine of the determination of Councels, because euery company of men professing CHRIST, is not the true Church, seeing all that so professe, are not Elect; neither do they deny al authority and iurisdiction to such as are not knowne to bee Elect, nor giue it all to such as no man can knowe who they bee (as [g] *Bellarmine* vntruly saith they do,) for in the third [b] sort they willingly acknowledge, that Bishops haue deciding voyces, and power so to iudge of things, as to subiect all those that shall thinke and teach otherwise then they do, to excommuni-

[g] *Li. 1. de concilijs cap. 19.*

cation and censures of like nature. And that therefore they are properly Iudges; that their course of proceeding is not a bare Inquiry and search, but a binding determination, and that they haue a Prætorlyke power, to bind men to stand to that they propose and decree: and in this sort, wee all teach, that Lay-men haue no voyce decisiue, but Bishops and Pastors only, which may be confirmed by many reasons.

First, because, when the question is, in what pastures it is fitte the sheepe of CHRIST should feed, and in what pastures they may feed without danger, the duty of consulting is principally, and the power of prescribing, wholy, in the Pastors, though the sheepe of CHRIST being reasonable, haue and must haue a kinde of discerning, whether they bee directed into wholesome and pleasant pastures or not.

h Ephes. 4. 11. Secondly, none but they, whome *Paul* saith, h *CHRIST going vppe into heauen, gaue for the gathering together of the Sayntes for the worke of the Ministery*, haue authority to teach, and to prescribe vnto others, what they shall professe and beleeue: of whome the LORD said by *Ieremy* the

i Jerem. 3. 15. Prophet: i *I wil giue you Pastors, that shall feed you with knowledge and doctrine.*

Thirdly, because in all Councels, Bishoppes and Pastors only, are found to haue subscribed to the decrees made in them, as defining and decreeing, how-soeuer other men testified their consent by subscription, and Princes and Emperors, by their royall authority, confirmed the same, and subiected the contemners and violaters thereof to imprisonment, banishment, confiscation of goods, and the like ciuil punishments; as the Bishoppes did to excommunication, and censures Spirituall. So that it is agreed on, that Bishoppes and Ministers only, haue decisiue voyces in Councels, in sort before expressed, but, the question is onely whether all Ministers of the Word and Sacraments haue such decisiue voyces, or none but Bishops.

The Papists thinke, that this is the peculiar right of Bishoppes; but they are clearely refuted by the Vniuersall practise of the whole Church, from the beginning. For, in all Prouinciall and Nationall Synodes, Presbyters did euer giue voyce and subscribe in the very same sort that Bishoppes did, whether they were assembled, to make Canons of discipline, to heare causes, or to define doubtful pointes of doctrine,

k chap. 30. as I haue k before shewed at large: and that they did not anciently sitte, and giue decisiue voyces in Generall Councels, the reason was; not, because they haue no interest in such deliberations and resolutions, but, because seeing all cannot meete in Councels, that haue interest in such businesses, but some must bee deputed for, and authorized by the rest, therefore it was thought fitte that Bishoppes, who

are

are the cheefeſt among ſuch as haue intereſt in deliberation of this nature, ſhould in giuing deciſiue voyces, ſupply the places of the reſt, eſpecially ſeeing the manner was euer in all the firſt Councells, that the cheefe Patriarches, being acquainted with the matter, that ſhould bee debated, ſent to all the Metropolitanes ſubiect to them, who calling Prouinciall Synodes, conſiſting of their Biſhoppes and Preſbyters, diſcuſſed ſuch doubtes, and then by common conſent, chooſing out certayne principall Biſhopps, to go to the Generall Councel in their name, ſent by them their reſolutions. So, that in effect, Preſbyters did ſubſcribe as well as Biſhoppes: ſeeing they that went and ſubſcribed, were not to vary from the inſtructions they carryed with them.

That this was the courſe, it is euident by that of [1] *Iohn* Biſhoppe of Antioch in the third Generall Councell, excuſing his long tarrying, by reaſon that his Metropolitanes could not ſooner aſſemble their Cleargy to conſult: and by the Actes of the ſixth Generall Councell [m] where wee finde the ſuggeſtion of *Agatho*, Biſhoppe of Rome, ſent to the Councel, ſubſcribed by him-ſelfe and the whole Synode of the Weſt ſubiect to the Sea Apoſtolike; in which Synode ſundry Biſhoppes doe ſubſcribe as Legates ſent from Nationall Synodes. But if wee ſhall come to Latter Councells, holden in the Weſt, and eſteemed (by the Papiſts) to bee General, we ſhall finde that Preſbyters did giue voyces deciſiue in them, as wel as Biſhoppes.

[1] *Euagrius. l. 1 cap. 3.*

[m] *Epiſt. Agathon. & Rom. Synod. in actione 4. Synodi ſexta.*

For [n] in the great Councel of *Lateran* (as they call it) vnder *Innocentius* the third, there were but foure hundred eighty two Biſhoppes, but of Abbots and Priours Conuentuall, eight hundred: who yet haue much leſſe to doe in the gouernment of the Church, then Preſbyters hauing care of ſoules. And [o] *Bellarmine* him-ſelfe confeſſeth, that by priuiledge and cuſtome, Preſbyters, as namely Cardinalls, Abbots, and the Generalls of the Orders of Fryers, may giue deciſiue voyces in Generall Councels; which they could not doe, if by Gods Lawe it pertayned to Biſhoppes onely. For there is no preſcribing againſt the Lawe of GOD; and therefore I cannot ſee why the Romaniſts ſhould ſo bitterly [p] cenſure the Councell of *Baſill*, becauſe Preſbyters were admitted to giue voyces in it.

[n] *Platina in Innocentio 3.*

[o] *Lib. 1. de concilys. cap. 15.*

[p] *Bellarm. ibid.*

Hauing cleared who they are, that are to be admitted to be preſent, and to giue voices in Generall Councells; let vs proceed to ſee what number of Biſhops is required to make a General Councel, & what order muſt be kept in the holding of it. Touching the firſt, the Diuines require three conditions to make a Generall Councel, whereof the firſt is, that the ſummons bee Generall, and ſuch as may bee knowne to all the principall Parts and Prouinces of the Chriſtian World. The ſecond, that no Biſhop

whence-soeuer hee come, bee excluded, if hee bee knowne to bee a Bishop, and not excommunicate. The third, that the principall Patriarches bee present with the concurrence of the particular synodes vnder them, eyther in person, or by their substitutes and vicars, or at least by their Prouinciall letters, as the Patriarch of Rome was present in the second generall Councell, (though hee were not there in person nor by substitutes.)

[9] *Actione. 6.* And heere-vppon the second [9] Councell of Nice taketh exception to a certaine synode holden in Constantinople as not Generall, because neyther all that were present did consent, neither was there a concurrence in it of the Bishoppe of Rome and his Bishoppes, eyther by his Vicars, or Prouinciall letters; nor of the Patriarches of the East, to witte of Alexandria, Antioch, and Ierusalem, and the Bishoppes subiect to them, and therefore pronounceth, that the wordes of those fooliſh men, assuming to them the name of a generall Councell, were not a Candle sette on a candelsticke, to giue light to all in the house, but a meere smoake full of darkenesse blinding the eyes of men, and were vttered as it were vnder the bedde, and not vppon the mountaine of right beleefe, and that their sound did not go forth into all the earth, nor their wordes to the vttermost endes of the World, as the sound, voyce and wordes of the former sixe Generall Councells did. But that wee may the better discerne how farre forth the presence of the cheefe Patriarches is necessary in General Councels, and that we be not deceiued in this point, wee must obserue, that when wee speake of Patriarches, either wee vnderstand them and their synodes, or them-selues singly and apart: If we speake of them in the former sence, no synode can bee accounted fully and perfectly Generall, to which the presence of any one of the chiefe Patriarches is wanting; and therefore the first Councell of *Ephesus*, was an imperfect generall Councell, when before the comming of *Iohn* of Antioch, and his Bishops, it proceeded to the condemnation of *Nestorius*.

And we see how great turmoyle and confusion that hath caused, which could neuer bee quieted and taken away, till *Cyrill* President of that Councell, and *Iohn* were reconciled, and the actes of the Councell confirmed by the ioynt consent of them both: and hence [4] *Cusanus* saith it is, that the eight generall Councell, when the Vicar of the Apostolicall throne of Alexandria came, reioyced greatly, and said, we glorifie the GOD of all, who hath supplyed vnto this vniuersall synode what was wanting, and hath now made it most full and perfect. But if wee speake of them in the second sence, that is, singly and by them-selues alone, in case of heresie or wilfull refusall, the Councell may proceed without them, and yet want nothing that pertaineth to the perfection of a generall Councell, as did the Councell of *Ephesus*, and the Councel of *Chalcedon*, proceeding to the condemnation of *Nestorius* and

[4] *Concord. Catholi. lib. 2. cap. 3.*

Dioscorus

Dioscorus, vpon such euidence as they had against them, though they refused to present them-selues in those Synodes; so that the concurrence of the Bishops subiect to them be not wanting, as in the case of *Nestorius* and *Dioscorus* it was not; For the Bishops subiect to *Nestorius* subscribed to his condemnation, and the Bishops of *Alexandria* gaue their consent to the condemnation of *Dioscorus* their Patriarch, and approued the proceedings of the synode against him, though they [f] refused to subscribe to the actes and decrees of it, till they had a new Patriarch chosen in his place. Which refusall though it were ill taken at the first, yet were the fathers in the end perswaded, by the mediation of the Iudges, to forbeare their subscription, till they might haue time to choose a new Patriarch, so that it is not the personall presence, or concurrence precisely of those chiefe Bishops or Patriarches, to whom all other Bishops are subiect, that is required to the fulnesse and perfection of a Generall Councell, but the comming of some from the seuerall Synodes subiect to the Patriarches, or from the Patriarchicall synode, where some out of all these doe meete, or at the least the sending of Synodall letters, that so the consent of all may bee had: The Prouinces that are neere the place where the Synode is holden, sending the greater number, and they that are most remote, sending some few, with instructions from the rest, or at the least their Synodall letters, expressing their opinion, iudgment, and resolution. [t] Soin the counsell of Nice, there were many Bishops out of the East, but out of the West onely two Presbyters out of Italy, one Bishop out of Spaine, one Bishop out of France, and one out of Affrica. But [u] in the second and third Councells, there were many out of the East, and none out of the West. But the Bishops of Rome, [x] *Damasus* and *Celestinus*, as Patriarches of the West, confirmed those Councells, and gaue consent vnto them in their owne names, and in the names of all the Bishops of the West, whom they had gathered together in Synodes.

[f] *Concil. Chalcedon. actione 5.*

[t] *Bellar. libro de Concil. cap. 17.*

[u] *Theodoret hist. Eccle. lib. 5. cap. 9.*

[x] *Bellar. vbi sup. à.*

In the Councell of Chalcedon, there were none present out of the West but the Legates of *Leo*, but he sent by them the consent of the Bishops of Spaine, France, Italy, and other parts of the West: who hauing holden Synodes in their seuerall Prouinces, wrote vnto him, that they approoued his iudgment, touching the point in controuersie, which was to bee debated in the Generall Councell; and that they would most willingly concurre with him in the forme of instruction, which he meant to send to the Councell. Touching the order that must bee kept in Generall Councels, [y] first the Booke of God must be laide in the middest of them that are present. Secondly, the meeting must bee openly and not in secret. Thirdly, it must bee free, and euery man must bee permitted boldly to speake what hee thinketh. Whereupon Pope *Nicholas*, when some obiected to him the number of Bishops that mette in the Councell of *Photius*, answered, that the great concourse of Bishops in the Councells of Nice and Chalcedon,

[y] *Cusan. de Concord. Cathol. lib. 2. cap. 3.*

was

was not so much respected as their free and religious vttering of their iudgments and resolutions; and *Agathe*, writing to *Constantine* the Emperor, touching the Bishops that were to meete in the first Generall Councell, hath these words: *Grant free power of speaking, to every one that desireth to speake for the faith which hee beleeues and holdes, that all men may most clearly see and know, that no man, desirous and willing to speake for the truth, was forbidden, hindered, or reiected, by any terrors, force, threatning, or any other thing, that might auert and turne him away from so doing.* And as there must bee a liberty, and freedome of speech, in Generall Councels, so there must bee a desire of finding out the truth, and an intending and seeking of the common good, that priuate respects, purposes and designes bee not set forward vnder pretence of religion: and therefore *Leo* the first, writing to the Emperor, of the error of the second Ephesine Councell, hath these words. While priuate intendments, and designes were set forward, vnder pretence of religion, that was effected by the impiety of a few, that wounded the whole vniuersall Church; wee finde by certaine report, that a great number of Bishops, came together vnto the Synode; who beeing come together in such great multitudes, might very profitably haue been employed in deliberating and discerning what was fit to bee resolued, if hee who challenged vnto himselfe the chiefe place, would haue obserued such Priestly moderation, as that (according to the manner and custome of such meetings, all men hauing freely vttered their opinions) that might peaceably and rightly haue beene decreed, that might both agree with faith, and bring them into the right way that were in error. But heere wee finde, that when the Decree was to bee passed, all they who were come together, were not permitted to bee present: for wee haue beene informed, that some were reiected, and other brought in, who, at the pleasure of the foresayd Bishop, were brought to yeeld captiue hands to those impious subscriptions: for that they knew it would bee preiudiciall to their state, vnlesse they did such things as were inioyned them. Which kinde of proceedings, our substitutes sent from the Apostolicall Sea, discerned to bee so impious, and contrary to the Catholicke faith, that by no violent meanes they could bee inforced to consent thereunto, but constantly protested, and professed, (as beseemed them) that that which was there agreed on and decreed, should neuer bee admitted or receiued by the Apostolicall Sea. And a little after hee hath these words: All the Bishops of those parts of the Church that are subiect vnto vs, as suppliants in most humble manner; with sighes and teares, beseech you our most gratious Maiesty, that, seeing both those Substitutes which wee sent, did most constantly resist against such impious and bad proceedings, and *Flauianus* the Bishop offered a bill of appeale vnto them, you would bee pleased to command a Generall Councell to bee holden in Italy. Thus wee see what things are essentially

[a] Leo. epist. 25.

[b] Vide hac omnia apud Cusanum. loco citato.

required

required to the being of a Councell, and what order is to be obserued in it. The next thing that followeth in order to be intreated of, is the Presidentship of such and so sacred an assembly.

Chap. 50.

Of the President of Generall Councells.

TOuching the Presidentship of Generall Councels, it pertained, in a sort, to all the Patriarches, and therfore *Photius* in his discourse of the seauen Synodes, in diuerse of them, nameth all the Patriarches, and their Vice-gerents, Presidents; as hauing an honourable preheminence, aboue and before other Bishops in such assemblies; yet wee deny not, but that as these were ouer all other Bishops, so, euen amongst these also there was an order; so that one of them had a preheminence aboue and before another. For the Bishop of *Alexandria*, was before the Bishop of *Antioch*, and the Bishop of Rome before him, anciently, euen before the time of the *Nicene* Councell; and afterwards the Bishop of *Constantinople*, made a Patriarch, was set before the other two, next vnto the Bishop of Rome. And as these were thus one before another in order and honour, so they had preheminence of honour in Synodall Assemblyes, accordingly in sitting, speaking, and subscribing, though this were not alwayes precisely obserued. For [a] in the Councell of *Nice*, there beeing two rankes of seates; the one in the one side of the hall, and the other in the other, where the Councell mette, the Emperour sitting in the middest, in the vpper part of the hall, *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch*, sate in the highest seate in that rancke, that was on the right hand, and made the Oration to the Emperour; but in subscribing, many were before him. And *Hosius* the Bishop of *Corduba* in *Spaine*, a man of great fame was cheife president, composed the forme of faith there agreed on, and subscribed it first, and then in the second place the Presbyters, that were the Vicegerents of the Bishop of Rome, who in respect of his old age could not be present, subscribed to the same forme of faith, and after them *Alexander* the Bishop of *Alexandria*. That *Hosius* was President of the Councell of *Nice*; and of many other Councels besides, wee haue the testimony of [b] *Athanasius*. The reason why he being a Bishop of so meane a place, should bee so honoured and set before all other, was, the good opinion that all men held of him, being a man famous and renowned throughout the world, [c] which mooued *Constantine*, after he heard of the differences in the Church of *Alexandria*, betweene *Alexander* and *Arrius*, to send him thither, before euer hee thought of calling this Councell, hoping

[a] *Euseb. de vita Constantini. lib. 3. cap. 10. & 11.*

[b] *Epist. ad solitariam vitam agentes.*

[c] *Theodoret. hist. eccle. lib. 1. cap. 7.*

hoping that by his wisedome and authority he might quiet all. But our aduersaries, least any preiudice might growe to the Church of Rome by this ill president of the Councell of Nice, in admitting so meane a Bishop to bee her President, and neglecting the Bishop of Rome, aduenture to say, that *Hosius* was not President in his owne right, but as the Bishop of Romes Vicegerent, and supplying his place, though they bee no way able to prooue the same, and the cleare euidence of the thing it selfe reprooue them. For the [d] Histories speake of Presbyters the Bishop of Rome sent to supply his place, but mention not *Hosius* as imployed in that sort; which they would not haue omitted, if hee had beene imployed so also; and besides, in the subscriptions, both as they are found in the ordinary Edition of the Councell of Nice, and that which is out of the Greeke booke found in the *Vatican*, put forth by *Pisanus* the Iesuite, *Hosius* subscribeth first without any signification of his supplying the place of the Bishop of Rome, as Legates are euer wont to doe, and as *Vitus* and *Vincentius* his Legates doe in this Councell; for the forme of their subscription is this; Wee haue subscribed for and in the name of the most reuerend man, &c. So that that which [e] *Bellarmine* alledgeth out of a certaine Preface before the Councell of Sardica, the author whereof is not knowne, is little to bee esteemed, as no way able to weaken the authorities and reasons which wee bring.

[d] *Euseb. lib. 3. de vitæ Constantin. cap. 7.*

[e] *Lib. 1. de Conciliis. cap. 19.*

Touching the second Generall Councell, the Councell of [f] *Chalcedon* expressely affirmeth, that *Nectarius* bishop of *Constantinople* was President of it: and, if wee looke to the subscriptions, wee shall finde that hee subscribed first and before all other. So that it is euident, that *Damasus* then Bishop of Rome, was not President of that assembly. And [g] *Bellarmine* confesseth as much; but hee saith, if hee had beene present, hee had doubtlesse beene President; which haply may bee true, yet his reason to prooue it, is not good, which hee taketh from the Epistle of the Councell to *Damasus*. For in that [h] Epistle, the Fathers and Bishops acknowledge themselues members of that body, whereof *Damasus* and his company are a part; but doe not call him their head, as hee vntruely reporteth. Neither doth the Epistle of *Damasus* to the Fathers of the Councell yeeld any better proofe. For though hee call them sonnes, yet it will hardly follow, that they would haue taken him for a President of their meeting, especially seeing it is probably supposed, that they therefore staid of purpose at *Constantinople*, that more freely, and with greater authority they might compasse such things as they intended, then if they should haue gone to Rome, where *Damasus* with his Westerne Bishops might haue crossed, or at least in some sort hindered their intendments and designes.

[f] *Actione. 6. pag. 136. apud Binnium.*

[g] *Vbi supra.*

[h] *Apud Theodoret. lib. 5. cap. 9.*

In the third generall Councell, which was the first at *Ephesus*, *Cyrill* Bishop of *Alexandria* was President, as it appeareth euidently by the Actes of the Councell, & the Histories of those times: and had also the authority

of

of *Celestinus* Bishop of Rome ioyned vnto him, as may bee seene by the i Epistle of *Celestinus* written vnto him, which is found among the Actes of the *Ephesine* Councell. Whereunto agreeth that of *Valentinian* and *Martian*, in their k Epistle to *Palladius*, expresly saying, that both *Celestinus* Bishop of Rome, & *Cyrill* Bishop of *Alexandria*, were Presidents of the Councell of *Ephesus*; and also that of the whole Councell of l *Chalcedon*, professing expresly, that both *Celestinus* and *Cyrill*, were Presidents of that assembly: which thing the very Actes of the Councell it selfe, sufficiently prooue; in which he is described to haue moderated all, as cheife and principall among the Bishops present, yet not by his owne authority alone, but supplying also the place of *Celestinus* Bishop of Rome. And in like sort m *Euagrius* doth not say, that hee supplyed the place of *Celestinus*, as if he had not beene President in his owne right; but that hee *also* supplyed the place of *Celestinus*; for so it is in the Greeke: and n *Photius* saith; *Cyrill* Bishop of *Alexandria*, (who also supplied the place of *Celestinus* Bishop of Rome) and *Memnon* Bishop of *Ephesus*, and *Iuuenall* Bishop of *Ierusalem* were Presidents of the first Councell of *Ephesus*.

i *Act. Concil. Ephes. Tom. 1. cap. 16.*
k *Concil. Chalcedon. Actione. 3.*
l *Action. 4.*
m *Lib. 1. cap. 4.*
n *De 7. Synod.*

Thus is it euident, that *Cyrill* sate as President in the Councell of *Ephesus*, though not without the concurrence of the Bishop of Rome, who ioyned his authority with him, and sent his owne resolution, and the resolutions of his Bishops vnto him, and the Councell, though he o sent none out of the West to that meeting, till long after the Councell was begun, and many things therein done.

o *Act. Concil. Ephes. tom. 2. cap. 27.*

In the fourth Generall Councell, holden at *Chalcedon*, the Legates of the Bishop of Rome, had the first and chiefest place: but in the fift, *Eutychius* Bishop of *Constantinople* sate as President, and had the first place. And p though *Vigilius* then Bishop of Rome, being at that time at *Constantinople*, could neither bee induced to bee present, nor to agree vnto it, while it was holden, nor to confirme and allow it when it ended, yet it was iudged a lawfull Generall Councell, and hee and so many moe as resisted against it, for their wilfull dissenting, were sent into banishment. This Councell was called by *Iustinian* the Emperour, to examine and condemne an Epistle of *Ibas*, certaine workes of *Theodoret*, and the person of *Theodorus* Bishop of *Mopsuestia*, who all were thought fauourers of *Nestorius*, and yet receiued to grace in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, in hope that they would thereupon embrace & receiue that Councel, which were auerse from it; as thinking (though vntruly) that it fauored the *Nestorians*; as also to condemne the errors of *Origen* and his followers. That this Councel, notwithstanding the contradiction of *Vigilius*, was admitted and receiued as a true and lawfull Generall Councell, it appeareth by *Gregory* Bishop of Rome, who hauing allowed of the first foure Generall Councells, addeth these words; q *I do also in like sort reuerence and honour the fift Councell, in which the Epistle of* Ibas, *full of error, is reiected, in which* Theodorus

p *Binnius in Annotat. in Concil. 5.*
q *Gregor. lib. 1. Epist 24. ad Ioannem Constantinopol.*

dorus, *separating and dividing the person of the Mediator of God and Men, and imagining two subsistences in Christ, is conuinced to haue fallen into perfidious impiety: and in which also the writings of* Theodoret *(wherein the faith of blessed* Cyrill *is reprehended,) are found and pronounced to haue beene published by a bold foolishnesse: but I truely reiect all those persons, which the forenamed reuerend and sacred Councels doe reiect, and embrace and honour those which they reuerence and honour, because beeing established and agreed vnto, and things setled in them by generall consent, hee destroyeth and ouerthroweth himselfe and not them, whosoeuer presumeth either to loose those whome they binde, or to binde those whom they loose. Whosoeuer therefore shall be other-wise minded, let him be Anathema.* So that the Presidence and presence of the Bishop of Rome, is not so necessary in Generall Councels, but that in case of his wilfull refusall a Councell may proceed and bee holden for lawfull, without his consenting to it. It is true indeed, [t] that the Canon of the Church prescribeth, that no Generall Councell shall bee holden with-out the Bishop of Rome, and the Bishops subiect to him; but the meaning of the Canon is not, that all proceedings are voyde and vnlawfull, wherein his presence is not had, but wherein it is not sought and expected: for, if he wilfully refuse to ioyne with the rest, or his negligence be intollerable, the state of the Church requiring, that order be presently taken, they may proceed without him, as appeareth by the Eight General Councell, wherin some things were resolued on, before the comming of the Vicars of the Bishop of Rome: and by this Fist, wherein neither the Bishop of Rome, nor any of his Bishops would bee present, nor giue any consent vnto it, and yet it is reputed a lawfull Generall Councell.

[t] *Socrates lib. 2. cap. 13.*

[t] *Cusanus Concord. Cathol. lib. 2. cap. 2. lib. 3. cap. 15.*

And, as a Councell may bee holden in such a case, without the presence or concurrence of the Romaine Bishop, and those that are subiect to him, so being present, if hee refuse to concurre in iudgement with the rest, they may proceed with-out him, and their sentence may bee of force, though hee consent not to it; as wee see in the Councell of *Chalcedon*. And though Generall Councels, wherein the Bishop of Rome, with his Bishops, refuse to bee present, or beeing present, to giue consent to that which is decreed, bee not so full and perfect, as they are, that haue his concurrence together with the Bishopps subiect to him, and therefore the like effect doth not presently follow; yet wee shall finde, that all such determinations, consented and agreed vnto vniformely, by all the other Patriarches, doe in the end generally take place. So that euen the Romaines them-selues are forced to yeeld vnto them; as wee see it came to passe, that the Decrees of the Fist Generall Councel, wherein the Romaines refused to bee present, and to which they would yeelde no consent, were soone after generally receiued; the Romaines themselues yeelding vnto them; and [t] likewise the Actes of the Fourth Generall Councell, wherein the Decree of equalling the Bishop of *Constantinople*, to the Bishop of *Rome*, and preferring him before the other Patriarches

[t] *Vide Actaborum Conciliorum.*

triarches, passing without the consent of the Bishop of *Romes* Legates; and resisted by the Bishops of the West, yet preuailed in the end, & forced the *Romane* Bishop to yeeld vnto it. For after the time of *Iustinian* the Emperour, none of the Bishops of *Rome* was euer found to contradict it any more. So, that to conclude & resolue this point, euen as no Chapter-act is good, wherin the meanest (hauing voyce in Chapter) is refused, neglected, or contemned; and much lesse, wherein hee that is Chiefest and President is contemned: and as the Actes of Prouinciall Synodes are voyde, wherein the meanest Suffragan is not called and expected; so there is no question, but that all the Actes of Generall Councels are voyde, wherein the Bishop of *Rome*, so long as hee continueth Catholique, and keepeth his owne standing, is not specially aboue all other expected and desired. But, as things may passe in these assemblies, without their consent, whose presence is so necessarily to bee sought (as wee see in Prouinciall Synodes the *maior* part swayeth all, and the Metropolitane hath no *negatiue*,) so in a Generall Councell, things may passe by the consent of the greater part, not onely with-out the consent, but euen against the liking of the Bishop of *Rome*, and his Bishops.

In the Sixt and Seauenth Generall Councels, the Bishop of *Romes* Legates, and Vice-gerents (in a sort) had the Presidentship: yet so, as that *Tharassius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, rather performed the duty of a Moderator and President in the Seauenth, then they, as it will easily appeare to any one that will but take a view of the Acts of that Synode. So that we finde, that neither the Bishop of *Rome* had the Presidentship in all Councels, nor that there was any certaine and vniforme course holden in giuing preheminences to the chiefe Bishops, in the first seuen Generall Councels. For [u] in ỹ Councel of *Nice*, *Hosius* doth first subscribe: after him, the Presbyters, that supplied the place of the Bishop of *Rome*: then *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*: the Bishop of *Ierusalem*, after all the Bishops of *Egypt*, *Thebais* & *Lybia*, and the Bishop of *Antioch* after all these; & the Bishops of *Palestina*, & *Phœnicia* also, and yet he sat in the highest place on the right side. In the second, neither the Bishop of *Rome*, nor any Westerne Bishops were present; the first that subscribed was *Nectarius*, the next *Timothy* of *Alexandria* & after him *Dorotheus*, then *Cyrill* of *Ierusalem*, & *Meletius* of *Antioch* after him, and after, all the Bishops of *Palestina* & *Phœnicia*. In the third, *Cyrill* subscribed first, and after him *Iuuenall* Bishop of *Ierusalem*, for *Iohn* of *Antioch* came not before the condemnation of *Nestorius* Bishop of *Constantinople* (to which they subscribed) was past. In the fourth, to the condemnation of *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Alexandria*: First the Legates of *Leo* Bishop of *Rome* subscribed: then *Anatolius* Bishop of *Constantinople*: after him the Bishop of *Antioch*, and *Iuuenall* Bishop of *Ierusalem*, almost after all the Bishops in the Synode, though in the order of sitting he was placed in the fifth place; but where they subscribe to the Decree touching matter of faith, he subscribeth in the fourth place, after *Rome*, *Constan-*

[u] See the actes of those Councels.

Constantinople, & Antioch. To the act for aduancing the sea of Constantinople, and setting it before the rest of the Patriarchicall thrones next to Rome, the Legates of the Bishoppe of Rome subscribe not, but *Anatolius* Bishop of Constantinople in the first place; after him, *Maximus* of Antioch; and in the third place, *Iuuenal* of Ierusalem.

In the fifth, they sate and subscribed in this sort. First, *Eutychius*, Bishoppe of Constantinople, then *Apollinarius* of Alexandria, after him *Domnimus* of Antioch, and last of all the Legates of *Eustochius* of Ierusalem: for the Bishop of Rome was not there in person, nor by his Legates. In the sixth, the Emperour sate in the highest place, in the middest: His great men, and the Consulls sate by him: on the left side the Legates of the Bishoppe of Rome, the Vicars of the Bishop of Ierusalem, and the Bishops that were present out of the Romaine Synode: On the right side, sate first, the Bishop of Constantinople, next him the Bishoppe of Antioch, then hee that supplyed the place of the Bishoppe of Alexandria, and so in order the Bishoppes subiect to them: yet in subscribing, the Bishoppe of Rome was first, Constantinople second, Alexandria third, Antioch fourth, and Ierusalem last. In the seauenth, the Legates of *Adrian* Bishoppe of Rome had the first place, and subscribed first: after them the Bishop of Constantinople, *Tharassius*; and then they that supplied the roomes of the other three Patriarchical thrones. But *Tharassius* rather performed the duty of a President and Moderator, then the Legats of Rome, as I shewed before.

These are all the General Councells that the Greeke & Latine Churches ioyntly acknowledge; and by this view which wee haue taken of them, wee may see how diuersly things haue bene carryed, both concerning the Presidentship in General Councels, and the preheminences of the chiefest Bishoppes in the same. Yet, as the Grecians were content in the [x] Councell of Florence, that the Bishoppe of Rome should haue all such preheminences againe, as hee had before the diuision of the Churches, if other matters might bee agreed on: So, if the Bishoppe of Rome would disclaime his clayme of vniuersall iurisdiction, of infallible iudgement, and power to dispose at his pleasure the Kingdomes of the World, & would content him-selfe with that all Antiquity gaue him, which is to be in order and honour the first among Bishoppes, wee would easily graunt him to be in such sort President of General Councels, as to sit and speake first in such meetings: but to be an absolute Commander, we cannot yeeld vnto him.

[x] *Sessione vltimâ.*

Cardinal [y] *Turrecremata* rightly noteth, that the Presidentshippe of Councels, wherof men do speake, is of two sorts; the one of honor, the other of power. Presidentshippe of honour is to haue preheminence in place, to propose thinges to bee debated, to direct the actions, and to giue definitiue sentence, according to the voyces and iudgement of the Councel

[y] *Sūma d. Ecclesia. li. 3. cap. 23.*

Councell. Presidentship of power, is to haue the right, not onely of directing, but of ruling, their dooings also that are assembled in Councell, and to conclude of matters after his owne iudgment, though the greater part of the Councell like it not, yea though no part like it. A Presidentship of the former sort, Antiquity yeelded to the Bishop of Rome, when hee was not wanting to himselfe. And if there were no other differences betweene vs and him, wee also would yeeld it him; But the latter kinde of Presidentship wee cannot yeeld, vnlesse wee ouer-throw the whole course of Councells, and goe against the streame of all Antiquity. This seemeth (saith [z] *Duarenus*) to bee consonant vnto the Lawe of God, that the Church, which the Synode doth represent, should haue the fulnesse of all power, and that the Pope should acknowledge himselfe subiect vnto it. For Christ did not giue the power of binding and loosing, to *Peter* alone, whose successor the Pope is sayd to bee, but to the whole Church: Although I doe not deny, but that hee was set before the rest of the Apostles; yet so often as any one was to bee ordained, eyther Bishop or Deacon, or any thing to bee decreed, that concerned the Church, *Peter* neuer tooke it to himselfe, but referred it to the whole Church. But herein did his preheminence stand and consist, that as Prince of the Apostles it pertained to him to call the rest together, and to propose vnto them the things that were to bee handled; as with vs at this day the President of the Court of Parliament calleth together the whole Senate, and when occasion requireth, beginneth first to speake, and doth many other things, which easily shew the greatnesse of the person which hee sustaineth; and yet notwithstanding hee is not greater or superior to the whole Court; neither hath hee power ouer all the Senators; neither may he decree any thing contrary to their iudgments. But the iudgment of all controuersies, pertaineth to the Court it selfe, whose head the President is sayd to bee; nay, which is more, the Court commandeth, iudgeth, and punisheth the President as well as any other, if there bee cause so to doe.

[z] *De sacris eccles. minist. & benef. lib. 3. cap. 2.*

And these things truely were likewise in the Ecclesiastical state heretofore, but I know not by what meanes it is now brought about, that supreme power ouer all Christians is giuen to one, and that hee is set free from all Lawes and Canons, after the example of the Emperors. This is the iudgment of learned and worthy *Duarenus*: yet the Iesuites, and Iesuited Papists at this day, will needs haue the Pope to bee President of Generall Councels, in such sort, that hee may conclude of matters after his owne iudgment and liking, though the greater part of the Councell like it not, yea, though no part like it. But this their conceit is easily refuted; first, by reason, & then by the practise of the Church from the beginning. For first, either Bishops are assembled in Generall Councels, onely as the Popes Councellers to giue him aduise; or they are in ioynt Commission with

him, and sit as his fellow Iudges of all matters of faith and discipline. If onely as Counsellers to aduise him, Councels should not consist onely or principally of Bishops. For, as they say commonly, that many a doting old woman may be more deuout, and many a poore begging Fryer more learned then the Pope him-selfe: so there is no question, but that many other may be as learned and iudicious as Bishops, [a] *though* (saith *Austine*) *according to the titles of honour, which the custome of the Church giueth men,* Austine *a Bishop be greater then* Hierome *a Presbyter, yet* Hierome *in worth and merit is greater then* Austine. In the late Councell of *Trent*, there is no question, but that *Andradius, Vega*, & other Doctors that were there, were euery way comparable with the greatest Bishop or Cardinall; yet Bishops onely, as of ordinary right, and some few other, by speciall priuiledge, gaue decisiue voyces in that Councell: other, how learned soeuer, beeing admitted onely to discusse and debate matters, and thereby to prepare and ripen them, that the Bishops might more easily iudge of them: and therefore the current of most Papists is against that conceit of making Bishops to be but the Popes Counsellers onely, as appeareth by [b] *Andradius*, [c] *Canus*, [d] *Bellarmine*, and many moe. That Bishops (saith [e] *Melchior Canus*) are not Counsellers onely to aduise, but Iudges to determine all matters doubtfull touching Faith and Manners; may easily be prooued by the proceedings of all ancient Councels. For the Fathers of the *Nicene* Councell, desire *Sylvester* to confirme what they haue decreed; and *Leo* professeth, that he approueth all those things which the Councell of *Chalcedon* decreed touching the Faith: and the Councell it selfe speaking to *Leo* saith, *Honour our iudgment with the concurrence of thy Decrees.* And the Sixt [f] Generall Councell saith: *Wee anathematize Theodorus, Sergius, Syrus, &c.* And a little after: *All these things beeing determined by this holy Councell, and confirmed by our constant subscription, wee decree, that no man make any further adoe about matters of Faith, &c.* Are these the words of him that onely giueth aduice and councell? or of him that iudgeth and determineth what shall be beleeued and done? and in all the rest, the Fathers speake not as Counsellers that are to aduise, but as Iudges that haue power to determine: For the third Chapter of the *Nicene* Synode hath thus: *The great Synode hath altogether forbidden, &c.*

Thus farre *Melchior Canus*, learnedly and strongly prooving, that Bishops are not present in Generall Councels, as the Popes Counsellers to aduise him, but as Iudges together with him to define and determine: which if it bee granted, wee may easily in the second place proue, that the Pope may not determine things of him-selfe contrary to the iudgments of all the rest. For though, the chiefe President of a Company, may haue a negatiue voyce, against the affirmatiue of all the rest, yet neuer was there any company of Iudges, hauing power to iudge and determine, wherein one might not onely dasht what the rest

agreed

[a] *Augustin. epist. 19. ad Hieron.*

[b] *De Gener. Concil. autho-* [c] *ritate. lib. 1. pag. 46. & 47.*

[c] *Loc. Theologi. lib. 5. cap. 5.*

[d] *De Conciliis lib. 1. cap. 18.*

[e] *Loco citato.*

[f] *Actio. 18.*

agreed on, but determine also what hee pleased, though none concurred with him; when in any commission some, certaine number of men may determine and resolue, and none hath power to contradict, they are absolutely Iudges, & the power of iudging resteth wholy in them, their whe in resolutions they may be so gain-said by others, that yet others can do nothing without them, they are Iudges in part, and the power of iudging resteth in part in them. But when another may dash what they consent on, and do what hee pleaseth, whatsoeuer they say to the contrary, they may bee in the nature of Counsellers to aduise, but not of Iudges to determine. For wheresoeuer there are many Iudges, either the power of determining, both affirmatiuely and negatiuely, resteth in the *Maior* part, or else any one hath an absolute negatiue, and onely the concurrence of all an affirmatiue, as in Iuries heere in England; or thirdly, either one man, or some certaine men haue their negatiue, and the affimatiue is onely in the *Maior* part: and therefore it is most fond and friuolous, that *Canus* hath in answer to this our argument; for whereas we say, if Bishoppes bee Iudges, the Pope may not resolue against the *Maior* part of them, hee hath these words, [g] I deny that it is necessary to follow the iudgement of the *Maior*, part when wee treat of matters of Faith, neither do wee heere measure the sentence by the number of voyces, as in humaine elections or iudgements; Knowing that oftentimes it comes to passe, that the greater Part doth ouer-come the better; that those thinges are not alwaies best, which please most; and that in things which pertaine to doctrine, the iudgement of the wise is to bee preferred, and the wise are exceeding few, whereas there is an infinite number of fooles.

[g] *Canus loco citato. pag. 164*

Foure hundred Prophets did lye vnto *Achab*, but the truth came out of the mouth of one *Michæas* alone, and hee very contemptible, and therefore the Iudgements of Diuine thinges are not to be moderated by humaine reasons: The Lord saueth & deliuereth, sometimes, sooner with a few then with many. This saying of *Canus* is contrary to all course of Iudgment in the world, and contradicted by his owne fellow and friend Cardinal [h] *Bellarmine*, who saith, that in Councels, things are to be caried by number of voyces, and not by disputation; that in the Councell mentioned in the *Actes*, the question was defined by the voyces of the Apostles: and that in the Councell of [i] *Chalcedon* the ten Bishoppes of *Egypt* were condemned as Heretickes, becaule they yeelded not to the *Maior* part of that Councell.

[h] *Lib. 1. de Concilijs. cap. 18.*

[i] *Actione. 4.*

Thus doth he crosse his fellow *Canus*. But let not *Canus* be offended with him for so doing; for he will presently crosse him-selfe also: for I hope he thinketh the Bishops of *Egypt* were rightly iudged Heretikes for refusing to subscribe to the Iudgement of the *Maior* part of Bishops in the Councell of *Chalcedon* (seeing hee bringeth this censure to proue that the determinations of Councells do bind the conscience) and then it will

follow, that the greater part of Biſhops in a Generall Councell cannot erre; which yet hee preſently denieth, [k] and ſaith the greater part of this Councell did erre, and reſolued that which was reuerſed by the Pope. If hee ſay that thoſe ten Biſhops of *Ægypt*, refuſed to ſubſcribe to that which was agreed on by the *Maior* part with the Legates of *Rome*, and that therefore they might iuſtly bee iudged Heretickes, as contradicting the Iudgment of them that cannot erre, it ſtandeth no better with his reſolution [l] elſe where, that the *Maior* part of Biſhops in a Generall Councell, with the Legates, may erre. But paſſing by theſe Contradictions and abſurdities of the Cardinall, let vs ſee if he can cleare this doubt any better, which hath ſo much troubled *Canus*. For the auoyding of this one poore argument, hee is forced to diuide the Pope, as otherwiſe finding no meanes to eſcape the force thereof. [m] The Pope therefore (he ſaith) may bee conſidered two wayes; either as hee is Preſident of a Councell, & ſo he is tied to follow the *Maior* part; or as he is chiefe Prince in the Church, and ſo he may go againſt the *Maior* part, and reſolue what hee pleaſeth of himſelfe: and yet this deuided conſideration no way deuideth or breaketh the force of our argument, but leaueth it intyre and whole as it found it. For wee ſeeke not the difference betweene a Preſident and a chiefe and abſolute Prince, but whether the Biſhops ſitting in Councell with the Pope, bee his fellow Iudges, or not: which they cannot bee, if hee may not onely daſh what they would doe, but alſo doe what hee pleaſeth with-out them. And beſides this, if the Pope doe ſit in Generall Councels as Preſident, and ſo as bound to pronounce according to the *Maior* part of voyces in all Decrees, then hee ſitteth not there as abſolute Prince, hauing power not onely to daſh what others would doe, but alſo to doe what hee pleaſeth of him-ſelfe with-out them, and contrary to their iudgments; and ſo cannot define and determine contrary to the iudgment and reſolution of the *Maior* part.

[k] *Eodem Capite.*

[l] *Lib. 2. de Concil. cap. 11.*

[m] *Lib. 1. de Conciliis. cap. 18.*

The onely anſwer that may bee imagined to this obiection, is, that as inferior Iudges may determine a thing, which yet by a ſuperior authority may bee reuerſed, and the contrary decreed, ſo the Biſhops in a Generall Councell, as Iudges, may decree and determine, and yet the power of re-examining and reuerſing all, if neede bee, may reſt in the Pope as ſuperior Iudge vnto them, which yet no way cleareth the doubt. For how-ſo-euer it bee true in Iudges and Iudgments, diſtinct, ſeparate, and ſubordinate one to another, that one may daſh that the other doth, and do the contrary without the conſent of the other, yet of Iudges ioyned in one Commiſſion, and of the ſame iudgment it cannot be ſo conceiued.

Now the Iudgement of the Generall Councell includeth in it the Iudgement of the Pope; the Pope and Councell make one Iudge, and are not ſeparate, diſtinct, and ſubordinate Iudges, and therefore no ſuch thing can bee ſayd of them. If it bee ſayd, that

that he who is ioined in Commiſſion with others, in ſome inferiour court, and hath a Negatiue voyce in it onely, and no abſolute affirmatiue, may in a ſuperior Court haue both, and that therefore the Pope, who hath no abſolute voyce affirmatiue and negatiue in a Generall Councell, may haue ſuch a voyce in ſome higher Court, it will be found to bee too ſhameleſſe a ſaying. For, there neither is, nor can bee any higher Court then that of a Generall Councell conſiſting of the Biſhoppe of *Rome*, and all the other Biſhops of the world. So that all anſweres failing, we may ſafely conclude that if Biſhops be Iudges Eccleſiaſticall, truely and properly, (as we haue proued them to be by vn-anſwerable reaſons, and our aduerſaries confeſſe) the Pope hath no abſolute voyce affirmatiue and negatiue in Generall Councells, that is, to daſh what the Maior part would doe, and to do that they by no meanes like of. This [n] *Andradius* ſaw, and therefore he diſclaimeth the Poſition of *Bellarmine* [o] that all the aſſurance the Councell hath of finding out the truth, is Originally in the Pope, and from him communicated to the Councell: and holdeth that the Councell hath as good aſſurance of finding out the truth, and better then the Pope himſelfe: And therefore he ſayth, that though hee thinketh it impoſſible the Pope ſhould diſſent from the Councell, ſo as to define contrary to it, yet, if it ſhould ſo fall out (as hee thinketh it not impoſſible) that the Biſhop of *Rome* ſhould altogether diſlike in his opinion, that which the Councell reſolueth on, and which he ſhould conſent vnto, and (though hee define not the contrary) yet deſpiſe the Decrees of the Councell, and in his priuate opinion gaine-ſay them; hee thinketh in ſuch a caſe, men were to conceiue none other-wiſe of him, then if hee ſhould depart from the faith and profeſſion of the ancient Councells, which the conſent of all ages hath confirmed, and [p] *Gregory* profeſſeth to honour and eſteeme as the foure Goſpells, ſeeing the power and authory is as great in all Councells as in thoſe which the ſame *Gregory* ſaith, that, *whoſoeuer houldeth not their certaine reſolutions, though he ſeeme to be a ſtone elect & precious, yet he lyeth beſides the foundation.* And, becauſe the authority of Cardinal *Turrecremata* is great with all thoſe that defend the dignity of the Pope againſt the Biſhoppes that were aſſembled in the Councell of *Baſil*, and ſuch as are of their iudgement, therefore hee produceth his opinion in theſe words: if ſuch a Caſe ſhould fall out (ſaith Cardinall [q] *Turrecremata*) that all the Fathers aſſembled in a Generall Councell with vnanimous conſent, ſhould make a decree concerning the faith, which the perſon of the Pope alone ſhould contradict, I would ſay according to my iudgement, that men were bound to ſtand to the iudgement of the Synode, & not to liſten to the gaine-ſaying of the Perſon of the Pope: for the iudgement of ſo many and ſo great Fathers in a Generall Councell, ſeemeth worthily to be preferred before the iudgement of one man. In which caſe that Gloſſe

[n] *Lib. 1. de Generali Concil. authoritate.*

[o] *De Pontif. li. 4. cap. 3.*

[p] *Lib. 1. Epiſtolarum cap. 4. & 24.*

[q] *De Pont. max. Generaliumq; Concil. authoritate ad Baſilienſ. oratorem. Reſponſ. num. 47. & 68.*

vpon the Decrees is most excellent, that when the faith is treated of, the Pope is bound to require the Councell of Bishops, which is to bee vnderstood to be necessary to be done, as often as the case is very doubtfull, and a Synode may be called, and then the Synode is greater then the Pope; not truely in the power of Iurisdiction, but in the authority of discerning, iudgement, and the amplitude of knowledge. This is the opinion of this great Champion, who so mainely in defence of the Popes vniuersall iurisdiction, impugned the Fathers, that were assembled in the Councell of *Basil*. Whereby it is euident, that the Pope may not go against the consent of a Generall Councell, and that he may not dissent from it, being greater in the authority of discerning iudgement then he is; and consequently that he hath no negatiue voyce in Councells. Which may further be proued; for that if he had a negatiue voyce, as the Councell hath, then were there two absolute negatiues: but where there are two absolute negatiues, it is vncertaine whether any thing shall bee resolued on or not, (whereas yet the state of the Church requireth resolution and certaine concluding of matters, that men may know what they are to beleeue.) Therefore the Pope hath none, but, the only negatiue is that of the Councell, a part whereof the Pope is, giuing a voyce as others do. And this the manner of other Synodes confirmeth. For in Prouinciall, Nationall, and Patriarchical Councels, the Metropolitanes, Primates, and Patriarches haue no absolute negatiue, but giue only a single voice: and the absolute negatiue, as also the affirmatiue, is onely in the *Maior* part; and as Cardinall *Turrecremata*. learnedly and rightly maketh the authority of the General Councel, in discerning & defining what is to be beleeued, greater then the authority of the Pope; and that the Councell is rather to bee listened vnto, then the Pope, dissenting from the Councell; so there is no doubt, but that (the authority of Councells being as great in making necessary lawes for the good of the Church, as in resoluing doubtes and clearing controuersies) the Councell is greater then the Pope in the power of making Lawes, and consequently in the power of Iurisdiction; which he denyeth, and they of Basill affirme. The greatest allegation on the contrary side, is the confirmation that auncient Councells sought of the Bishop of *Rome*: for that may seeme to import, that their decrees are of no force, vnlesse they be strengthned by his authority: where-vnto [t] *Andradius* answereth out of [f] *Alfonsus à Castro* and others, that Generall Councells carefully sought to bee confirmed by the Bishoppe of *Rome*; not as if in themselues without his confirmation they were weake and might erre, nor for that they thought him to haue as much or more assurance of not erring then they; but that it might appeare, that hee that hath the first place in the Church of GOD, and the rest did consent and conspire together in the deliuery and the defence of the truth. But because happily this answere may seeme

[t] *Defens. Trid. fidei lib. 1. cap. 6.*

[f] *Adu. Haer. lib. 1. de iusta Haeret. punitione cap. 6.*

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too weake, therefore for the clearing of this doubt, wee must obserue, that all the ancient Councels were holden in the East, and that in some of them, neither the Bishop of *Rome*: nor any of his Westerne Bishops were present, and in others very few: For, there were onely three out of the West, in the name of all the rest, in the great Councell of *Chalcedon*, wherein 630. Bishops met. Now, seeing the authority of Generall Councells is from the consent of all other Bishops of the Christian Church, as well as those that meete in them, it was necessary that the Bishop of *Rome*, as Patriarch of the West, and the Bishops subiect to him, though they were no more infallible in iudgement then the other, yet should by consenting with the rest, confirme that was done; seeing they were not present to giue consent when it was done. If it bee sayd, that in diuerse of them, there were some for the Bishop of *Rome*, and some in the name of the Synodes subiect to him, who hauing instructions from them, gaue consent in their names, and that therefore there needed no further confirmation, it will bee easily answered.

First, that it was possible for those Legates, being but few, to forsake their instructions, and to doe contrary to them, as [t] *Rodoaldus* and *Zacharie* the Legates of Pope *Nicholas* did in the Councell vnder *Michaell* the Emperour, wherein *Photius* was set vp, and *Ignatius* put downe. Secondly, that [u] it was not necessary, that the Fathers should whole follow those instructions that they brought, and absolutely agree vnto them: and therefore when things were concluded, it was fitte there should bee a signifying of that which was done, and a desire of the confirmation of the same. Thirdly, some things might be concluded, to which the instructions reached not, and in respect of them, a confirmation was necessary: as the Councell of [x] *Chalcedon* decreed certaine things without the compasse of *Leos* instructions, and therefore sought his confirmation. Besides all this, wee must note that the confirmation which the ancient Councells sought, was not from the person of the Bishop of *Rome* alone, but from him and his Synodes, as I haue prooued before: And [y] *Bellarmine* himselfe confesseth; saying, that in the Second and Third Synodes, there were no Bishops of the West present but that the Bishop of *Rome* in his owne name, and in the name of the Bishops, and Synodes subiect to him, did confirme them. So that this confirming of Councells by the Pope, proueth no more that he is infallible in iudgment, or that all the assurance of finding out the truth is originally in him, and from him communicated to Generall Councells; then that all the Bishops and Synodes subiect to him, are free from possibility of erring; and that National or Prouinciall Synodes in the West, are more infallible in their iudgments, then those that are Generall in the East. The next allegation to proue that the Councell is nothing without the Pope, is, that a promise was made to *Peter*, that [z] *his faith*

[t] *Vt patet in Epist. Nicolai ad Patriarchas.*

[u] *Bellarm. de Concilijs. lib. 2. cap. 11.*

[x] *Actione. 3.*

[y] *De Concilijs lib. 1. cap. 17.*

[z] *Luke. 22. 32.*

faith should not faile, but that no promise was made to the Councell: that promise of Christ, [a] *that where two or three are gathered together in his name, hee will bee in the middest of them*, beeing no way proper to Councells and Bishops, [b] hauing no authority when they are assembled, which they haue not when they are single and deuided. This allegation is contradictory to the resolution, and contrary to the practise of all times. For first, that promise of Christ, *that where two or three are gathered together in his name, hee will bee in the middest of them*, was euer thought to assure his presence in a lawfull Generall Councell, in very speciall sort, and otherwise then any where else; and that vpon very good ground of reason. For if God be present with priuate men, meeting together in his feare about the things that concerne them, and with a few particular Pastors of Churches, for the direction of them in things that concerne them, there is no question but in Generall meetings, wherein all the variety of the gifts of God, bestowed on men, is gathered together, and things concerning the state of the whole Christian Church treated of, hee is present in most peculiar sort and manner.

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[b] Bellar. lib. 2. de concilijs cap. 16.

Secondly, though Christ the sonne of God, gaue no authority to the whole vniuersality of Christian men, and therein the Church and Common-wealth may seeme to differ, yet he gaue Commission to the Generality of Pastors, more then to each one apart, and being assembled, they haue that power which seuerally they haue not, as to ordaine, iudge, suspend, and depose Pastors and Bishops. And howsoeuer, in each Prouince the rest are to know him that is the first among them, and to doe nothing pertaining to the whole Prouince, without consulting him first, yet may hee doe nothing without them. And as this is the Canon and Law of the Church in particular Prouinces, so in Churches of larger extent, comprehending whole Countries, subiect to one Patriarch, and much more in the whole Church, wherein there is no one hauing so much power in respect of the rest, as the Metropolitane hath, in respect of the Bishops of the Prouince; and the Patriarche, in respect of the Metropolitanes: For the Bishops are to be ordayned by the Metropolitane, and the Metropolitanes are to be ordained, or at least confirmed by the Patriarch; whereas among the Patriarches, there is no one, to whome it pertaineth to ordaine the rest, or to confirme them in any speciall sort, or otherwise then they are to confirme him.

Thus then it beeing prooued by conuincing reasons, and the confession, not onely of such Papists as make the Pope among Bishopps to bee but as the Duke of *Venice* among the great Senators of that State (greater then each one, but inferiour to the whole company of them) but of such also as attribute much more vnto him; that hee hath no such Presidentship in Generall Councells, as that

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hee may determine what hee will against the liking of all, or the greater part of Bishoppes, but that he is bound to follow the greater part; and that Generall Councels are of force, not from the absolute authority of the Pope, onely aduising with other Bishoppes, but from their consents as well as his: Let vs proceed to see if the practise of former times proue not the same.

I finde (saith [c] *Cusanus*) that in all the first Eight General Councells, the Popes, or the Legates of the Popes, (for them-selues were neuer present in person) did euer subscribe in the very same sort that the other Bishoppes did, without note of any singularity. For euery Bishoppe was wont to subscribe in this forme, *Annuens, vel consentiens, vel statuens, vel definiens, subscripsi*: and this was the forme the Legates of the Bishop of *Rome* obserued. But (saith *Cusanus*) that no man may doubt, but that all things were determined by the ioynt consent of such as met in Generall Councels, and not by the sole authority of the Bishoppe of *Rome* alone, we find in the Actes of the Councell of *Chalcedon*, that *Dioscorus* being the third time warned to appeare, and refusing so to doe, *Paschasinus* the Legate of *Leo* the Pope, said vnto the Synode, *We desire to learne of your Holynesse, what punishment he is worthy off.* To whome the Synode answering, *let that bee done, that is agreeable to the Canons*: Paschasinus *said, Doth your religiousnesse or reuerend worthinesse, command vs to vse Canonicall vengeance against him? Do you consent? or doe you resolue otherwise?* The holy Synode said, *wee consent, none disseteth. This is the agreeing and consenting will of the whole Synode.*

[c] *Concor. Cathol. lib. 2. cap. 8.*

Iulian the Bishop of *Hypepa* said to the Legates of *Leo*; We desire your Holynes, in that you are more eminent then the rest, hauing the place of § most holy Pope *Leo*, to pronounce the sentence of iust vengeance against this contumacious person, the Canons requiring the same. For, wee all, and the whole Synode agree to the sentence of your Holynesse. *Paschasinus* said, *Let what pleaseth your Blessednesse bee pronounced with vnanimous consent. Maximus* of *Antioch* said, *what your Holynesse thinketh fit to be done, wee consent vnto.*

After this the Apostolicall Legates pronounced the sentence, whereby *Leo* the Pope had deposed and condemned *Dioscorus*, and then added, *Let not this holy Synode be slacke to determine what is agreeable to the Canons touching Dioscorus.* Where-vppon, *Anatolius* of *Constantinople*, and euery Bishoppe in the Councell gaue sentence against him, saying, *I iudge him to bee reiected from all Sacerdotall and Episcopal Ministery.*

Heere (saith *Cusanus*) the Reader may see, that the Apostolicall Legates (because they haue the first place in the Councell) pronounce the sentence, and yet no otherwise, but if the Councell command them so to doe; that all in order pronounce sentence likewise; and that the force of the sentence dependeth on the vnity and consent of will in them that are

present. Neyther is this course obserued onely in Generall Councells; but that, in those also that were Patriarchicall the other Bishops subscribed, in the very same forme, that the Bishoppe of *Rome* did, it is euident. For, in the Councell vnder Pope *Martine*, before the sixt Generall Councell, *Martine* subscribed in this sort.

I Martine, *Bishoppe of the Citty of Rome, decreeing and determining, haue subscribed to this definition of Constitution of the true faith and condemnation of* Sergius *of Constantinople*, Pyrrhus *and* Paulus; And in the very same sort subscribed *Maximus* of *Aquileia*, defining and confirming the true Faith, and condemning the Heretikes: And so did a hundred and three Bishoppes more. And in the Councell vnder *Symmachus*, we read, that ỹ Synode sayd: what-soeuer Clearke, Monke or Layman, eyther of the superior or inferior order, shall presume to go against these decrees, lette him by the sentence of the Canon be reiected as a Schismatike. And the Bishopps subscribed thus.

I Symmachus, *of the holy Catholike Church of the Citty of Rome, haue subscribed to this Constitution made by vs, by the inspiration of the* LORD.

I Lawrence, *Bishoppe of the Church of* Millaine *haue subscribed to this Constitution made by vs. &c.* And so the rest in order.

In the Councell of *Affrica*, *Gennadius* said, *Wee must by our seuerall subscriptions giue force and strength to the things wee haue spoken*: And all the Bishoppes said, *Fiat, fiat*, that is, *Let vs so do*. So the Vicars of old *Rome* said in the Eight Generall Councell: *Seeing by the happy prouidence of God all things are come to a good end, wee must by subscription giue strength to that which is done*. And the like we finde in the end and conclusion of all Councels: [a] whereby it appeareth, that the strength, vigour, & force of all Canons made in Councels, is from the vniforme consent of them that haue voyces in Councels, and not from the Pope, or head of such assemblies.

[a] *Hactenus ex Cusano. Loco Citato.*

In the [c] Councel of *Chalcedon* we find that a forme of a Decree touching the faith was agreed on by al, besides the *Romaines*, and certaine of the East, who would haue some things added out of the Epistles of *Leo*. The Bishops vrged, that all had liked and approued that forme the day before, and that it did confirme the Epistle of *Leo*, which they all had receiued; and desired the Iudges, that all might be cast out of the Synode that would not subscribe.

[c] *Actione. 5.*

The Vicars of *Rome* on the contrary side, told the, that if they would not consent to the Epistle of *Leo*, they would returne, that a Synode might be holden in the West; and the Iudges commanded them to come to some conference, a certaine selected number of them, or else to declare their Faith by their seuerall Metropolitaines, that so there might remaine no further doubt or discord; and told them, that if they would follow none of these courses, nor agree to make a certaine Decree touching the true

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faith, a Synode should bee holden in the West.

So, that wee see, that without the concurrence of the other Bishops, nothing could bee done by the *Romaines* and those of the East: that there was no other remedy, in case they would not haue agreed, in determining the doubts then no foote, but to call another Synode, wherein a greator number of the Westerne Bishops might bee present; So that the Pope was not at that time reputed an absolute Commander in Generall Councels.

CAP. 57.

Of the assurance of finding out the Truth, which the Bishops assembled in Generall Councells haue.

HAuing shewed who haue decisiue voyces in Generall Councels, what presence of Bishops is necessary to the beeing of them, what order is to bee obserued in their proceedings, who is President in them, and what his authority is, it remayneth that wee proceed to see what assurance they haue of finding out the Truth, and who is to call them.

Touching the first of these two, some haue beene of opinion, that the Bishopps and Fathers in Councells are so guided by the Spirit of Truth, that their Decrees and determinations may bee ioyned to the Canonical Scripture, and reckoned parts of it.

This position *Melchior* [a] *Canus* sayth, a man excellently learned, and that had so profited in Diuinity, that hee might bee thought match-able with great and eminent Diuines, feared not to hold in his hearing: and addeth, that [b] *Gratian* seemeth to haue bene of the same opinion, where hee affirmeth, that the Decretall Epistles of Popes are Canonicall Scripture, and alledgeth *Austine* for proofe thereof. But the same *Canus* refuteth that opinion as absurd, and sheweth that *Gratian* mistooke Saint *Austine*.

[a] *Locor. Theologic. lib. 5. cap. 5.*

[b] *Dist. 19. ca. In Canonicis.*

For, whereas Saint *Austine* hath these wordes, [c] *In Canonicis scripturis Ecclesiarum Catholicarum quamplurium authoritatem sequatur: inter quas sanè illæ sunt, quæ Apostolicas sedes habere & epistolas accipere meruerunt.* That is: In reckoning the bookes of Canonicall Scripture, lette the dilligent searcher of the Scriptures follow the authority of the greater number of Catholike Churches: Among which they truly which were so happy, as to haue Apostolike seats, & to receiue Epistles frō Apostles, are specially and principally to be regarded. *Gratian* citeth the place thus: *In Canonicis scripturis Ecclesiarum Catholicarum quam plurimum scripturarum solertissimus indagator authoritatem sequatur: inter quas sanè illæ-*

[c] *Aug. de Doctrin. Christ. li. 2. cap. 8.*

illæ sunt quas Apostolica sedes habere, et ab eâ alii meruerunt accipere epistolas. So that whereas Saint *Austine* saith, that in reckoning the Canonical bookes of Scripture, a man must follow the authority of the greater number of Catholicke Churches, and among them especially such, as eyther had Apostolicall seates, as *Ierusalem* and the like; or receiued Epistles from some of the Apostles, as did the Churches of *Corinth* and *Galatia*; *Gratian* maketh him say, that the Epistles, which the Apostolical Sea receiued, or other receiued of it, are to bee reckoned among Canonicall Scriptures.

This ouer-sight of [d] *Gratian*, *Picus Mirandula* long since obserued, and after him [e] *Alfonsus a Castro*: whereby we may see how easie it was for men in former times to runne into most grosse errors, before the reuiuing of learning in these latter times, while the blinde did lead the blinde. For *Gratian* was the man, out of whome the [f] greatest Diuines of former times tooke all their authorities of Fathers and Councells, as appeareth by their marginal quotations. And how ignorantly and negligently he vsed to tooke them, and misalledged them, this one example is proofe sufficient.

[d] *De fide et ordine credendi. Theorem. 15.*
[e] *Aduersus. Hæres. lib. 1. cap. 2.*
[f] *Turrecremata. lib. 4. summæ de ecclesia parte. 2. cap. 9. & Caietan. in lib. de primatu Rom. Ecclesiæ. cap. 14.* were mis-led in this point by *Gratian* as *Alphonsus* noteth.

But what-soeuer we thinke of *Gratian*, wee shall finde that not onely our Diuines, but the best learned among our aduersaries also, put a great difference betweene the sacred scriptures of the holy Canon, and the Decrees of Councells. For, first they say, the Scripture is the word of God reuealed immediately, and written in a sort from his owne mouth; according to that of Saint *Peter*; [g] *The holy men of God spake as they were moued by the holy Ghost*: and that of Saint *Paul*; [h] *All scripture is by diuine inspiration*: which yet is not so to bee vnderstood, as if alwayes the holy Writers had had new reuelations, and had alwaies written that, which before they were ignorant off: for it is certaine that the Euangelists, *Mathew* and *Iohn*, wrote those things which they saw; and *Marke* and *Luke* those things which they heard from others, as *Luke* him-selfe confesseth in the beginning of his Gospel. But the holy Writers are therefore said to haue had immediate reuelation, and to haue written the words of God him-selfe; because eyther some new things, and not known before, were reuealed to them by God; or because God immediately inspired and moued the Writers to write those thinges which they had seene and heard: and directed them that they should not any way erre in writing: whereas Councels neyther haue, nor write immediate reuelations or wordes of God, but onely declare which is that word of God vttered formerly to the Prophets and Apostles, how it is to bee vnderstood, and what conclusions may bee deduced from it by discourse of reason.

[g] 2. Pet. 1. 21.
[h] 2. Tim. 3. 16.

Secondly, the holy Writers performed that which they did, without any further labour or trauel, then that, in writing & calling to mind what they

they had seene and heard; but in Councels, the Bishoppes and Fathers, with great paine and trauel, seeke out the truth by discourse, conference, reading, and deepe meditation: and therefore the holy Writers are wont to attribute all to God only, and the Prophets were wont often to repeate, *The Lord saith.*

Thirdly, in the Scriptures, not onely the whole sentences, but euery word pertayneth to Faith: for no word is therein vaine or ill placed. But in Councels there are many disputations going before resolution, many reasons brought for confirmation of things resolued on, many things added for explication and illustration, many things vttered *obiter*, and in passage, that men are not bound to admitte as true and right; nay many things are defined in Councels that men are not bound to stand vnto. For it is the manner of Councels, sometimes to define a thing as certainly and vndoubtedly true, pronouncing them Heretykes that thinke otherwise, and subiecting them to curse and *Anathema*; and sometimes as probable onely, and not certaine, as the [i] Councel of *Vienna* decreed, that it is more probable, that both grace, and vertues accompanying grace, are infused into Infants when they are baptized, then that they are not: and yet is this no matter of Fayth in the Church of *Rome*.

[i] *Clementinâ vnicâ De summâ Trinitate & fide Catholicâ.*

Fourthly, in the scripture all things, (as well concerning particular persons, as in generallity) are vndoubtedly true. For, it is as certaine that *Peter* and *Paul* had the spirit of God, as that no man can bee saued without the illumination and sanctification of the Spirit: but in the determinations and decrees of Bishoppes assembled in a Generall Councell it is not so; for they may erre in iudging of the persons of men, and therefore there is no absolute certainty in the canonization of Saints, as both [k] *Thomas* and [l] *Canus* do confesse.

[k] *Quodlibet. 9. art. vlt.*

[l] *Locorum. Theol. li. 5. cap. 5. Citat etiam Antoninum. part. 3. tit. 12. cap. 8. Idem et Caietã. Opusc. de indulgẽt ad Iulium. cap. 8.*

Fiftly, in Scriptures there are no precepts touching manners, either concerning the whole Church, or any part of it, that are not right, equall, and iust. But Councels may erre, if not in prescribing things euil, in stead of good, yet in prescribing things not fitting nor expedient, if not to the whole Church, yet to some particular part of it, as not knowing the condition of things therein. Yea [m] some there are that thinke it not heretical to beleeue, that Generall Councells may prescribe some lawes to the whole Church, that are not right, profitable, and iust; as to honour such a one for a Saint, who indeed is no Saint; to admit such orders of Religious men as are not profitable; to receiue the Communion onely in one kind, and the like.

[m] *Vide Canum Loco citato.*

And there are [n] many that confidently pronounce, that Generall Councels may decree such things as may breed inconuenience, and may sauor of too great seuerity and austerity, which the guides of the Church in the execution of the same must bee forced to qualifie and temper. So that the onely question is, whether a Generall Councell may certainely

[n] *Andrad. de authoritate Concilior. li. 1. fol. 66.*

define

define any thing to be true in matter of faith, that is falſe; or commaund the doing of any acte as good and an acte of vertue, that indeed and in truth is an acte of ſinne. Touching this point, there are that ſay; that all interpretations of Holy Scriptures agreed on in Generall Councels, and all reſolutions of doubtes concerning things therein contayned, proceed from the ſame Spirit from which the holy Scriptures were inſpired; and that therefore Generall Councells cannot erre, eyther in the interpretation of Scripture, or reſoluing of things doubtful concerning the faith. But theſe men ſhould know, that [o] though the interpretations & reſolutions of Biſhops in Generall Councels, proceed from the ſame Spirit, from which the Scriptures were inſpired; yet not in the ſame ſort, nor with like aſſurance of being free from mixture of error. For, the Fathers aſſembled in General Councels, doe not rely vppon immediate reuelation, in all their particular reſolutions and determinations, as the Writers of the Bookes of holy Scripture did, but on their owne meditation, ſearch and ſtudy, the generall aſſiſtance of Diuine grace concurring with them. That the Fathers aſſembled in Generall Councels, rely not vppon any ſpeciall and immediate reuelations, may eaſily bee proued by ſundry good and effectuall reaſons.

[o] *Ockam. Dialog. lib. 3. primi tract. 3. part. cap. 8.*

For firſt, whenſoeuer wee hope to come to know any thing by ſpeciall and immediate reuelation from God, wee vſe not to betake our ſelues to ſtudy and meditation, but to prayer onely, and other good workes, or at leaſt principally to theſe: Whence it is that *Daniell*, when hee hoped to obtaine of God the interpretation of *Nebuchadnezars* dreame by ſpeciall and immediate reuelation, did not exhort his companions and conſorts by ſtudy to ſearch out the ſecret hee deſired to know, but by prayer and ſupplication to ſeeke it of God. And after hee had found out the ſecret hee ſought for, hee ſaid, [p] *O God of my Fathers, I confeſſe vnto thee, and praiſe thee, becauſe thou haſt giuen mee wiſedome and ſtrength, and haſt ſhewed vnto me thoſe things which we deſired of thee, & haſt opened vnto vs the word of the King*: Whence alſo it is, that Chriſt promiſing his Apoſtles that hee would reueale vnto them what they ſhould ſpeake, when they ſhould bee brought before Kinges and Rulers, willeth them *To* [q] *take no care how or what to ſpeake, for that it ſhould bee reuealed vnto them in that houre, what they ſhould ſpeake; It is not you that ſpeake* (ſaith our Sauiour) *but the ſpirit of my Father that ſpeaketh in you.* When as therefore we hope to learne any thing of God by immediate reuelation, wee muſt not apply our ſelues to ſtudy, and meditation, but to prayer. But when men meete in Generall Councels, to determine any doubt or queſtion, they principally giue them-ſelues to meditation, ſtudy and ſearch; therfore they hope not to be taught of God, by immediate reuelatiõ. Secondly, when we deſire to haue things made known vnto vs by immediate reuelation from God, we go not to them that are moſt learned, but to them that are moſt deuout and religious, whether they be

[p] *Dan. 2. 23.*

[q] *Math. 10. 19. & 20.*

learned,

learned or vnlearned, whether of the Cleargy or the Laiety, whether men or women, because for the most part God reuealeth his secrets, not to them that are wiser and more learned, but to them that are better, and more religious & deuout; according to that of our Sauiour, [r] *I giue thee thankes O father, LORD of Heauen and earth, because thou hast hidde these thinges from the wise, and men of vnderstanding, and hast opened them vnto babes.* And therefore the [s] good King *Iosias*, when hee desired by reuelation to knowe the will of God touching the wordes of the volume that was found in the Temple, hee sent *Helkiah* the high Priest to *Huldah* the Propheteſſe, and sought not concerning the wordes of the Law among the Prieſtes, whoſe lippes are to preſerue knowledg, and at whoſe mouth men ought to ſeeke the Law: becauſe though the Law bee to bee ſought at the mouth of the Prieſt, in all thoſe thinges which may bee learned by ſtudy, meditation and ſearch, yet in thoſe thinges that are to bee learned by reuelation, recourſe muſt bee had to them that haue the ſpirit of Prophecy, if any ſuch bee; or elſe to them that are moſt holy, and whoſe prayers are moſt acceptable vnto God. Neyther are men for ſatiſfaction in theſe thinges, rather to go to the Prieſtes then to any Lay-man, that is vtterly vnlearned; But in Councells men, go to them that are more learned, and of better place in the Church, though they bee not the beſt and holyeſt men: Therefore queſtions touching matters of faith, are not determined in Councels by immediate reuelation.

[r] Math. 11. 25.

[s] 2 Kings. 22.

If it bee ſaid, that the Apoſtles and Elders, in that firſt Councell which is mentioned in the [t] *Actes*, relyed on the knowledge they had of the Scriptures and Truth of God, and did not wayte for a new immediate reuelation; and that therefore this kind of reaſoning will bring them within Compaſſe of the ſame danger of erring, that wee ſubiect their Succeſſors vnto, becauſe they rely not vpon immediate reuelation, but ſearch and ſtudy: It will be eaſily anſwered, that though the Apoſtles and others aſſembled in that Councell depended not vpon immediate reuelation, but the knowledge they had of the Scriptures and Truth of God, and thence inferred what was to be thought of the matter then in queſtion, yet were they not in danger of erring, as their ſucceſſors are, becauſe they relyed not on ſuch imperfect knowledge, as ſtudy and meditation begets, but ſuch as diuine reuelation canſeth; to wit, perfect and abſolute; whence they knew how to deriue the reſolution of any doubt or queſtio, being ſpecially aſſiſted by the Spirit of Truth. Neither let any man thinke that the Apoſtles aſſembled in this Councel were any way doubtfull what to reſolue, when they heard the matter propoſed, becauſe there is mention made of great diſputation in that meeting: For, (as it may be thought) that queſtioning and diſputing was among the Elders and Brethren, and not among the Apoſtles, the meaneſt

[t] Acts. 15.

of

of them being able to resolue a farre greater matter without any the least doubt or stay. So that it is absurd that [u] *Melchior Canus* from hence inferreth, that the Decrees of this Councell, wherein there was so great a dispute, are not Canonicall Scripture, any other wayes then the words of *Pilate* are, because they are recorded by the Euangelists in the holy Scripture. But to return to the matter, whence this obiection made vs digresse, It is no way necessary to thinke, that the Fathers are any otherwise directed by the Spirit of truth in Generall Councels, then in Patriarchicall, Nationall, or Prouinciall; Seeing Generall Councels consist of such as come with instructions from Prouinciall, Nationall, and Patriarchicall Synodes, and must follow the same in making Decrees, as hath bene shewed before: and consequently, that they are not led to the finding out of the truth in any speciall sort or manner, beyond that general influence ỳ is required to the performance of euery good worke. So that as God assisting Christian men in the Church, only in a general sort to the performance of ỳ works of vertue, there are euer some wel-doers, & yet no particular man doth alwaies wel; and there is no degree or kinde of Morall vertue commanded in the Law, but is attayned by some one or other, at one time or other, one excelling in one thing, and another in another, yet no particular man, or company of men, hath all degrees and perfections of vertue, as [x] *Hierome* fitly noteth against the *Pelagians*: so in like sort, God assisting Christian men in the Church, in seeking out the truth, only in general sort, as in the performance of the actions of vertue, & not by immediate reuelation & inspiration, as in the Apostles times; there are euer some that hold and professe all necessary truth, though no one man, or company of men doe finde the truth euer, and in all things, nor any assurance can bee had of any particular men, that they should alwayes hold al necessary truthes.

[u] *Loc. Theolog. lib. 5. cap. 5.*

[x] *Hieronym. lib. 1. contra Pelagianos.*

And therefore wee may safely conclude, that no man can certaynely pronounce, that what-soeuer the greater part of Bishoppes assembled in a Generall Councell agree on, is vndoubtedly true. Neyther are wee alone in this conclusion, but sundry excellently Learned among our Aduersaries in former times, euen in the middest of the Papacy, concurred in the same.

For [y] *Waldensis* expressely affirmeth, that, *General Councels haue erred, & may erre; and confidently deliuereth, that it is no particular Church, that hath assurance of holding the truth, & not erring frō the Fayth, neyther that of Africa, which* Donatus *so much admired, nor the particular Church of* Rome, *but the Vniuersall Church: nor that Vniuersal Church which is gathered together in a Generall Councell, which wee haue found to haue erred, sometimes, (as that at* Ariminum *vnder* Taurus *the Gouernor, and that at Constantinople vnder* Iustinian *the yonger, in the time of* Sergius *the Pope, according to* Beda *and certayne other) but that Catholicke Church of Christ, which*

[y] *Doctrinal. fidei. lib. 2. cap. 19.*

which hath beene dispersed throughout the whole world by the Ministery of the Apostles, and others their successors, euer since the Baptisme of Christ, and continued vnto these times, which vndoubtedly keepeth the true faith, and the faithfull testimony of Christ, teaching Babes Heauenly wisdome, and retaining the truth constantly in the middest of all extremities of errors. And againe in another place, speaking of Councels, hee saith; [z] *that which the multitude of Catholick Doctors, with vnanimous consent, resolueth & deliuereth to bee true, Catholicke, and Orthodoxe, is not lightly to bee esteemed; though haply all that are there present are not led by the spirit: for this very vnanimous consenting is a great and excellent thing, and much to be respected: though sometimes by the faults of men carried with sinister respectes, it tend to scandall and ruine:* and thereupon, hauing shewed the different degrees of authority found in the Church, (which I haue [a] elswhere set down at large) he pronounceth [b]; *that onely the consent of the Fathers successiuely from the beginning (as absolutely free from danger of erring, and next in degree of authority to the Canonicall Scripture) is to bee listned and hearkned vnto: And that no man should thinke it strange that the Fathers successiuely in all ages, should bee accounted more certaine and infallible Iudges in matters of faith, then a Generall Councell of Bishops meeting at one time and in one place, seeing so many wise, iust and holy Fathers can neither be contained within the straites of one place, nor are in the world at one time, but were giuen successiuely by almighty God, to giue testimony vnto the faith in their seuerall times, in a constant and a perpetuall course: all which Fathers wee may gather together, and haue present all at once, so often as we desire to consult them, and to be resolued by them in matters of difficulty and doubt, though they could neuer bee all assembled into one place, or meete together, while they liued in the flesh.* Neither is this the priuate conceit of *Waldensis* onely, but *Picus Mirandula* affirmeth, that howsoeuer many Diuines are of opinion, that Generall Councells, wherein the Pope is present, cannot define any thing amisse concerning faith and good liuing, yet there are other that dissent from them, affirming that Councells haue erred, and may erre, as that at *Ariminium*, and the Second at *Ephesus*.

Whereas the former sort answeare, that these Councells might erre, because the Pope was not present in them, they reply, that the Second Councel of *Ephesus* was lawfully called, the Popes Legates being present, and yet tended to the ouerthrow of the true faith, so that *Leo* was forced to procure the Councell of *Chalcedon* for the reuersing of the Actes of it. And this their opinion of the possibility of the erring of Generall Councells, they proue and confirme by the possibility of their dissenting one from another; and the possibility of their dissenting one from an other, by the directions which the * Diuines doe giue, to shew to which wee are to stand, when they are found contradictory one to another. Besides these, there are other who say, that Generall Councells

[z] *Ibid. cap. 27*

[a] *Booke. 4. cap. 5.*

[b] *Cap. 19.*

[c] *De fide et ord. credendi Theorem. 4.*

* See *Clemangis* his disputation, with a certain schoolman of *Paris*, wherein hee prooueth by excellent reasons that generall Councels may erre. This disputation is found in the booke intituled *Speculum Ecclesiæ Pontificiæ*, lately printed at London.

[d] *Syluester: vt est apud Canis. lib. 5. cap. 5.*

may erre for some short time, but that they cannot long persist in error; and a third sort, who thinke, that Generall Councels may erre when they proceed disorderedly, or vse not that diligence they should. Neyther is this opinion of the possibility of the erring of Generall Councels, the priuate conceit of late Writers, but the Ancient accord with them in the same. For [f] *Austine* pronounceth, that the writings of the Bishoppes that haue bene published since the Canon of the Scripture was perfited, may bee censured and reproued by such as see more, by the grauer authority of other Bishops, by the prudence of ỹ learned, and by Councels, if in any thing they be found to haue erred from the Truth; that Councels holden in seueral Regions & Prouinces, must without al resistance giue way to those that are Generall; & that among General Councells, the former must be content to be amended by the latter, when by experiment that which was shut vp is opened, & that which lay hid is found out & known. Neither doth [g] *Bellarmines* euasion, that *Austine* speaketh of matters of fact, wherin Councels may erre, or of conuersation & manners, which may vary, serue the turne: seeing the drift of *Austine* is to shewe, that no writings of men are free from errors, but only the Canonicall Scriptures; and that therfore they must be content to be examined, iudged, and controuled euen in matters of Faith. And [h] *Isiodore* speaking of differences in doctrine and matters of Faith, and not of Fact only, as *Bellarmine* in the same place confesseth, acknowledgeth that Councells may dissent one from another, and consequently erre: and giueth direction which is to bee followed, in case such difference do fall out.

[f] *Vt idem Canus refert.*

[f] *Lib. 2. de Baptismo. cap. 3.*

[g] *De Concil. lib. 2. cap. 7.*

[h] *Apud Gratian. Dist. 50. Ca. Domino Sancto.*

I haue thought good (saith hee) to adde in the end of this Epistle, that so often as in the Actes of Councells, there is found disagreement of iudgement, the sentence and iudgement of that Councel is rather to be holden, which in Antiquity or Greatnes of authority excelleth the other. But what need wee insist vppon Authorities to proue that Councels may erre? In the time of *Constantius* the Emperor, we know there was a General Councel holden, consisting of exceeding many Bishoppes, gathered together out of al partes of the World, one part of them meeting at *Ariminium* in the West, and the other at *Seleucia* in the East. In both these diuided Assemblies, there were exceeding many right-beleeuing Bishops, & betweene these there was a continuall intercourse: and yet things were so carried, that both partes consented to the betraying of the sincerity of the Christian profession, and the wronging of worthy *Athanasius*; some purposely out of an Heretical disposition, some, out of a mistaking of things, being abused by cunning companions; some, for that they could no longer indure to stay in a strange Countrey, consenting to that which they should not haue consented vnto. If it be said that *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome* did not consent to this Councel, it wil easily be answred, that though at the very first he did not consent to the Heretical practises of ỹ *Arrians*, yet in the

[i] *Socrates. lib. 2. cap. 29.*

end he did, after he had bene in banishment for a time. As likewise *Vigilius* refused to subscribe to the Fifth Generall Councell, till hee was banished for his refusal. The onely thing that can be said, is, that they proceeded not orderly in this Councel, but violently and fraudulently. But this absolutely ouerthroweth the infallibility of Councels, and their Decrees. For if Councels may erre when they proceed disorderedly, and vse not that diligence for the finding out of the Truth which they should, what certainty can there bee in their Decrees? Seeing it may bee doubted, whether they proceeded orderly, & consequently, whether they erred or not. [k] *Leo* confesseth that in the Second Councell of *Ephesus* there were a great number of worthy Bishoppes, who might haue bene sufficient to haue found out and cleared the Truth, if hee that obtayned the Cheefe place, had vsed accustomed moderation, and suffered euery one to speake his minde freely, and not forced all to serue his vile designes. If it bee said, that howsoeuer this was a Generall Councell, and lawfully called, yet the resolution was not the resolution of a Generall Councell, because it was not consented vnto, but mainely resisted by the Legates of the Bishoppe of *Rome*; wee shal find that in the [l] Councels vnder *Michael* the Emperour, the Legates of the Bishop of *Rome* consented also to an il and vnlawful conclusion there made. If it be further alledged, that how-soeuer the Legates of the Bishop of *Rome* may erre, as well as other Bishoppes in the Councel, when they presume to define without instructions, or to go against their instructions, yet the Pope himselfe cannot giue consent to any thing that is not true and right; it will bee proued that Popes also may bee so misled by sinister affections, as not onely to consent to that they should not, but also to mis-carry al in Councell, as wel as others. For [m] *Sigebert* reporteth, that *Stephen* Bishop of *Rome*, & after him *Sergius*, called Councels, and proceeded in them in furious manner against *Formosus* their Predecessor, not onely pulling his dead body out of the graue, & despightfully re-ordayning such as he had ordayned, but iudicially pronouncing and defining, that his ordinations were void: which was an error in Faith, seeing he was knowne once to haue beene a true and lawfull Bishop, though in respect of periury or violent intrusion, he had bin iudged neuer to haue bin lawfull Bishop of *Rome*. But heere I cannot passe-by the contradiction of Cardinall *Bellarmine*, strangely forgetting him-selfe, and saying hee knoweth not what.

For first hee sayth, [n] it is certayne, and a matter of Faith, that a Generall Councell confirmed by the Pope, cannot erre. Secondly, hee saith, [o] the infallibility of Councels is wholy in the Pope, & not partly in the Pope, partly in the Bishops. And thirdly he saith, [p] he dareth not to affirme it to be a matter of Faith, that the Pope is free from danger of erring, though he haue a particular Councell concurring with him. So strangely doth the good man crosse him-selfe, & ouerthrow y in one place which

k *Leo. Epistol.* 25.

l *Vt patet ex Epistola Nicolai ad Patriarchas & cæteros Episc. Orientis. & ex Zonarâ in vita Michaelis Imp.*

m *In Chronico Anni.* 90.

n *De Concilijs Lib. 2. cap. 2.*

o *De Pontif. lib. 4. cap. 3.*

p *De Concilijs. li 2. cap. 5.*

hee built in another. For how can it bee certaine and a matter of Fayth, that the Generall Councell approued by the Pope cannot erre, if it haue no certaynty of not erring but from the Pope, and it be not certaine that the Pope cannot erre. That Councells, though lawfull, to which nothing wanted but the Popes consent, haue erred, he saith, it is most certaine and vndoubted. So that Generall Councels are not in them-selues free from error, but their infallibility resteth in the Pope. Now that it is not certain, that the Pope is free from danger of erring, he proueth, first, because they are still tollerated by the Church, and not condemned as Heretikes, that thinke the Pope subiect to error, euen in iudiciall sentence and decree. Secondly, out of [q] *Eusebius*, who saith, that *Cornelius* the Pope with a Nationall Councell of all the Bishoppes of *Italy* decreed, that Heretikes ought not to be rebaptized, and *Stephen* afterwardes approued the same sentence, and commandeded that Hereticks should not be rebaptized: & yet [r] *Cyprian* thought the contrary, and earnestly maintained it, charging *Stephen* with error and obstinacy, which he would not haue done, if he had thought the Pope free from danger of erring. Neither would the Church haue honoured him as a Catholicke Bishop & blessed Martyr, that thus confidently contradicted the Pope, and resisted his decrees and mandates, if it were certaine, and a matter of Faith, and all men vnder paine of Heresie bound to beleeue, that the Pope cannot erre.

[q] *Hist. Eccles. li. 7. cap. 2. & 4.*

[r] *Epist. 74. ad Pompeium.*

Wherefore to conclude this point, how can we bee sure with the certainty of Faith, that General Councels cannot erre, if their infallibility depend on the Popes, who may be most prodigiously impious, and worse then Infidels; not onely erring in some particular points concerning the Faith, but ouerthrowing all, as he did, that *Picus* [s] *Mirandula* speaketh off, who peremptorily denyed that there is any God; and confirmed the same his execrable impiety by the manner of his entering into the Popedome, and liuing in it: And that other [t] hee speaketh off, who denyed the immortality of the soule, though after his death, appearing to one of them to whome in his life time hee had vttered that his impious conceit, hee told him hee now found, to his endlesse woe and misery, that soule hee thought mortall to be immortall, and neuer to dye.

[s] *Theorem. 4.*

[t] *Ibidem.*

Yet [u] when there is a lawfull Generall Councell according to the former description, to witte, wherein all the Patriarches are present, eyther in person, or by their deputies, and the Synode of Bishoppes vnder them signifie their opinion, eyther by such as they send, or by their Prouinciall letters, if there appeare nothing to vs in it, that may argue an vnlawfull proceeding, nor there bee no gayne-saying of men of worth, place, and esteeme, wee are so strongly to presume that it is true and right, that with vnanimous consent is agreed on in such a Councell, that wee must not so much as

[u] *Ockam. Dialog. lib. 3. primi tract. 3. part. cap. 6.*

profeſſe publikely that wee thinke otherwiſe, vnleſſe wee doe moſt certaynely know the contrary, yet may wee in the ſecret of our hearts remaine in ſome doubt, carefully ſeeking by the Scripture and Monuments of antiquity to find out the Truth. Neither is it neceſſary for vs expreſly to beleeue whatſoeuer the Councell hath concluded, though it be true; vnleſſe by ſome other meanes it appeare vnto vs to bee true, and wee bee conuinced of it, in ſome other ſort then by the bare determination of the Councell onely. But it ſufficeth that we beleeue it, *implicitè*, and, *in præparatione animi*, that out of the due reſpect wee beare to the Councells Decree, wee dare not reſolue otherwiſe, and bee ready expreſly to beleeue it, if it ſhall bee made to appeare vnto vs.

But, concerning the Generall Councells of this ſort, that hetherto haue beene holden, wee confeſſe that in reſpect of the matter about which they were called, ſo neerely, and eſſentially concerning the life and ſoule of the Chriſtian Faith, and in reſpect of the manner and forme of their proceeding, & the euidence of proofe brought in them, they are, and euer were expreſly to bee beleeued by all ſuch as perfectly vnderſtand the meaning of their determination. And that therefore it is not to bee maruayled at, if [x] *Gregory* profeſſe, that hee honoureth the firſt foure Councells as the foure Goſpells; and that whoſoeuer admitteth them not, though hee ſeeme to be a Stone elect and precious, yet hee lyeth beſide the foundation and out of the building.

[x] *Gregorius li. 1. Epiſt. 24.*

Of this ſort there are onely ſixe; the firſt, defining the Sonne of GOD to be co-eſſentiall, co-eternall, and co-equal with the Father. The ſecond, defining that the holy Ghoſt is truely God co-eſſentiall, co-eternall, and co-equall with the Father and the Sonne. The third, the vnity of Chriſts perſon. The fourth, the diſtinction and diuerſity of his natures, in, and after the perſonall vnion. The fifth, condemning ſome remaines of *Neſtorianiſme*, more fully explayning things ſtumbled at in the Councel of *Chalcedon*, and accuſing the Hereſie of *Origen* and his followers, touching the temporall punishments of Diuells and wicked Caſte-awayes: and the Sixth, defining and clearing the diſtinction of operations, actions, powers and wills in Chriſt, according to the diuerſity of his natures. Theſe were all the lawfull Generall Councells (lawfull I ſay both in their beginning, and proceeding, and continuance) that euer were holden in the Chriſtian Church, touching matters of Fayth. For the Seauenth, which is the ſecond of *Nice*, was not called about any queſtion of Faith, but of manners: In which our Aduerſaries confeſſe there may be ſome-thing inconueniently preſcribed, and ſo as to bee the occaſion of great and greeuous euills: and ſurely that is our conceit of the Seauenth General Councel, the ſecond of *Nice*: for how-ſoeuer it condemne the religious adoration and worſhipping of Pictures and ſeeme

to allow no other vse of them, but that which is Historicall: yet in permitting men by outward signes of reuerence and respect towards the Pictures of Saintes, to expresse their loue towards them, and the desire they haue of enioying their happy society, and in condemning so bitterly such as vppon dislike of abuses, wished their might be no Pictures in the Church at all: it may seeme to haue giuen some occasion, and to haue opened the way vnto that grosse Idolatry, which afterwards entered into the Church. The Eighth Generall Councel was not called about any question of Faith or Manners, but to determine the question of right between *Photius* and *Ignatius*, contending about the Bishoppricke of *Constantinople*. So that there are but Seauen Generall Councells, that the whole Church acknowledgeth, called to determine matters of Faith and Manners. For the rest that were holden afterwardes, which our Aduersaries would haue to be accounted Generall, they are not onely reiected by vs, but by the *Gracians* also, as not General, but Patriarchicall onely: because eyther they consisted onely of the Westerne Bishoppes, without any concurrence of those of the East; or, if any were present (as in the Councell of *Florence* there were) they consented to those thinges which they agreed vnto, rather out of other respects, thē any matter of their own satisfaction. And therefore how-soeuer we dare not pronounce that lawfull Generall Councels are free from danger of erring (as some among our Aduersaries do) yet do we more honor and esteeme, and more fully admit all the Generall Councels that euer hetherto haue bene holden, then they do; who feare not to charge some of the chiefest of them with error, as both the [y] Second, and the [z] Fourth, for equalling the Bishop of *Constantinople* to the Bishop of *Rome*; which I thinke they suppose to haue beene an error in Faith.

[y] Cap. 5.
[z] Actione. 15. Canon. 28.

Cahp. 52.

Of the calling of Councels; and to whome that right pertaineth.

FRom the assurance of Truth which lawfull Generall Councels haue, let vs proceed to see by whom they are to be called. The state of the Christian Church, & good things it enioyeth, and the felicity it promiseth, being spirituall, is such, that it may stand, though not onely forsaken, but greeuously oppressed by the great men of the world: and doth not absolutely depend on the care of such as manage the great affayres of the World, and direct the outward course of things here below: and therefore it is by all resolued on, that the Church hath her Guides and Rulers distinct from them that beare the Sword, and that there is in the Church a power of conuocating these her Spiritual Pastors, to consult of thinges concerning her wel-fare, though none of the Princes of the World do fauour her, nor reach forth vnto her their helping handes: neyther need wee to seeke farre, to finde in whome this power resteth: for there is no question, but that this power

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is in them that are first, and before other, in each company of spirituall Pastors and Ministers, seeing none other can bee imagined, from whome each action of consequence, and each common deliberation, shoulde take beginning, but they, who are in order, honour, and place before other, and to whome, the rest that gouerne the Church in common, haue an eye, as to them that are first in place among them.

Heere-vppon, we shall finde that the calling of Diocesan Synodes, pertayneth to the Bishoppe; of Prouinciall, to the Metropolitane; of National, to the Primate; and of Patriarchicall, to the Patriarch; in that they are in order, honour, and place before the rest; though some of these (as [a] *Bellarmine* truly noteth) haue no commanding authority ouer the rest.

[a] *De Concilijs lib. 2. cap. 12.*

Touching Diocesan Synodes, I shewed [b] before, that the Bishoppe is bound once euery yeare at least to call vnto him the Presbyters of his Church, and to hold a Synode with them: and the [c] Councell of *Antioch* ordayneth, that the Metropolitane shall call together the Bishoppes of the Prouince by his letters, to make a Synode. And the [d] Councell of *Tarracon* in *Spayne* decreeth, that if any Bishoppe warned by the Metropolitane, neglect to come to the Synode (except hee be hindered by some corporall necessity) hee shall bee deprined of the Communion of all the Bishopps, vntill the next Councell. The [e] *Epaonine* Councell in like sort ordereth, that when the Metropolitane shall thinke good to call his Bretheren the Bishoppes of the same Prouince to a Synode, none shal excuse his absence, without an euident cause.

[b] *Chap. 29.*

[c] *Canon. 19.*

[d] *Canon. 20.*

[e] *Canone. 6.*

Touching National Councels, and such as consist of the Bishoppes of many Prouinces, such as were the Councels of *Affrica*; the calling of them pertained vnto the Primate, as it appeareth by the Second Councel of *Carthage*, in that the Bishop of *Carthage* being the Primate of *Affrica* by vertue of particular Canons concerning that matter, by his letters called together the rest of the Metropolitanes & their Bishops. And concerning Patriarchical Councels, the Eighth Generall Councel taketh order, that the Patriarch shal haue power to conuocate the Metropolitanes that are vnder him, & that they shal not refuse to come, when he calleth thē, vnles they be hindred by vrgent causes. And to this purpose it was, that the Bishoppes within the Patriarchship of *Rome*, were once in the yeare to visit the Apostolical thresholds; which to do, they take an oth stil euen to this day (as [h] *Cusanus* noteth.) So y^t it is euident, that there is a power in Bishops, Metropolitanes, Primates & Patriarchs to cal Episcopal, Prouincial, National, & Patriarchical Synodes; and that neither so depending of, nor subiect to the power of Princes, but that when they are enemies to the Faith, they may exercise the same without their consent & priuity, and subiect them that refuse to obey their summons, to such punishments as the Canons of the Church do prescribe in cases of such contempt or wilful negligence. But that wee may see to whome the calling of Generall Councells doth

[f] *Canon. 1.*

[g] *Canon. 2.*

[h] *De Concord. Cathol. lib. 2. cap. 18. citat. Dist. 93. cap. 10.*

pertaine In the times of persecution, and when there are no Christian Princes, we must obserue, that among the Patriarches, though one be in order before another (As the Patriarch of *Alexandria* is before the Patriarch of *Antioch*, and the Patriarch of *Rome* before the Patriarch of *Alexandria*) yet is not one of them superior to another in degree, as Bishoppes are to Presbyters; nor so in order, honor, & place, as Metropolitanes are to Bishops; or Patriarches to Metropolitanes, whome they are to ordaine, or at the least to confirme; And therefore no one of them singly and by himselfe alone, hath power to call vnto him any Patriarch, or any Bishop subiect to such Patriarche, but as in case when their groweth a difference betweene the Patriarches of one Sea and another, or betweene any of the Patriarches and the Metropolitanes and Bishopps subiect to them, the superior Patriarch not of him-selfe alone, but with his Metropolitanes and such particular Bishops as are interessed, may iudge and determine the differences betweene them, if without danger of a further rent it may be done (as in the case of *Chrysostome* and *Theophilus* it could not.) So if there be any matter of Faith, or any thing concerning the whole state of the Christian Church, wherein a common deliberation of all the Pastors of the Church is necessary, hee that is in order the first among the Patriarches, with the Synodes of Bishoppes subiect to him, may call the rest togeather, as being the principall part of the Church, whence all actions of this nature doe take beginning.

And this is that, which *Iulius* Bishoppe of *Rome* hath, when, [1] writing to the Bishops of the East, he telleth them, that the manner & custome is, that they should write to him, and the Westerne Bishops first; that from thence might be decreed the thing that is iust: and againe, that they ought to haue written to them all; that so that which is iust might be decreed by all. And hence it is, that [2] *Damasus, Ambrose, Britto, Valerianus* & the rest of the Holy Bishoppes assembled in the great Citty of *Rome*, out of their brotherly loue sent for the Bishops of the East, as their owne members, praying, and desiring them to come vnto them, that they might not raigne alone. So that the power of calling Generall Councels, when the Churche hath no Princes to assist her, is not in the Pope, but in y Westerne Synode; & yet hath not this Synode any power ouer all the other Churches, as a supream Commander, but is only (as a principal part among the rest) to begin, procure & set forward, as much as in her lieth, such things as pertaine to the Commō good: neither may it by vertue of any Canon, Custome, or practise of the Church, excommunicate the rest for refusing to hearken when it calleth; as it appeareth by the former example; in that they of the East came not when they were called, and intreated to come to *Rome* by *Damasus, Ambrose* & the rest; but staied at *Constantinople*, did some things which they disliked, and yet were forced to giue way vnto them, and as

[1] *Apud. Athanas. Apolog. 2.*

[2] *Theodoret Hist. Eccles. li. 5. cap. 9.*

at being greater in authority then they, bare the name of the Generall Councell; though they were assembled at *Rome*, at the same time in a very great number. But if the greater part concurre with them, they may excommunicate those few, that shall wilfully and causelesly refuse to obey them. If it bee said, that hence it will follow, that there is no certaine meanes of hauing a Generall Councell at all times, as there is of Prouinciall or Patriarchicall, (which may seeme absurde) it will bee answered, that [l] there is not the like necessity of hauing Generall Councels, as there is of hauing those more particular Synodes: and that therefore it is not absurde to grant, that the Church hath not at all times certaine and infallible meanes to haue a Generall Councell, as it hath to haue the other. Nay, that it hath not, it most plainely appeareth, in that [m] in the case of *Chrysostome* greatly distressed and grieuously wronged, *Innocentius* professed vnto him, hee knew no meanes to helpe him, but a Generall Councell; which to obtaine, hee became an humble suter to the Emperor, but was so farre from preuailing, that the Messengers hee sent were returned backe againe vnto him with disgrace.

Thus wee see to whom the calling of Councells pertaineth, when there is no Christian Magistrate to assist the Church, but when there is a Christian Magistrate, it pertaineth to him to see, that these assemblies bee duly holden accordingly, as the necessity of the Church requireth, and the Canons prescribe. And therefore wee shall finde, that though Christian Emperours, Kings and Princes within their seuerall dominions, oftentimes permitted Bishops, Metropolitanes and Patriarches, to hold Episcopall, Prouinciall, Nationall, or Patriarchicall Councels, without particular intermedling therein, when they saw neither negligence in those of the Cleargie, in omitting to hold such Councels when it was fit, nor intrusion into their office; yet, so often as they sawe cause, they tooke into their owne hands the power of calling these more particular Synodes: And touching Generall, there was neuer any that was not called by the Emperour.

That Emperours, Kings and Princes in their seuerall dominions respectiuely called particular Councels, is prooued by innumerable examples. For *Constantine* the great, called the first Councell of [n] *Arle*, as it appeareth by his [n] Epistle to *Chrestus*: and *Binnius* confesseth it. The Councell of *Aquileia* was called by the Emperours, as it appeareth by the Epistle of the Councell to *Gratian*, *Valentinian* and *Theodosius* the Emperours, in the first [o] Tome of the Councells. The [p] Councell of *Burdegalis* was called by the Emperour against *Priscillian*. The Councell of *Agatha* by the permission of the King, as appeareth in the [q] second Tome of the Councells. The [r] first of *Orleans* was called by *Clodoueus*. The [s] *Epaunine* Councell by *Sigismunde* the sonne of *Gundebald*. The second of [t] *Orleans*, by the command of *Childebert*, the French King. &c.

l *Bellarm. tit Aliqua Concilia Simpliciter esse necessaria, generalia non simpliciter sed suo quodam modo. lib. 1. de Conciliorum auctorit. cap. 11. & 10.*

m *Sozomen. lib. 8. cap. 28.*

n *Tom. 1. Conciliorum. pag. 267. apud Binnium.*

o *Pag. 523.*

p *Tom. 1. Concil. pag. 535. Binnius ex Seuero. lib. 2. & Prospero in Chronico Maximum Imp. indixisse ostendit.*

q *Pag. 304.*

r *Tom. 2. Concil. pag. 309.*

s *Tomo. 2. pag. 314.*

t *Tomo. 2. pag. 477.*

The

The Counsell of [a] *Aruerne*, by the permission of the King *Theodebertus*. The Fifth of [x] *Orleans*, by *Childebert*. The first of [y] *Bracar*, by *Ariamirus*, or (as some will haue it) *Theodomirus*. The second of [z] *Turon*, with the conniuence of the King. The second of [a] *Bracar*, by *Ariamirus*. The [b] first *Cabilon* Councell, by the mandate of *Gunthram*; as likewise that of [c] *Matiscon*, and [d] *Valentia*. The third of [e] *Toledo* by *Richaredus*. The Councels of [f] *Narbone* and [g] *Cæsar-Augusta*, by *Richaredus* King of *Sueueland*. Many other examples might be produced, but these suffice, to shew, what the ancient practise was, and what Christian Princes in former times tooke vpon them in this behalfe. And that they did lawfully, so to intermeddle, it appeareth, in that [h] S. *Gregory* writing to *Theodoricus*, exhorteth him by the crowne of life, to cal Councels, and reforme abuses.

[a] *Tome.* 2. *pag.* 508.
[x] *Tomo.* 2. *pag.* 514.
[y] *Tomo.* 2. *pag.* 640.
[z] *Tom.* 2. *pag.* 656.
[a] *Tom.* 2. *pag.* 663.
[b] *Tom.* 2. 697.
[c] *Tomo.* 2. 698.
[d] *Tomo.* 2. 705.
[e] *Tom.* 2. 706.
[f] *Tom.* 2. 722.
[g] *Tom.* 2. 956.
[h] *Lib.* 7. *epist.* 114. *citat. à Cusan. lib.* 3. *Concord. cathol. cap.* 19.

Wherefore let vs proceed to see who called the Generall Councels, that haue beene holden in the Christian Church. Hauing perused (saith [i] *Cusanus*) the Actes of all the General Councels, to the Eighth inclusiuely: which Eighth was holden in the time of *Basilius* the Emperor, I finde, that they were all called by the Emperours. Whereupon (saith hee) *Elias* the most holy Presbyter, that supplyed the place of the Bishop of *Ierusalem*, said openly in the Eighth Generall Councel, in the hearing of al, that Emperours did euer call Councels, and that *Basilius* was not inferiour to those that went before him, in the care of prouiding for the Church by Synodal meetings. And *Anastasius* the Popes Library-keeper, in his Glosse vpon the same place, saith, that the Emperours were wont to call Councels out of the whole world. Which thing is so cleare, that [k] *Hierome* writing against *Ruffinus*, and taking exception against a certaine Councell, biddeth him say, what Emperour it was that commanded that Councell to be called? and therfore [l] *Bellarmine* confesseth it, and giueth foure reasons, why it was so: whereof the first is, for that there was an Imperiall Lawe, that there should not bee any great Assemblies without the Emperours priuity, consent, and authority, for feare of sedition. The second, for that all those Cities in which such Councels might bee holden, beeing the Emperours, they might not bee holden without his consent. The third, for that the Councels were holden at the Emperours charges, both in respect of carriages, and the diet, and intertainment of the Bishops, during the time of their beeing in Councell, as [m] *Eusebius* in the life of *Constantine* doth testifie; and [n] *Theodoret* in his Historie. The fourth, for that it was fitte the Popes in those times, acknowledging the Emperours to bee their Soueraigne Lords, should (as we read they did) as suppliants beseech them to command Councels to be called. And surely, if we had neither his confession, nor reasons, we need not doubt hereof, hauing the testimony of all stories to confirme the same. For [o] *Ruffinus* saith, *Constantine called the Councel of Bishops at Nice*: & with him [p] *Theodoret* agreeth, saying expressely, that *Constantine called the noble Synode of Nice*: and

[i] *Cusan. lib.* 3. *Concord. cathol. cap.* 19.
[k] *Apolog.* 2. *contra Ruffinū.*
[l] *De Conciliis lib.* 1. *cap.* 13.
[m] *Euseb. de vita Constantini. lib.* 3. *cap.* 6.
[n] *Theodoret. lib.* 1. *cap.* 7.
[o] *Lib.* 10. *ca.* 1.
[p] *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 7.

and [q] *Eusebius* in his booke of the life of *Constantine*, affirming, that by his letters most honorably written, he drew together the Bishoppes out of all parts, marshalling them as a mighty army of God, to encounter the enemies of the true faith. The occasion of calling this Councell, was the Heresie of *Arrius*, denying the Sonne of God to be consubstantiall with the Father. The next Generall Councell after this, was the first at *Constantinople*, called for the suppressing of the Heresy of *Macedonius* and *Eunomius*, who denied the Holy Ghost to bee God coessentiall and coeternall with the Father: and this Councell was called by *Theodosius* the elder, as [r] *Theodoret* testifieth. [s] The Third was holden at *Ephesus*, and called by *Theodosius* the Younger, at the suite of *Nestorius* Bishoppe of *Constantinople*, fearing the proceedings of *Cyrill* Bishoppe of *Alexandria*, and *Celestinus* Bishoppe of *Rome* against him. The Fourth Councell was holden at *Chalcedon*, and called by *Martian* the Emperour. The occasion was this: [t] In the time of *Flauianus* Bishoppe of *Constantinople*, the Heresy of *Eutyches* began, about which a Prouinciall Councell was called at *Constantinople*; whereunto vnfortunate *Eutyches* being called, was found to haue vttered horrible blasphemies: for he affirmed, that howsoeuer before the personall vnion, there were two distinct natures in Christ, yet after the vnion, there was but one; and besides affirmed, that his body was not of the same substance with ours: Whereupon hee was put from the Ministery of the Church and degree of Priest-hood. But not enduring thus to bee depriued of his place and honour, hee complaineth to *Theodosius* the Emperour, pretending that *Flauianus* had fayned and deuised matters against him, and rested not, till hee procured a Synod at *Constantinople* of the neighbour Bishops to re-examine the matters, who confirming that which was formerly done, another by his procurement was called at *Ephesus* by *Theodosius*, and *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Alexandria* made President of it. In which Councell all things were caried in a very disordred and violent sorte: for *Dioscorus* permitted not the Bishops to speake freely, neither would he suffer the letters of the Bishop of *Rome* (who was absent) to be read; such Bishoppes as hee disliked, he violently cast out of the Councell, and retayned none but such as were fit to serue his turne. He deposed *Flauianus* Bishoppe of *Constantinople*, *Eusebius* of *Dorileum*, *Domnus* Bishoppe of *Antioch*, and *Theodoret*, with sundry other. The Legates of the Bishoppe of *Rome* offended with these violent proceedings, protested against them as vnlawfull; and *Flauianus* (who was not onely depriued, but so beaten, that not long after he died) appealed to the Bishop of *Rome*, and other Bishops of the West for helpe and remedy: vpon the hearing of which complaints, [u] *Leo* then Bishop of *Rome*, with many other Bishops of the West, went to the Emperour, and in most humble and earnest manner vpon their knees besought him to call a Councell in *Italy*, which hee would not yeeld vnto, but called

[q] *Lib. 3. cap. 6.*

[r] *Lib. 5. cap. 9.*
[s] *Euagrius. lib. 1. cap. 3.*

[t] *Idem. lib. 1. cap. 9. & 10.*

[u] *Vt patet in Epistol. Leonis. 42. & 43.*

called one at *Chalcedon* commanding him and all other Bishops to come vnto it. The Fift Councell was holden at *Constantinople*, and called by *Iustinian* the Elder, as[x] *Enagrius* testifieth. I haue shewed[y] before what the occasion of calling this Councell was, and that though *Vigilius* Bishoppe of *Rome*, and the westerne Bishoppes refused to be present in it, together with the rest, or to confirme it when it ended, yet it was holden a lawfull Councell. The Sixt Generall Councell was holden at *Constantinople*, and was called by *Constantine* the Fourth, as appeareth by his letters to the Bishoppes of *Rome*, *Constantinople* and the rest, prefixed before it: The occasion whereof was the Heresy of the *Monothelites*, who denied the diuersity of wills, actions, and operations, in Christ and consequently of natures. The Seauenth was holden at *Nice*, about the vse of Pictures in the Church, and called by *Constantine* the Emperour, as appeareth by his Epistle to *Adrian* Bishoppe of *Rome*, prefixed before it.

[x] *Lib 4. cap. 13*

[y] *Cap. 49.*

The Eight was holden at *Constantinople*, about the difference betweene *Ignatius* and *Photius*, and called by *Basilius* the Emperour, as appeareth by the *Appendix* to the Acts of that Councell; collected out of diuerse Authors by *Surius*, and extant in the second part of the third Tome of Councells set out by *Binnius*. So that we see, all the Eight Generall Councells were called by the Emperors, and not by the Popes, which thing is so cleare and euident, that our aduersaries dare not deny it, but seeke to auoyde the euidence of the truth (against which they dare not directly oppose themselues) by all the shiftes they can deuise; for first they say,[z] that though it be not so proper to the Pope to call Councells, but that others may do it, if he assent vnto it or approue it, yet that without his Mandate, Assent or Approbation of such indiction and calling, no Councell is lawfull. Secondly, they say[a] that the Emperours called Councells by the authority of the Pope: and thirdly[b] that happily they presumed aboue that was fit for them to do. Wherefore let vs see how they proue that they say: that the right of calling Councells belongeth to the Pope, and not to the Emperour, and consequently, that the Emperour may call none without his assent, [c] *Bellarmine* endeuoreth to proue in this sort. They that meete in Councells, must bee gathered together in the name of Christ: to bee gathered together in the name of Christ, is, to be gathered by him that hath authority from Christ; and none hath authority from Christ to call together the Pastors of the Church, but the Pope onely: therefore none but the Pope may call Councells. To this argument wee answere, that indeed they must meete in the name of Christ, who assemble in Councells; but that to meete in Christs name, importeth not, in the promise made by Christ, a gathering together of them that meete by his Authority; And that the Cardinall can neuer proue, that the Pope, and he onely, is authorized to call together the Pastors of the Churches. That to bee gathered together in Christs name, importeth not to bee called together

[z] *Bellarm. de Concilijs. lib. 1. cap. 12.*

[a] *Ibid.*

[b] *Andrad. de author. Gener. Concil. li. 3. pag. 59.*

[c] *Vbi Supra.*

together by publike authority, as *Bellarmine* vntruely affirmeth, it is euident by his owne confession, in that [d] he acknowledgeth, that the gathering together in Christes name, to which he hath Promised to ioyne his owne ptesence, may be verified of many, or few Bishops, or Laymen, Priuate or publicke persons, about priuate or publicke affaires: whereas priuate men meeting about priuat businesses are not gathered together by any one hauing authority to command them, but by voluntary agreement among them-selues: and therefore [e] *Andradius* telleth vs that both by the circumstance of Christs speach, and the commentaries of the holy Fathers it is euident, that his words agree to euery meeting of such men, as being ioyned together in Faith and Charity, aske any thing of God: and particularly produceth [f] *Chrysostome* expounding Christs words as *Caluin* doth, whome *Bellarmine* taxeth; to wit, that they are said to be gathered together in Christs name, whom neither respect of priuat gaine indueeth, nor the ambitious desire of honour inuiteth, nor the prickes of hatred and enuy incite and driue forward, whome the inflamed loue of peace, and the feruent affections of Christian charity impell, and not the spirit of contention: and in one word they who meete to seeke out (by force of diuine grace, with common and heartiest longing desires sought and obtained) what especially pleaseth Christ, and what is true. For they that come together to set forward, and aduance their owne Priuat designes and to serue their owne contentious dispositions, and to deceiue miserable men with the glorious name of a Councell, are by no meanes to be thought to come together in Christs name, nor to hold ecclesiasticall assemblies, but such as are most pestilent and hurtfull: of which sort they were, which were holden heretofore in the time of *Constantine* and *Constantius*, at *Tyrus*, *Ierusalem*, *Antioch*, *Sirmium*, and *Seleucia*, and infinite other conuenticles of Heretickes; to which that most aptly agreeth, which [g] *Leo* the Pope pronounceth of the Second Councell of *Ephesus*, to wit, that while priuate causes were promoted and set forward vnder pretence of religion, that was brought to passe by the impiety of a few, that wounded the whole Church. But (saith *Bellarmine*) this note of meeting in the feare of God, with desire of finding out the trueth and doing good, discerneth not lawfull Councells from other; seeing all that meete in Councells, pretend that they come together out of a desire of the common good, and not for priuate respects: and that therefore this is not to meete in Christs name: which is strangely saide of him; as if lawfull Councells rightly proceeding in their deliberations, might not bee discerned from other by anything that other may pretend: or as if this his silly argument might stay against the circumstance of Christs words, and the Commentaries of the holy Fathers.

Wherefore passing from this first exception against his Argument, wee

[d] *De Conciliis. li. 2. cap. 2.*

[e] *De Concilior. Authorit. lib. 1. pag. 13. & 14.*

[f] *Homil. 61. in Matthæum.*

[g] *Epist. 25.*

wee secondly answere vnto it, that Christ did not giue the power of calling Generall Councels to the Pope alone, as hee alleadgeth; and in what sort Christ committed his Church to *Peter*, to bee gouerned by him; as likewise in what sence it is that [h] *Leo* saith, *though there bee many Pastors, yet* Peter *ruleth them all*, we haue largely [i] declared already. So that from hence nothing can be concluded to prooue, that Christ gaue the power & right of calling Generall Councels to the Pope alone. And thirdly we say, that though it bee true, that Christ did not leaue his Church to bee gouerned by *Tiberius Cæsar* an Infidell, so continuing, or to his successors like vnto him in Infidelity, yet hee that promised *to giue* [*] *Kings to bee nursing Fathers, and Queenes to bee nursing mothers* vnto his Church, left it to bee gouerned by those nursing Fathers and nursing Mothers, which hee meant in succeeding times to raise vp for the good, comfort, and peace of his faithfull people, after that their faith, patience, and long suffering (more precious then gold) should bee sufficiently tryed in the fire of tribulation. Wherefore let vs passe to the Cardinals second argument, which is no better then the first. For, neither hath the Pope power either Ciuill or Ecclesiasticall, to inforce all Bishops to bee present at such assemblies as hee shall appoint, neither did the Emperours in former time want meanes to inforce all to come when they called for them. And touching the present state of things, wee are not so foolish, as to thinke the right of calling Generall Councels to rest in the Emperour, hauing so little command as now hee hath, but wee place it in the concurrence of Christian Princes, without which no lawfull Generall Councell can euer bee had.

His third reason, taken from the proportion of Metropolitanes and Patriarches, calling Prouinciall and Patriarchicall Synodes, holdeth not, as I haue shewed before. Neither that which seemeth of all other to bee strongest, taken from the ancient Canon of the Church, that without the liking, iudgment, and will of the Bishop of *Rome*, no Councell may bee holden, mentioned by [k] *Socrates* and [l] *Zozomen*. For first the Canon is not to bee vnderstood of the person of the Bishop of *Rome*, but of him and his Westerne Bishops. Secondly, it is not so to bee vnderstood, as if simply without him and his Bishops, no Generall Councell could bee holden, but, that without consulting him, and first seeking to him and his, no such Councell may bee holden; as I haue largely [m] shewed before. For otherwise wee know that *Vigilius* Bishop of *Rome*, refused to haue any part in the deliberations of the Fifth Generall Councel, or to confirme the Actes of it when it ended. Yet was it euer holden to bee a lawfull Generall Councell, hee and his being sufficiently sought vnto, and their presence desired.

As likewise *Leo* consented to the calling of the Councell of *Chalcedon*, onely for the determination of that question of faith, that was then

h *Serm. 3. in die Assumptionis.*

i *Chap. 24.*

* *Esay. 49. 23.*

k *Lib. 2. cap. 13.*

l *Lib. 3. cap. 9.*

m *Chap. 49.*

then debated, and [n] gaue no consent to the Decree therein passed touching the sea of *Constantinople*, yet did this Councell preuaile, and the succeeding Bishops of *Rome* were forced to giue way to that Canon their predecessors so much disliked. And therefore, whereas the Bishoppe of *Romes* Legates, in the Councel of [n] *Chalcedon* do except against *Dioscorus* for presuming to hold a Synod without the Authority of the Apostolicke Sea, which, they say, neuer was lawfull, nor neuer was done; their meaning is not, that in no case a Councell may bee holden without the Bishoppe of *Rome*, and the Bishoppes of the West, but that there neuer was any such Synod holden without requiring and admitting the concurrence of the Bishoppe of *Rome*, and the Bishoppes of the West.

[n] *Leo Epist. 53. 54. 55.*

[n] *Actione. 2.*

And that therefore *Dioscorus* was iustly to bee condemned, who not onely tooke vpon him by the fauour of one neere about the Emperour to bee President of the Second Councell of *Ephesus*, whereof they speake, and to sit before the Bishoppe of *Romes* Legates, being but Bishoppe of the Second Sea, but also [o] reiected the Synodall letters of *Leo*, and the Bishoppes of the West, not suffering them to bee read; and, as if all the power had beene in him alone, depriued the Bishoppes of *Constantinople* and *Antioch*, notwithstanding the Protestation of the *Romaine* Legates against such proceedings, and their appeale from the same; and still carried on with his furious passions, rested not till he had pronounced sentence of excommunication against blessed *Leo*, and all the Bishoppes of the West. The next testimony which *Bellarmine* bringeth, no way proueth that, for proofe wherof it is brought; for it is not said in the [p] place cited by him, that the Councell holden at *Constantinople*, against the painting of those things that are reported in the story of the Bible, and for the defacing of such pictures made for Historicall vse, was therefore voyde, because it was called without the consent of the *Romaine* Bishoppe (as he vntruely reporteth;) but that it was no Generall Councell, seeing many that were present consented not, but disliked the proceedings of it; and besides, it neither had the Bishop of *Rome* to concurre, nor his Bishoppes, neither by their Vicegerents, nor by Prouinciall letters; neither yet the Patriarches of the East; to wit, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and *Ierusalem*, nor their Bishoppes. It is true indeede, that the [q] Bishoppes assembled at *Rome* by the command of *Theodoricus*, to examine the matters obiected to *Symmachus* the Pope, told him, the Councell should haue beene called by the Pope, and not by him; but they spake of Particular Councells, which often-times, by the permission of Princes were wont to be called by Metropolitans, Primats, or Patriarches, and not of Generall, whereof our question is: and yet I haue shewed before, by many testimonies, that Princes, when they saw cause, did call Councells of this sort also. So that the speech of these Bishoppes (affected in their Patriarke, and

[o] *Actione. 3. pag. 73. apud Binnium.*

[p] *Concil. 7. Actione. 6.*

[q] *Concil. Paman. 4. sub. Symmacho.*

and vnwilling to come to any ſcanning of his actions) is not much to bee eſteemed.

r Epiſt. 93. cap. 17.

The next teſtimony out of the Epiſtles of r *Leo* teſtifieth the Cardinall careth not what hee ſaith, ſo hee ſay ſome-thing: for it is true indeed, that *Leo* ſaith: Hee directed his Letters to his Brethren and fellow-Biſhops, and ſummoned them to a Generall Councell, but meaneth not a Councell abſolutely Generall, conſiſting of all the Biſhops of the world, of which our queſtion is, but of all the Biſhops of thoſe parts to which hee writeth, beeing ſubiect to him as Patriarch of the Weſt, as appeareth by the circumſtances of the Epiſtle cited. But s *Pelagius* the Second in his Epiſtle to thoſe that *Iohn* of *Conſtantinople* called to his Synode as Generall, ſaith, The authority of calling Generall Councels, was by ſingular priuiledge of Bleſſed *Peter*, giuen to the Apoſtolick Sea; that no Synode was euer reputed lawfull, that was not ſtrengthened by the authority of the Sea Apoſtolicke: and againe, that Councels may not be holden without the iudgment and liking of the Biſhop of *Rome*: therefore all is true that the Cardinall hath hitherto alleadged. Hereunto (though *Pelagius* may ſeeme ſome-what partiall in his owne cauſe) wee anſwer, firſt with t *Bellarmine* him-ſelfe, that the calling of Generall Councels is not ſo proper to the Biſhop of *Rome*, but that another may doe it, if hee conſent, or if hee ratifie the indiction. Secondly, that though hee refuſe to ratifie it, if his preſence and concurrence bee ſufficiently ſought and deſired, it may bee lawfull, and of force, as it appeareth by the Fift Generall Councell, which *Vigilius* refuſed to haue any part in.

s Epiſt. 1. ad Orientales.

t De Concilijs lib. 1. cap. 12.

The laſt teſtimony that *Bellarmine* produceth to proue, that the power of calling Councels doth not properly belong to the Emperours, is a ſaying of *Valentinian* reported by u *Zozomen*: but it maketh clearly againſt himſelfe. The circumſtances of *Zozomens* report are theſe. The Biſhops of *Helleſpont*, *Bithynia*, and ſome other, profeſſing to beleeue that Chriſt the ſonne of God is Con-ſubſtantiall with his Father, ſent a Legate to *Valentinian* the Emperour, and deſired him to giue them leaue to meete about matters concerning the Faith. To whom the Emperour anſwered, that it was not lawfull for him, beeing one of the Laity, to intermedle in theſe buſineſſes, but willed, that the Prieſts and Biſhops, to whome the care of theſe things pertaineth, ſhould meete in one place, where-ſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe them: for heere wee ſee, that the Biſhops durſt not preſume to aſſemble without the Emperours leaue; which manifeſtly croſſeth the conceit of the Cardinall: neither doth the Emperour ſay, the calling of Councels pertaineth nothing to him, but the intermedling with the matters that are brought in queſtion in them, and therefore biddeth them meete by themſelues, not intending to bee preſent among them; not meaning that it was not lawfull for him to bee preſent, (for then he ſhould condemne *Conſtantine*, and other that were preſent, either in perſon, or by their Deputies)

u Zozom. lib. 6. cap. 7.

Deputies:) not that it was ſimply vnlawfull for him to intermedle, (for they intermedled as I will ſhew in that which followeth) but that hee might not ſo intermedle as Biſhoppes and Prieſts, to whom properly it pertaineth to determine theſe things; yet if Princes perceiue, that they who meete in Councells, bee ſwayed by ſiniſter and vile affections, not ſeeking the clearing of the truth, but the ſuppreſſing of it, they may, and in duty are bound to hinder their proceedings by all lawfull meanes, that come within the compaſſe of their Princely power; wherefore ſeeing our Aduerſaries cannot proue, that the right that Princes haue to call Councells, dependeth on the conſent of the Pope, and that without his conſent or ratification, their indiction of Councells is vnlawfull, let vs ſee how they can proue, that the Emperours called Generall Councells by the Popes authority, and as commanded or required by him ſo to do, and not otherwiſe. We know that [x] *Liberius* intreated *Conſtantius* to call a Councell: and that [y] *Leo* with other Biſhoppes of the Weſt on their knees beſought the Emperour *Martian* to call a Councell in *Italy*, and could not obtayne it; but were commanded to come to the Councell the Emperour appoynted at *Chalcedon*, and were ſtraitly charged and required to come or ſend vnto it at the time appointed, not finding ſo much fauour, as to haue it deferred for a little time. And therefore it is greatly to be feared that *Bellarmines* allegations will be too weake to proue, that the Emperours called Councels by the Popes authority, & as commanded by him. For firſt, touching the Councell of *Nice*, [z] *Ruffinus* ſheweth, that *Arrius* hauing broached his deuiliſh Hereſy, and being often admoniſhed by his Biſhop, *Alexander* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, no way reforming himſelfe, *Alexander* wrot to other Biſhoppes ſignifing what was fallen out in his Church, ſo that in the end, the matter came to the Emperours eares: who there-vpon (by the Councell of the Biſhops aduiſing him ſo to do) called the Councell of *Nice*; and [a] *Andradius* ſaith, he was induced ſo to doe, by the perſwaſions of *Alexander* Biſhop of Alexandria, but that the Biſhoppe of *Rome* commanded him ſo to do, it no way appeareth. Indeed the author of the [b] *Pontificall* ſaith, *Conſtantine* called it with the conſent of *Sylueſter*. And the Fathers in the ſixth [c] Generall Councell (out of him or ſome ſuch Author,) ſay, that *Conſtantine* and *Sylueſter* called it. But the author of the *Pontificall* is of no credit in this behalfe, reporting in the ſame place the curing of *Conſtantines* Leproſy; which is acknowledged by all learned men to be a meere fable: and beſides, [d] *Zozomen* is of opinion, that the Councell of *Nice* was not holden in the time of *Sylueſter*, but of *Iulius* that ſucceeded him; wherefore let vs proceed to the next proofe. *Damaſus* the Biſhop of *Rome* (ſaith *Bellarmine*) called the firſt Councel of *Conſtantinople*, and *Theodoſius* the elder did but ſend his letters to the Biſhops to that purpoſe. Therfore the calling of Generall Councells pertaineth to the Pope. How little the Ieſuits care what they

[x] *Theodoret. hiſt. Eccleſ. li. 2.*
[y] *Leo Epiſt. 24. & 43.*
[z] *Lib. 1. cap. 1.*
[a] *De authoritate Generalium Conciliorum. lib. 1. pag. 59.*
[b] *In vita Sylueſtri.*
[c] *Actione. 18. pag. 88. apud. Binnium.*
[d] *Li. 1. cap. 16.*

they write, it appeareth by the dealing of the Cardinall in this matter. For whereas both [e] *Socrates*, [f] *Zozomen*, and [g] *Theodoret* do testifie, that the Emperour called the Bishops to *Constantinople*, with-out making any mention of the letters of the Bishop of *Rome*, & that they came vpon his summons; he saith, it was not the Emperour that called them to *Constantinople*, but the Pope; and that the Emperour did nothing but transport and conueigh his letters vnto them; wholy mistaking the story. For the letters hee speaketh of, were not to call them to *Constantinople*, whither they came vpon the Emperours summons, but to *Rome*, where the Bishops of the West were assembled in Councell; whither they refused to come. Neither doth hee shew any more faithfulnesse and sincerity in that hee hath touching the Councell of *Ephesus*. For whereas the [h] stories report, that things were mannaged in that Councell by the industrie of *Cyrill*, with the concurrence of the authority of *Cælestinus*, and that *Cyrill*, was there present and President, not onely in his owne name, but also as supplying the place of *Cælestinus*, hee inferreth from hence, that it was the Pope that called the Councell. That the Councell of *Chalcedon* was called by the Emperour, it is most euident; The Pope (as I haue shewed) being not able to preuaile so much, as to get it deferred for a time: yet will *Bellarmine* prooue, that *Leo* called that Councell, though not without the helpe of the Emperour. First, out of the Epistle of the Emperour to *Leo*, prefixed before the Councell: And secondly, out of the [i] Epistle of the Bishops of the lesser *Mæsia*, written to the Emperour. But these proofes are too weake: For the Emperour hauing resolued to haue a Councell, telleth *Leo* in his Epistle, that it remaineth that hee come vnto it: or if it seeme troublesome vnto him, that hee signifie so much to him by his letters, that hee may write to *Illyricum*, *Thracia*, and the East, that all the holy Bishoppes may come together into the place hee shall appoint; and may declare, publish, and set forth by their Decree, such things as may bee behoouefull to the religion of Christians and the Catholicke Faith, accordingly as his Holynesse also shall define, according to the Ecclesiasticall Canons; but saith nothing whence it may bee inferred that *Leo* called the Councell. For I thinke it will not follow, that becausse the Bishoppe of *Rome* was to come to the Councell, or other-wise to send Synodall and Prouinciall Letters from him-selfe and his Bishoppes, that so with one vniforme consent things might bee agreed on, therefore the Pope called the Councell.

[e] *Lib. 5. cap. 8.*
[f] *Lib. 7. cap. 7.*
[g] *Lib. 5. cap. 7.*

[h] *Constat ex Euagrio lib. 1. cap. 4. Epistol. Cælestini ad Cyrill. Photio in lib. de 7. Synodis.*

[i] *Inter Epist. ad Concilium Chalced. pertinentes.*

The Epistle of the Bishops of the lesser *Mæsia* is lesse to the purpose, then the former of the Emperour: for they say. *The Councell of* Chalcedon *was holden by the command of* Leo *Bishoppe of* Rome, *the chiefe of all Bishoppes, and the most honourable Bishoppe and Patriarch* Anatolius; ioyning the Bishop of *Rome* and the Bishop of *Constantinople*

ple together, in commanding this Councell to bee holden. So that if the Cardinall will proone from hence, that the Pope called the Councell, hee may prooue likewiſe, that the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* called it.

But the truth is, they might command the Biſhoppes vnder them to aſſemble, after they receiued the Emperours letters, but the Councell was called by neyther of them. And therefore whereas [k] *Gelaſius* ſaith, the Sea Apoſtolicke onely decreed, that the Councell of *Chalcedon* ſhould bee holden, his meaning is not, to exclude the Emperour and his Authority, but the other Patriarchicall Seas, and to let the world know, that the Sea of *Rome* alone, by the authority it had with the Emperour, preuailed ſo farre, as to obtaine his royall Edict, for the gathering together of the Biſhops in this Councell; or elſe hee ſpeaketh vntruly. For wee know the Emperour tooke vpon him in ſuch peremptory ſort to call this Councell, that hee would not bee intreated by the *Romaine* Biſhop, and other Biſhops of the Weſt, neither for the time, nor place, but out of his abſolute authority appointed both, as it ſeemed good vnto him-ſelfe.

[k] *Epiſt. ad Epiſc. Dardanic.*

Three other proofes the Ieſuite hath yet behind. The firſt is out of *Socrates*, out of whome hee ſaith it may bee prooued, that *Iulius* the Pope called the Councell of *Sardica*: but how, I cannot tell. For [l] *Socrates* ſaith expreſly, that the Councell of *Sardica* was called by the two Emperours, *Conſtance* and *Conſtantius*: whereof the one raigned in the Eaſt, the other in the Weſt; the one by his Letters deſiring it, the other moſt willingly performing that hee deſired. But of *Iulius* calling it, hee maketh no mention. If the Ieſuite thinke it may bee prooued, that *Iulius* called it; becauſe among them that ſought to excuſe them-ſelues from comming vpon fained pretences, ſome complained of the ſhortneſſe of the time appointed for this meeting, and caſt the blame thereof vppon *Iulius*, hee is greatly deceiued; ſeeing *Iulius* might bee blamed, for procuring the Emperour *Conſtance*, by his Letters directed to *Conſtantius* his brother, to ſet ſo ſhorte a time as hee did; though hee did not call the Councell him-ſelfe. And that it was not the Authoritie of the Pope that brought the Biſhopps together in this Councell, it is moſt euident, in that, [m] when hee wrote to them to reſtore *Athanaſius* to his place, they reiected his Letters with contempt, maruailing, that hee medled more with their matters then they did with his. Neither is it likely, that *Conſtantius* would bee commanded by *Iulius* to call this Councell. Seeing when the Councell had commanded *Athanaſius* to bee reſtored to his place, yet hee [n] refuſed to giue way, till his brother threatned to make warre vpon him for it. But if this proofe fayle, *Bellarmine* hath a better. For hee ſaith, *Sixtus* the Third, in an Epiſtle to thoſe of the Eaſt, writeth, That *Valentinian* the Emperour

[l] *Lib. 2. cap. 16.*

[m] *Sozom. lib. 3. cap. 7.*

[n] *Socrates lib. 2. cap. 18.*

called a Synode by his authority; whence it followeth, that the calling of Generall Councels pertaineth in such sort to the Popes, that the Emperours may not call them, but by warrant and authority from them. If the Reader will bee pleased to consider of this proofe, hee shall easily discerne how little credit is to bee giuen to Iesuited Papists in their allegations.

For first, *Sixtus* doth not say, the Emperour *Valentinian* called a Synode by his authority, but that hee commanded a Synode should bee called by his authority; that is, commanded him to call it. And the Author of the ° *Pontificall*, speaking of the calling of the same Synode, saith, the Emperour commanded that the Councell and holy Synode should bee congregated. Secondly, it was but a Diocesan Synode, consisting of the Presbyters and Cleargie of *Rome* called together, about certaine crimes obiected to *Sixtus*, whereof hee purged him-selfe before them. Now I thinke it will not follow, that, if the Bishop of *Rome* might call together the Cleargie of his owne Diocesse, the calling of Generall Councels pertained to him onely: or that, if the Emperour thought fit, rather to command the *Romaine* Bishop to call together his Cleargie, then to doe it immediatly by his owne authority; therefore hee would haue done the like in summoning Generall Councels, consisting of all the Bishops of the world. Wherefore let vs passe to the last of his proofes, taken out of the Epistle of *Adrian* the second, to *Basileius* the Emperour, prefixed before the Eighth Generall Councell, which vndoubtedly, vpon proofe, will bee found to be no better then the rest. For first, it is grounded on the saying of a Pope, that liued many hundred yeares after Christ, and long after the diuision of the Empire; and the with-drawing of the Church of Rome from the obedience of the Emperours of the East, and so not much to bee regarded in a question concerning the right of the Emperour.

° *In vita Sixti.3.*

* *Adrian* wrote this Epistle after hee had receiued the Emperours letters, calling him to the Councell, and therefore it may bee thought, that when he saith, *VVe will, &c.* hee expresseth his consenting to the Emperours mandate, and not any commanding of him.

Secondly, he speaketh not in his owne name, but in the name of all the West Church. And thirdly, that hee saith, * *Wee will that by your industry a great assembly bee gathered*, prooueth not that the Pope tooke vpon him peremptorily to command the Emperour. For seeing in the whole Epistle hee vseth words of exhorting, praying and intreating, these words may seeme to import no more, but, Our desire is, that there should bee such an assembly by your industry, in which our Legates sitting as Presidents, matters may bee examined, and all things righted. Or, wee, though no waye subiect to your Empire, yet at your request, are content that such a Councell bee called, and that our Legates doe sitte in it, with the Bishoppes subiect to your Imperiall command. For that *Basileius* called the Councell, it appeareth by his wordes to the Bishoppes in the beginning of it.

But if none of these exceptions against the Emperours ancient practise

of

of calling Councels will hold, our Aduerſaries, rather then they will ſuffer the Pope to bee a looſer, will not ſticke to charge the Emperours with vſurpation, and taking more on them then pertained to them. Whoſoeuer (ſaith [p] *Andradius*) ſhall thinke, that the power and authority of Emperours, is to bee eſteemed and iudged of, by the things done by them in the Church, rather then by Chriſts inſtitution, the Decrees of the Elders, and the force and nature of the Papall dignity it ſelfe, hee ſhall make vnbridled pride, and head-long fury to bee chiefe Commander, and to ſway moſt in the Eccleſiaſticall Hierarchy. Thus doth *Andradius* cenſure the ancient Chriſtian Emperours, and exemplifieth not onely in *Conſtantius* the *Arrian*, but *Iuſtinian* alſo (as him-ſelfe confeſſeth) a good Emperour. For refutation of which moſt vniuſt exception, we ſay, that howſoeuer it bee not to bee doubted, but that ill affected, or ill directed Emperours, did ſome-times that which was not fit; yet, that in calling Councells by their Princely authority, and commanding all Biſhops to come or ſend vnto them, they exceeded not the bounds and limitts of their commiſſion, it is euident, in that neuer any Biſhop durſt blame them for it; But all ſought vnto them, euen the Biſhops of *Rome* them-ſelues, praying them ſo to doe, as I ſhewed before by the examples of *Liberius*, *Innocentius*, and *Leo*: which thing alſo [q] *Bellarmine* himſelfe confeſſeth. Wherefore, ſeeing it is euident by the allowed practiſe of former times, that the calling of Generall Councels belonged to the Emperours, after they became Chriſtians, let vs ſee what they tooke on them in theſe Councels, after they had called them; and conſequently, what right, power, and authority Chriſtian Princes haue to manage the affaires, and command the holy Biſhops and Miniſters of the Church.

[p] *Lib. 1. de authorit. general. Concil. pag. 59.*

[q] *De Concilijs lib. 1. cap. 13.*

Chap. 53.

Of the power and authority exerciſed by the ancient Emperours in Generall Councels: and of the ſupremacie of Chriſtian Princes in cauſes and ouer perſons Eccleſiaſticall.

THE firſt thing that Chriſtian Emperours in ancient times aſſumed to them-ſelues in Generall Councels, was, to bee preſent in them when they pleaſed; as we read of [a] *Conſtantine* the Great, that hee not onely called the Councell of *Nice*, but was preſent in it; of [b] *Martian*, that hee was preſent in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, with *Pulcheria* the Empreſſe; of [c] *Conſtantine* the fourth, that hee was preſent in the Sixth Generall Councell; and [d] *Baſilius* in the Eighth: and when they pleaſed to bee abſent, to ſend ſome in their ſtead; as [e] *Theodoſius* the younger ſent *Candidianus* to bee preſent for him in the Councell of *Epheſus*; and *Martianus*, though

[a] *Euſeb. de vitâ Conſtantini. lib. 3. cap. 10.*

[b] *Concil. Chalcedon. Actione. 1. pag. 4. apud Binnium.*

[c] *Concil. 6. Actione. 1. tom. 3. apud Binnium pag. 8.*

[d] *Vt patet in actis Concil. 8.*

[e] *Act. Epheſ. Concil. tom. 3. cap. 32.*

f *Vide Acta Synodi Chalcedonensis.*

though present in the first Session, yet beeing for the most part of the time absent, appointed certaine secular Iudges to sitte in the Councell of *Chalcedon*.

The second thing that they assumed to them, was, to sit in the highest place: and so wee read, that g in the Councell of *Nice*, all the Bishops beeing placed in order, the Emperour (some fewe going before him) entred into the Councell: at whose comming, all the Bishoppes rose vp, and did reuerence vnto him, and hee passed through the middest of them, as an heauenly Angell of God, hauing on a Purple robe, and shining vesture, be-decked with gold, Pearles, and Pretious stones; and staied not, till hee came to the highest place, where a little seate of Gold was prepared: wherein yet hee satte not downe, but stood vpright, till the Bishops had bowed and beckned vnto him to sitte downe. In like sort wee read of h *Martian*, that hee sat in the highest place in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, with the *Senators* and Iudges by his side: And of i *Constantine* the fourth, that hee sate in the highest place in the Sixth Generall Councell. And when they were not present in person, the Senators and secular Iudges deputed by them, sate in the middest in the highest roome; as wee shall finde they did in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, at such times as the Emperour was away.

g *Euseb. de vitâ Constantini. lib. 3. cap. 10.*

h *Vbi suprà.*

i *Vbi suprà.*

The third thing which the Emperours tooke on them either in their owne persons, or by such as they deputed, besides the defence of the Bishops from outward violence, was a kinde of direction of things that were to be done in the Councell. This direction consisted in seuen things: First, in prouiding that nothing should bee done passionately, violently, and by clamour of multitudes, but that the ground of each thing should bee sought out. Secondly, in prouiding that nothing should bee extorted by feare and terror, from them that mette to decree for truth and iustice, without all priuate and sinister respects. Thirdly, in seeing that nothing should bee omitted, that the holy Canons require to bee done for the finding out of that which is true and right; that so both error and wrong might be auoyded. Fourthly, in not suffering them to passe from one thing to another, before that they had in hand were fully ended; nor to digresse to things impertinent, which might breed confusion, and hinder the effecting of that which was intended: And in putting an end to each action, when they sawe as much done as was fitte, or otherwise deferring the further deliberation to some other time. Fifthly, when they found an indisposition in them, to agree to such and so cleare determination of matters in question, as might satisfie all, to dissolue the Councell, and to call another.

Sixthly, in iudging and pronouncing according to that they saw alleadged with the approbation and assent of the Councell. Lastly, in subscribing and confirming by their royall assent, the things resolued and

agreed

agreed on. All theſe things (as [k] *Cuſanus* rightly noteth) the Emperours tooke on them in Generall Councells; and the performance of euery of theſe wee may finde in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, but ſpecially the First and the Fifth. For [l] whereas the ten Biſhops of *Ægypt*, that were there in the name of the reſt, refuſed to ſubſcribe to the Actes of the Councell, till they ſhould haue a new Patriarch choſen and ordained, (not out of any diſlike of that was done, or as being of another iudgement, but becauſe the cuſtome of their country permitted them not to ſubſcribe, vnleſſe their Patriarch went before them in ſo dooing) there was a generall clamour againſt them, of all the Biſhops, crying out alowde, that that they were to bee excommunicated and Anathematized. And though they fell proſtrate on their faces before the whole Councell, profeſſing their refuſall to proceed from no priuate conceit, and deſiring to bee pittied, and not vrged to any formall ſubſcription, for that if they ſhould doe any ſuch thing, they were ſure neuer to bee endured by the Biſhops of their Country; yet could they finde no fauour or relenting, till the ſecular Iudges, out of their diſcretion, finding the true ground of this their ſtay to ſubſcribe, to be ſuch as they alleadged, deliuered their opinion, that it was a thing reaſonable, and in pitty to be granted vnto them, that they ſhould bee forborne and ſtay in the Citty, till their Archbiſhop were choſen: Which when *Paſchaſinus* the Legate of *Rome* heard, hee ſaid, if your glorious excellencie command that it bee ſo, let them put in ſureties not to depart the Citty, till their Archbiſhop bee choſen; and the reſt of the Biſhops agreed to him. So that the matter which was ready to bee ſwayed by the whole Councell, with clamour and out-cry in a very violent ſort, was ſtayed by the wiſedome of the ſecular Iudges, the poore diſtreſſed ſuppliants pittied, and the hard proceeding of the Biſhops againſt them hindred.

[k] *Concord. Catholi. lib. 3. cap. 18.*

[l] *Concil. Chalcedō. Actione. 4*

And in the ſame [m] Councell wee read, that the Biſhops hauing agreed on a forme of Confeſſion of Faith, were deſired by the Emperours Deputies the ſecular Iudges, for the ſatisfaction of all men, to adde certaine words out of the Epiſtle of *Leo*, to that forme of Confeſſion: which when they all (ſome few of the Eaſt, and the Legates of *Rome* excepted) with great clamour refuſed to doe, the Iudges tolde them, the Emperour ſhould know of their clamorous courſes: And that if they would not agree together to make ſome good end, a Councell ſhould bee called in the Weſt, and they forced to walke thither.

[m] *Actio. 1. tad.*

Neither did Chriſtian Emperours onely thus intermeddle in Generall Councells, as chiefe Lords of the whole world, but particuler Kings and Princes likewiſe within their ſeuerall dominions and Kingdomes did as much. For wee read that [n] *Charlemagne*, with the aduice and counſell of the ſeruants of GOD, and his Nobles, gathered together into a Synode all the Biſhoppes in his

[n] *Naucler. vol. 2. generat. 25.*

his kingdome, with their Presbyters, that they might aduise him how the law of God and religion (well established in the times of former Princes, but now much fallen and decayed) might bee restored, and Christian people attaine saluation, and not bee mislead by false Priests: and by the aduise of his Bishops and Nobles, according to this his good intent and purpose, hee ordained Bishops in his Cities, and set ouer them *Bonifacius* as their Archbishop: hee decreed that a Synode should bee holden once euery yeare, that in his presence the Decrees of the Canons and Lawes of the Church might be restored, and what should be found amisse in Christian religion, amended: he degraded false Priestes and Deacons, and Clearkes that were whoremongers and adulterers; he prescribed pennance to certaine offenders, & subiected them to imprisonment and other corporall punishments and corrections.

This Acte of *Charlemaine* is alleagded by [o] *Cusanus*, and greatly approued: yea the same [p] *Cusanus* complaining of the abuses of the Court of *Rome* (in that thinges are carried thither, that should bee determined in the Prouinces where they begin, in that the Pope intermedleth in giuing Benefices before they be voyde, to the preiudice of the originall Patrons, by reason whereof young men runne to *Rome* and spend their best time there, carrying gold with them and bringing backe nothing but paper, and many like confusions, which the Canons forbid and need reformation) addeth, that the common saying, that the secular power may not restraine or alter these courses brought in by Papall authority, should not moue any man: for that, though the power of temporall Princes ought not to change any thinge established Canonically for the honor of GOD and good of such as attend his seruice, yet it may and ought to prouide for the common good, and see, that the ancient Canons bee obserued. Neither ought any one to say, that the ancient Christian Emperours did erre, that made so many sacred Constitutions, or that they ought not so to haue done. For (saith hee) I read, that Popes haue desired them for the common good, to make lawes for the punishment of offences committed by those of the Cleargie. And if any one shall say, that the force of all these Constitutions depended vpon Papall or Synodall approbation, I will not insist vpon it, though I haue read and collected foure score and sixe chiefe heads of Ecclesiasticall rules and lawes made by old Emperours, and many other made by *Charles* the Great and his successors: in which order is taken, not onely concerning others, but euen concerning the Bishop of *Rome* him-selfe, and other Patriarches, what they shall take of the Bishoppes they ordaine, and many like things: and yet did I neuer finde, that the Pope was desired to approoue them, or that they haue no binding force, but by vertue of his approbation. But I knowe right well, that some Popes haue professed their due regarde of those Imperiall and Princely

[o] *Cusanus Concord. catholi. lib. 3. cap. 8.*

[p] *Ibid. cap. 40.*

Princely Constitutions. But though it were graunted, that those Constitutions had no further force then they receiued from the Canons, where-in the same thinges were formerly ordered, or from Synodall approbation, yet might the Emperour now reforme thinges amisse by vertue of old Canons, and Princes Constitutions grounded on them. Yea, if hee should with good aduice (considering the decay of piety and diuine worshippe, the ouer-flowing of all wickednesse, and the causes and occasions thereof) recall the old Canons, and the auncient and most holy obseruation of the Elders, and reiect what-soeuer priuiledges, exemptions, or new deuices contrary there-vnto, (by vertue whereof, suites, complaintes and controuersies, the gifts and donations of benenefices, and the like things are vniustly brought to *Rome*, to the great preiudice of the whole Christian Church) I thinke no man could iustly blame him for so doing. Yea hee saith, the Emperour *Sigismund* had an intention so to doe, and exhorteth him, by no fayned allegations of men fauoring present disorders, to bee discouraged: for that there is no way to preserue the peace of the Church (what-soeuer some pretend to the contrary) vnlesse such lewde and wicked courses, proceeding from ambition, pride, and couetousnesse, be stopped, and the old Canons reuiued.

From that which hath beene obserued touching the proceeding of Christian Kinges and Emperours in former times, in calling Councells, in being present at them, and in making lawes for persons and causes Ecclesiastical, it is easie to gather, what the power of Princes is in this kinde, and that they are indeed supreame Gouernours ouer all persons, and in all causes, as well Ecclesiasticall as Ciuill: which is that we attribute to our Kings and Queenes, and the Papistes so much stumble at, as if some new and strange opinion were broached by vs. Wherefore, for the satisfaction of all such, as are not maliciously obstinate, refusing to heare what may be said, I will indeauor in this place vpon so fit an occasion to cleare what soeuer may be questionable in this point; & will first intreat of the power & right that Princes haue in cuases Ecclesiastical & then of that they haue ouer persons Ecclesiastical: and in treating of causes Ecclesiastical, I wil first distinguish the diuersities of them, and the power of medling with them. Causes Ecclesiasticall therefore are of two sorts; for some are originally and naturally such; and some, only, in that (by fauour of Princes out of due consideration) they are referred to the Cognisance of Ecclesiasticall persons, as fittest Iudges; as the probations of the Testaments of them that are dead, the disposition of the goods of such as dye intestat, and if there be any other like. Causes Ecclesiasticall of the first sort, are eyther meerely and onely Ecclesiasticall and Spirituall, or mixt. Meerely Ecclesiastical, are of three sorts. First, matters of Faith and Doctrine. Secondly, matters of Sacraments, and the due administration of them. Thirdly, the

orders

orders, degrees, and ordination of ſuch as attend the Miniſtery of the Word and Sacramentes. Mixtly Eccleſiaſticall, are of two ſortes: eyther ſuch, as in one reſpect belong to one kinde of cogniſance, and in another to another, as marriages, which are ſubiect to ciuill diſpoſition, in that they are politicall contracts; and to ſpirituall, in that they are ordered by the diuine lawe: or ſuch as are equally cenſurable by Ciuill and Eccleſiaſticall authority, as murthers, adulteries, blaſphemyes, and the like. All which in the time when there is no Chriſtian Magiſtrate, or when there is ouer-great negligence in the Ciuil Magiſtrate, are to be puniſhed by the ſpirituall guides of the Church. Where-vppon wee ſhall finde that the Auncient Councels preſcribed penance to offenders in all theſe kindes. But when there is a Chriſtian Magiſtrate doing his duty, they are to be referred, ſpecially eyther to the one or the other of theſe; and accordingly to bee cenſured by the one or the other: as wee ſee the puniſhment of adultery, vſury, and thinges of that nature, is referred to Eccleſiaſticall perſons, and the puniſhment of murther, theft, and the like, to the ciuill Magiſtrate. This diſtinction of cauſes Eccleſiaſticall premiſed, it is eaſie to ſee what Authority Princes haue in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall. For firſt, touching thoſe cauſes that are Eccleſiaſticall only, in that they are put ouer to the cogniſance of ſpirituall perſons, there is no queſtion, but that the Prince hath a ſupreame power, and that no man may meddle with them, any otherwiſe then as he is pleaſed to allow. And likewiſe touching thoſe things which in one reſpect pertaine to ciuill iuriſdiction, & in another to ſpiritual, or which are equally cenſurable, by both, there is no queſtion, but that the Prince hath ſupreame power, in that they pertayne to ciuill iuriſdiction. So that the onely queſtion is, touching thinges naturally and meerely ſpirituall: The power in theſe is of two ſortes: of Order, and of Iuriſdiction. The power of Order, is the authority to preach the word, miniſter the Sacraments, and to ordaine Miniſters to doe all theſe things: and this power the Princes of the World haue not at all, much leſſe the ſupreame Authority to do theſe things, but it is proper to the Miniſters of the Church. And if Princes meddle in this kind, they are like to P *Vzziah*, ỹ offered to burne incenſe, for which he was ſtricken with leproſie. The power of Iuriſdiction ſtandeth firſt, in preſcribing and making lawes. Secondly, in hearing, examining, & iudging of opinions, touching matters of Faith: And thirdly, in iudging of things pertayning to Eccleſiaſtical order & miniſtery, and the due performance of Gods worſhip and ſeruice. Touching the firſt, the making of a Lawe is the preſcribing of a thing vnder ſome paine or puniſhment, which he ỹ ſo preſcribeth hath power to inflict. Whence it is conſequent, that the Prince (hauing no power to excommunicate, put from the Sacraments, and deliuer to Satan) can of him-ſelfe make no Canons, ſuch as Councels of Biſhoppes doe; who commaund or forbidde thinges

P 2. Chro. 26. 16.

vnder

vnder payne of excommunication, and like ſpiritual cenſures; but (hauing power of life and death, of impriſonment, baniſhment, confiſcation of goods and the like) hee may with the aduice and direction of his Cleargy, commaund thinges pertayning to GODS worſhippe and ſeruice vnder theſe paines, both for profeſſion of Faith, miniſtration of Sacraments, and conuerſation fitting to Chriſtians in generall, or men of Eccleſiaſticall order in particular; and by his Princely power eſtabliſh thinges formerly defined and decreed againſt what-ſoeuer error, and contrary ill cuſtome, and obſeruation. And herein he is ſo farre forth ſupreme, that no Prince, Prelate, nor Potentate, hath a commanding Authority ouer him: yet do we not (what-ſoeuer our clamorous Aduerſaries vntruely report, to make vs odious,) make our Princes with their Ciuill States, ſupreme in the power of commanding in matters concerning God, & his Faith and Religion, without ſeeking the direction of their Cleargy, (for the 9 Statute that reſtored the title of Supremacy to the late *Queene Elizabeth*, of famous and bleſſed memory, prouideth, that none ſhall haue authority newly to iudge any thing to be Hereſie, not formerly ſo iudged, but the high Court of Parliament with the aſſent of the Cleargy in their Conuocation,) nor with them, ſo, as to commaund what they thinke fitte, without aduiſing with others, partakers of like precious Faith with them, when a more generall meeting for further deliberation may be had, or the thing requireth it. Though when no ſuch general concurence may bee had, they may by them-ſelues prouide for thoſe partes of the Church that are vnder them. From the power and authority we giue our Princes in making lawes, and preſcribing how men ſhall profeſſe and practiſe touching matters of Faith and Religion, let vs proceed to treat of ſy other part of power aſcribed vnto them, which is in iudging of errors in Faith & diſorders, or faults in things pertayning to Eccleſiaſtical order & miniſtery according to former determinations and decrees. And firſt, touching errors in Faith, or alteartions in the performance of Gods worſhip and ſeruice, there is no queſtion, but that Biſhops and Paſtors of the Church (to whome it pertayneth to teach the Truth) are the ordinary and fitteſt Iudges; and that ordinarily and regularly, Princes are to leaue the iudgement therof vnto them. But becauſe they may faile, either through negligence, ignorance, or mallice, Princes hauing charge of Gods people, and beeing to ſee that they ſerue and worſhippe him aright, are to iudge and condemne them that fall into groſſe errors, contrary to the common ſence of Chriſtians; or into any other Hereſies formerly condemned. And though there be no generall fayling, yet if they ſee violent and partiall courſes taken, they may interpoſe them-ſelues to ſtay them, and cauſe a due proceeding, or remoue the matter from one company and ſort of Iudges to another. And here-vnto the beſt learned in former times agreed, clearely confeſſing; that when ſome thing is neceſſarily to be done, and the ordinary guides of the Church do faile, or are

9 *Anno* 1. *Eliz.*

not able to yeeld that helpe that is needfull, wee may lawfully fly to other for relieſe and helpe; [r] when theſe two things do meete in the ſtate of the Church, (ſaith *Waldenſis*) to wit, extreme neceſſity, admitting no delay, and the want of ability to yeeld relieſe in the ordinary Paſtor or Guide, we muſt ſeeke an extraordinary Father and Patron, rather then ſuffer the frame, fabricke and building of the Lord Chriſt to be diſſolued. If any man happily ſay that [t] *Ambroſe*, a moſt worthy Biſhop, refuſed to come to the Court to bee iudged in a matter of faith by *Valentinian* the Emperour, and asked; when euer he heard that Emperours iudged Biſhops in matters of faith? ſeeing if that were granted, it would follow, that Lay-men ſhould diſpute and debate matters, and Biſhoppes heare; yea that Biſhoppes ſhould learne of Lay-men, (whereas contrary-wiſe, if wee looke ouer the Scriptures, and conſider the courſe of times paſt, we ſhall finde, that Biſhoppes haue iudged of Emperours in matters of faith, and not Emperours of Biſhoppes) and that therefore it cannot bee without vſurpation of that which no way pertaineth to them, that Princes ſhould at all medle with the iudging of matters of Faith.

[r] *Waldenſ. doctrin. fidei. li. 2. cap. 80.*

[t] *Epiſtolar. lib. 5. ep. 32.*

This obiection, what ſhew ſoeuer it may ſeeme to carry, is eaſily anſwered; for firſt, the thing that *Valentinian* tooke on him, was not to iudge according to former definitions, but hee would haue iudged of a thing already reſolued on in a Generall Councell, called by *Conſtantine* the Emperour, as if it had bin free, and not yet iudged of at all: whereas we doe not attribute to our Princes with their Ciuill Eſtates, power newly to adiudge any thing to bee Hereſy without the concurrence of the State of their Cleargy, but onely to Iudge in thoſe matters of faith, that are reſolued on, according to former reſolutions.

And beſides this, *Valentinian* was knowne to be partiall; he was but a nouice, and the other iudges he ment to aſſociate to him-ſelfe, ſuſpected; and therefore *Ambroſe* had reaſon to do as he did. Wherefore let vs proceed to the other part of the power of Iuriſdiction, that conſiſteth in iudging of things pertaining to Eccleſiaſticall Order and Miniſtery. Concerning which point, firſt it is reſolued, that none may ordaine any to ſerue in the worke of the Miniſtery, but the ſpirituall Paſtors and Guides of the Church. Secondly, that none may iudicially degrade or put any one lawfully admitted from his degree and order, but they alone. Neither do our Kings or Queenes challenge any ſuch thing to them-ſelues: but their power ſtandeth, firſt, in calling together the Biſhoppes and Paſtors of the Church, for the hearing and determining of ſuch things, and in taking all due care, that all things bee done orderly in ſuch proceedings, without partiality, violence, or precipitation, according to the Canons and Imperiall lawes made to confirme the ſame. Secondly, when they ſee cauſe, in taking things from thoſe whome they iuſtly ſuſpect, or others except againſt, and appointing others in their places. Thirdly, in appointing

appynting some selected men for the visitation of the rest. Fourthly, in ioyning temporall men in commission with the spirituall guides of the Church, to take view of, and to censure the actions of men of Ecclesiastical order: becausse they are directed not only by Canons, but lawes Imperiall. Fifthly, when matters of fact are obiected, for which the Canons & lawes Imperiall iudge Men depriueable; the Prince, when he seeth cause, and when the state of things require it, eyther in person, if he please, or by such other as he thinketh fitte to appoint, may heare and examine the prooses of the same, and eyther ratifie that others did, or voyd it: as wee see in the case of [u] *Cæcilianus*, to whome it was obiected that he was a *Traditor*, and *Felix Antummitanus* that ordayned him, was so likewise, and that therfore his ordination was voyd. For first, the enemies of *Cæcilianus* disliking his ordination, made complaintes against him to *Constantine*, and hee appointed *Melchiades* and some other Bishopps, to sitte and heare the matter. From their iudgement, there was a new appeale made to *Constantine*.

[u] *Aguſt. epiſt.* 162.

Where-vppon hee sent to the *Proconsull* to examine the prooses that might be produced. But from his iudgement the complainants appealed the third time to *Constantine*, who appointed a Synode at [x] *Arle*. All this hee did, to giue satisfaction (if it were possible) to these men; and so to procure the peace of the Church. And though hee excused him-selfe for medling in these businesses, and asked pardon for the same: (for that regularly, hee was to haue left these iudgements to Ecclesiasticall persons) yet it no way appeareth, that he did ill in interposing him-selfe in such sort as he did, the state of things beeing such as it was: nor that the Bishops did ill, that yeelded to him in these courses, and therefore in cases of like nature, Princes may doe what-soeuer hee did, and Bishoppes may appeare before them, and submit them-selues to their iudgement; though in another case *Ambrose* refused to present him-selfe before *Valentinian* the Emperour, for tryall of an Ecclesiasticall cause. Neyther is it strange in our state that Kinges should intermedle in causes Ecclesiasticall. For [y] *Mathew Paris* sheweth, that the auncient lawes of England prouided, that in appeales men should proceed from the Arch-deacon to the Bishoppe, from the Bishoppe to the Arch-bishoppe; and that, if the Arch-bishoppe should fayle in doing iustice, the matter should be made known to the King; that by vertue of his commandement it might receiue an end in the Archbishops Court; that there might be no further proceeding in appeales without the Kings consent.

[x] *Euſeb. li* 10. *cap.* 5.

[y] *In Henrico* 2. *pag.* 96.

From the power which Princes haue in causes Ecclesiasticall, let vs proceed to the power they haue ouer persons Ecclesiasticall; and see, whether they be supreame ouer all persons, or whether men of the Church bee exempt from their iurisdiction. That they are not exempted by GODS law, we haue the cleare confession of Cardinal [z] *Bellarmine*, and others: who not only yeeld so far vnto the truth, forced so to doe by the cleare euidence

[z] *De Clericis. lib.* 1. *cap.* 28.

euidence thereof, but proue the same both by Scripture and Fathers. The Cardinalls words are these: *Exceptio Clericorum in rebus politicis, tam quoad personas, quam quoad bona, iure humano introducta est, non diuino;* that is, the exemption of Cleargy-men in things ciuill, as well in respect of their persons, as their goods, was introduced and brought in by mans lawe, and not by the lawe of God. Which thing is proued; first, out of the precept of the Apostle to the *Romaines*, [a] *Lette euery soule be subiect to the higher powers*: and addeth: [b] *Therefore pay yee tribute*: For when the Apostle saith; *Let euery soule be subiect*: hee includeth Cleargy-men, as *Chrysostome* witnesseth: and therefore when hee addeth, *for this cause pay yee tribute*, hee speaketh of Cleargy-men also. Whence it will follow, that Cleargy-men are bound to pay tribute; vnlesse they be exempted by the fauour and priuiledge of Princes, freeing them from so doing: which thing *Thomas Aquinas* also affirmeth, writing vppon the same place. Secondly, the same is proued out of the Ancient. [c] For *Vrbanus* sayth; *The tribute money mentioned, was found in the mouth of the fish, taken by Saint Peter, because the Church payeth tribute out of her outward and earthly possessions*. [d] And Saint *Ambrose* saith, *if tribute be demaunded, it is not denyed, the Church-Land payeth tribute*. Now if *Vrbanus*, Bishoppe of *Rome*, and worthy *Ambrose* Bishoppe of *Millaine* (then whome there was neuer any Bishoppe found more resolute in the defence of the right of the Church) say, that tribute is not to bee denyed, but payed vnto Princes by men of the Church; and in respect of Church-land, I thinke it is euident; there is no exemption by any lawe of GOD, that freeth the goods of Church-men from yeelding tribute to Princes. For touching that text, (where our Sauiour sayth vnto *Peter*, [e] *What thinkest thou* Simon, *of whome doe the Kinges of the* Gentiles *receiue tribute? of their owne children, or of strangers?* And *Peter* answereth, *of strangers*.; Whence Christ inferreth, that *the children (are free)* brought by some to proue the supposed immunity of Cleargy-men to be from Gods owne graunt, *Bellarmine* sufficiently cleareth the matter. For first he sheweth, that Christ speaketh of him-selfe only, making this argument; kings sons are free frō Tribute, as being neither to pay to their own fathers, seeing their goods are common; nor to strangers, to whome they are not subiect; therfore himselfe being ỹ son of the great King of Kings, oweth no Tribute to any mortall man. So that when he said, the *children are free*, he ment not to signifie, that any other are free; but only that himselfe was free. Secondly, he rightly obserueth, ỹ this place would proue that al Christians are free frō Tribute, if it proued any other then Christ to be so: for al Christians are the sons of God by adoption & grace. And *Hierome* writing vpon this place hath these words; *Our Lord was the kings son both according to the flesh, & according to the spirit, descending of the stock of* Dauid, *and being the word of the Almighty Father: and therefore as beeing*

[a] Rom. 13. 1.
[b] Ver. 16.
[c] Decreti. 2. part. causa. 23. quest. 8. ca. Tributum.
[d] In Orat. de tradend. Basilicis.
[e] Math. 17. 25.

the

the ſonne of the Kingdome owed no tribute, but becauſe he aſſumed the humility of fleſh, it behooued him to fulfill all righteouſneſſe: but vnhappy men that we are! wee are called after the name of Chriſt, and do nothing worthy ſo great an honour. He for the great loue he bare towards vs, ſuſtayned the croſſe for vs and payde tribute: but we for his honour pay no tribute, and as Kings ſonnes are free from tribute. Theſe words are brought by ſome to proue the imagined freedome we ſpeake of; but firſt, they are ſo far from prouing any ſuch thing, that [f] *Eraſmus* thinketh *Hierome* reprehended it, and diſliked it as a thing ſauoring of arrogancy, that Cleargymen ſhould refuſe to pay tribute, which, hee ſaith, is contrary to the conceit of men in our time, who thinke it the height of all piety to maintaine this immunity. And [g] *Sixtus Senenſis* ſaith; that *Hierome* ſpeaketh not of that tribute, which ſubiects pay to their Princes here in this world, but of that which we all owe to Chriſt, ſo that this is that he ſaith, why do not we wretched men, profeſſing our ſelues to bee the ſeruants of Chriſt, yeeld vnto his Maieſty the due tribute of our ſeruice, ſeeing Chriſt, ſo great and excellent, payd tribute for our ſakes? Saint *Auſtine* in his [h] firſt booke of *Queſtions vpon the Goſpells* ſaith: that Kings ſonnes in this world are free, and that therefore much more the ſonnes of that Kingdome vnder which all kingdomes of the World are, ſhould be free in each earthly Kingdome: which wordes, [i] *Thomas*, and [k] *Sixtus Senenſis* vnderſtand of a freedome from the bondage of ſinne, but [l] *Ianſenius* reiecteth that interpretation, becauſe *Auſtine* ſaith; the Children of Kings are free from tribute; and thinketh that *Auſtines* meaning is; that if God the King of Heauen and Earth, had many naturall ſonnes, as he hath but one only begotten, they ſhould all bee free in all the Kingdomes of the world: and other apply theſe wordes to Cleargy-men, though there bee nothing in the place leading to any ſuch interpretation. But whatſoeuer wee thinke of the meaning of *Auſtine*, *Bellarmine* ſaith it cannot bee inferred from theſe his wordes that Cleargy-men by Gods law are free from the duty of paying tribute; becauſe (as *Chryſoſtome* noteth) Chriſt ſpeaketh onely of naturall children: and beſides preſcribeth nothing, but onely ſheweth that vſually among men, Kings ſonnes are free from tribute; and therefore, whereas the authority of *Bonifacius* the Eighth [m] who affirmeth, that the goods and perſons of Cleargy-men are free from exactions, both by the law of God and man, is brought to proue the contrary; Hee anſwereth, firſt, that haply the Pope ment not, that they are abſolutely freed by any ſpeciall graunt from G O D, but onely that there is an example of [n] *Pharaoh* an Heathen Prince, freeing the Prieſts of his Gods, mentioned in Scripture, which may induce Chriſtian Kings to free the Paſtors of Chriſts Church.

[f] *Eraſm. citat. a Sixto Senenſe. Bibloth. Sanct. lib. 6. annot. 75.*
[g] *Ibidem.*
[h] *Queſt. 23.*
[i] *Secundâ. ſecundæ. quæſt. 104. art. 6.*
[k] *Li. ſupradict. annotat. 76.*
[l] *Comm. in concord. Euang. cap. 69.*
[m] *In. 6. cap. Quanquam de Sentens.*
[n] Gen. 47.

Secondly, that it was but the priuat opinion of the Pope, inclining to the iudgement of the Canoniſtes; and that he did not define any ſuch thing;

So

So that men may lawfully dissent from him in this point. So that wee see by the testimonies of Scripture and Fathers, and the confession of the best learned among our Aduersaries them-selues, that almighty God did not by any speciall exemption free eyther the goods or persons of Cleargy-men from the command of Princes, and that in the beginning they were subiect to all seruices, iudgements, payments and burdens, that any other are subiect to, and required by Christ the Sonne of God, and his blessed Apostles, to be so. But some man happily will say, that though Christ did not specially free, eyther the goods or persons of Cleargy-men from the subiection to Princes, yet there are inducements in reason, and in the very light of nature, such and so great, to moue Princes to set them free, that they should not doe well if they did not so. Where-vnto wee answere, that there is no question to bee made, but that the Pastors of the Church that watch ouer the soules of men, are to be respected and tendered more then men of any other calling, and so they are, and euer were, where any sence of religion is, or was.

o Galath. 4. ver. 14. 15.

The Apostle Saint *Paul* testifieth of the *Galathians* o *that they receiued him as an Angell of God, yea as Christ Iesus him-selfe, and that they would euen haue plucked out their eyes to haue done him good.*

p *Ruffin. lib. 1. cap. 2. Theodoret. lib. 1. cap. 11.*

p The Emperor *Constantine* honoured the Christian Bishops with the name & title of Gods, acknowledged himselfe subiect to their iudgemẽt, though hee swayed the scepter of the World; and refused to see what the complaintes were that they preferred one against another, or to read their bills, but professed that to couer their faultes hee would euen cast from him his purple Robe. Whence it came that many priuiledges were anciently graunted vnto them, both in respect of their persons, and goods. For first, *Constantine* the Great, not onely gaue ample gifts to the Pastors of the Churches, but exempted them also from those seruices, ministeries and imployments, that other men are subiect to. His Epistle to *Anelinus* the *Proconsul* of *Affrica*, wherein this graunt was made to them of *Affrica*, is found in q *Eusebius*. Neyther is it to bee doubted, but that he extended his fauors to the Bishoppes of other Churches also, aswell as to them. The words of the Grant are these.

q *Lib. 10. Hist. Eccl. cap. 7.*

Considering that the due obseruation of things pertayning to true religion and the worshippe of God, bringeth great happynesse to the whole state of the Common-wealth and Empyre of Rome: For the incouragement of such as attend the holy Ministery, and are named Cleargy-men, my pleasure is, that all such in the Church wherein Cæcilianus *is Bishoppe, be at once and altogether absolutely freed, and exempted from all publicke Ministeries and Seruices.*

Neyther did the Emperors onely exempt them from these seruices, but r they freed them also from secular iudgements, vnlesse it were in certaine kindes of criminal causes. Wherein yet a Bishop was not to be conuented against his will before any secular Magistrate, without the Emperours

r *Nouel. Constit. 79. 83. et 123.*

command

commaṅd. Neyther might the temporall Magiſtrates condemne any Cleargy man, till he were degraded by his Biſhoppe, how-ſoeuer they might impriſon and reſtraine ſuch vpon complaintes made. And anſwerably here-vnto the Councell of *Matiſcon* prouideth,[f] that no Cleargy-man for any cauſe, without the diſcuſſion of his Biſhoppe, ſhall be wronged and impriſoned by any Secular Magiſtrate, and that if any Iudge ſhall preſume to doe ſo to the Cleargy-men of any Biſhoppe, vnleſſe it be in a criminall cauſe, hee ſhall bee excommunicated as long as the Biſhoppe ſhall thinke fitte. This was all the immunity that Cleargy-men anciently had by any grant of Princes, and as much as euer the Church deſired to enioy; but that which in latter times was challenged by ſome, and in defence of the claime whereof, *Thomas Becket* reſiſted the King, till his bloud was ſhedde, was of another kinde. For whereas it was not thought fitte by the King and State of the Realme at that time, that Church-men found in enormous crimes, by the Kings Iuſtices, ſhould be deliuered ouer to their Biſhops, and ſo eſcape ciuill puniſhment, but that confeſſing ſuch crymes, or being clearely conuinced of them before the Biſhoppe, the Biſhoppe ſhould in preſence of the Kinges Iuſtices degrade them, and putte them from all Eccleſiaſticall honour, and deliuer them to the Kings Court to bee puniſhed: *Becket* was of a contrary minde, and thought, that ſuch as Biſhoppes degraded or putte out of the Miniſtery of the Church, ſhould not bee puniſhed by the ciuill Magiſtrates; becauſe as hee ſayd, one offence was not to bee puniſhed twice.[t] The occaſion of this controuerſie betweene the King and the Arch-biſhoppe, was giuen by one *Philip Brocke*, a Canon of *Bedford*: Who beeing brought before the Kings Iuſtices for murther, vſed vile and contemptuous ſpeaches againſt them; which though it were proued againſt him before the Arch-biſhoppe, yet hee was onely depriued of the benefit of his Prebend, and driuen out of the Realme for the ſpace of two yeares, for ſo horrible and bloudy a crime. This was one of thoſe ſixteene Articles concerning the Auncient cuſtomes of the Realme, where-vnto *Becket* and the reſt of the Biſhoppes did ſweare, and whereof he ſo ſoone repented againe: namely, that Cleargy-men accuſed of any crime, ſhould at the ſummons of the Kings Iuſtices appeare in the Kings Court, to anſwere to ſuch things as to that Court ſhould be thought to appertayne; and in the Eccleſiaſticall, what pertayned there-vnto: and that the Kinges Iuſtices ſhould ſend to ſee, what was there done: and that if they ſhould bee conuicted of any enormous cryme, or confeſſe the ſame, the Biſhoppe ſhould not protect them: then which courſe nothing could bee deuiuiſed more reaſonable. Neyther is it abſurd for Sheepe to iudge their Paſtors in theſe caſes, as[u] *Bellarmine* fondly affirmeth. That the Councels of[x] *Chalcedon*, & [y] *Tolledo*, forbid Cleargy-men to leaue the Eccleſiaſticall Iudges, and to proſecute their quarrels one againſt another before

[f] *Concil. Matiſconenſ. 1. Canon. 7.*

[t] *Math. Paris. in Henric. 2. pag. 98.*

[u] *De Clericis. lib. 1. cap. 28.*
[x] *Canone. 9.*
[y] *Tolctanum. 3. Can. 13.*

temporall magistrats and the Councells of [a] *Carthage*, and [b] *Agatha*, condeme them that chuse rather to bee tryed in Ciuill Courts then Ecclesiasticall, when they haue power to chuse, or that begin suites there without the permission of their Bishoppe; no way contrarieth any thing that I haue said: for howsoeuer some things are to bee handled in the Ecclesiasticall Courtes, as properly pertayning to them, either naturally and originally, or by graunt of Princes; and other things concerning Church-men, not to be brought into Ciuill Courts but in due sort, and with respect had to their places and ranckes, yet neuer had they any such absolute exemption and immunity, but that in criminall causes, such as theft, murther, and the like, and in tryall of the title of lands and inheritances, and the right of aduocation of Churches, they were to bee tried in Ciuill Courtes, and no other, whether the differences grew betweene Lay-men and Cleargy-men, or Cleargy-men among themselues.

[a] *Carthag. Canone.9.*
[b] *Canone.23.*

As like-wise they were to do homage, and sweare fealty, for such lands, honours, and Baronryes, as they held of Princes. Thus wee see, how fauourable Princes haue beene in graunting priuiledges concerning the persons of such as attend the seruice of GOD. Neither were they lesse carefull to free such landes and possessions as they indowed the Church with, from such burdens, taxes and impositions, as other temporall possessions are subiect to. So that howsoeuer in the Apostles times, and long after, euen till the time of *Ambrose* (as it appeareth [b] by his writinges) the Church-lands payd tribute, yet afterward by [c] *Iustinian* and other Christian Emperours, they were freed from those impositions.

[b] *Ambros. in Orat. de tradend. Basilicis.*
[c] *Codice Iustinian. l. san imus. Tit. de Sacrosanctis Ecclesiis.*

Neither is it to be maruayled at, that Christian Princes, out of their deuout & religious dispositions were thus fauourable to the Church, seeing euen the Heathen Princes did as much for the Idolatrous Priestes of their false-Gods: for wee reade in the booke of [d] *Genesis*, that in the time of that great famine that was in the daies of *Ioseph*, when the People of *Egypt* were constrayned, after all their mony and cattell were spent, to sell their land to *Ioseph* the Steward of *Pharaoh*, in whose hands all the prouision of Corne was, to buy them bread, so that all the land of *Egypt* became *Pharaohs*; yet the Priests were not forced to sell their landes; for they had an ordinary from *Pharaoh*, and they did eate their ordinary which [e] *Pharaoh* gaue them; And when as after-wardes *Ioseph* let the people enioy their land againe, which hee had bought for *Pharaoh*, yet so, that onely foure parts of the increase therof should be to them-selues, for the seed of their fieldes, for their meate, and for them of their households and their children to eate; and the fifth part should be *Pharaohs*, whose now the land was: the land of the Priests was free from this rent and charge, as not being *Pharaohs*. Yet were not the priuiledges and immunities, which

[d] *Cap.47.*

Christian

Christian Princes graunted to Ecclesiastical persons, to preiudice other men not to lay too heauy a burden on them, and therefore it was lawfull for Princes, when they saw any inconueniences, in that too much of their land by passing into the right and possession of Church-men, was freed from seruices and charges, to [c] stoppe the passing of any more into such dead handes, as would yeelde them no helpe, and Cleargy-men were bound in conscience voluntarily to contribute to all publike necessities, when need required; though the Temporall Magistrates might not impose any thing vppon them, as we find it ordered in the [f] Third Councell of *Lateran*, and in the [g] Fourth vnder *Innocentius* the Third: yea if they should contemptuously and presumptuously refuse to beare part of the common burdens, not-withstanding any pretended priuiledges, the Supreame Prince might force them to putte too their helping hand, rather then the whole state of the Commonwealth should be shaken and indangered, or other parts and members of it too heauily burdened, as [h] *Duarenus* learnedly and excellently sheweth.

[c] *Driedo de liberr. Christiana. lib. 2. cap. 3.*

[f] *Canone. 19.*
[g] *Canone. 46.*

[h] *De Sacris Eccles. minist. & Benef. l. 3. cap. 20.*

This may suffice touching the exemption of Cleargy-men, eyther in respect of their persons or goods, and the right by which they inioy the same. And thus haue wee runne through all the different Degrees and Orders of Ecclesiasticall Ministers, and shewed what their power, office, and authority is, both seuerally, and assembled in Councells; and what power Princes haue to commaund ouer them, or to intermedle with the businesses and affayres more specially belonging to them.

Chap. 54.

Of the calling of Ministers: and the persons to whome it pertayneth to elect and ordayne them.

NOw it remayneth, that wee treat first of the calling of Ministers; for [a] *No man taketh this honour vppon him, but hee that is called, as was Aaron:* Secondly, of the thinges required in them; and thirdly of their maintenance.

[a] Heb. 5. 4.

Touching the First, which is the calling of Ecclesiastical Ministers, Saint [b] *Hierome* noteth, that there are 4. sorts of such men, as are imployed in ỹ businesses & affaires of almighty God. The first are such as are sent neither of men, nor by men, but by *Iesus Christ*; as the Prophets in old time, and since the comming of

[b] *Lib. 1. Comment. in epist. ad Galat. ca. 1.*

Christ, those Twelue designed immediatly to the worke of the Ministery by Christs owne voyce, specially called Apostles. The second such as are sent of God, but by man, as Bishops and Ministers, which succeed the Apostles, and deriue ther commission from them. The third are such as are sent of Men, and not of God, who are they that are ordayned by fauour of men, not iudging rightly of the quality of them that are to serue in this calling; who yet are not simply denyed to be sent of God, as if they had no commission from him, but therefore onely, because if the Ordayners had done their duties, they should haue made a better choice, and sent other, & not these; for being sent by men that haue authority, though abusing the same, they haue a true and lawfull Ministery till they be put from it by Superior authority, else were al Ministration of Sacraments & other sacred things voyd, performed by such as simoniacally or by siniſter meanes get into these holy places. The Fourth are such as neither are sent of God, nor of men, nor by men, but of them-selues, of whome our Sauiour Christ saith, [a] *all that came before me, were theeues and robbers*; and of whome almighty GOD pronounceth, and saith by the Prophet *Ieremy*, [d] *I sent them not, and they ranne: I spake not to them, and they Prophecied.*

[a] Iohn. 10. 8.

[d] Ierem. 23. 21.

This euill is carefully to be declined, and therefore Christ would not suffer the Diuells to speake that which was true, least vnder the pretence of truth, error might creepe in; seeing he that speaketh of him-selfe, cannot but speake lies. These are the Foure sortes of them that serue in the worke of the Ministery; whereof the last haue no calling at all, and all they do is voyd: the Third haue a lawfull commission, though they obtained it by siniſter meanes; and bee vnworthy of it, so that they could not bee put into it, without the faulte of the ordayners. The First had a lawfull but extraordinary calling, needefull onely in those first beginnings of Christianity, and not longer to continue. The Second haue that calling which is Ordinary and to continue, whereof wee are now to speake.

In this calling there are three things implied: Election, Ordination, and Assignation to some particular Church, whereof men elected and ordayned are appoynted to take charge. In ancient times there was no ordination at large, without particular Assignation, and *sine titulo*, allowed, as it appeareth by the Councell of [a] *Chalcedon*, forbidding any such thing to be done, and voyding any such Act if it should be don, and therefore in those times the very electing and ordayning, was an assigning of the elected & ordayned to the place of Charge they were to take, and a giueing of them the power of iurisdiction as well as of order. But this Canon in latter times grew out of vse: whence ensued great cōfusions in the state of the Church, as [f] *Duarenus* rightly noteth: yet are we not of opinion, that all such ordinations are voyde in the nature of the thing; whatsoeuer the

[a] Canone. 9.

[f] *De Sacris Eccles. minist. & Benef. lib. 1. cap. 16.*

the Ancients pronounced of them according to the ſtrictneſſe of the Canons. For ſeeing Ordination, which is the ſanctifying of men to ỹ worke of the holy Miniſtery, is a different thing in nature from the placing of them, where they ſhall doe that holy worke; and a man once ordayned needeth not any new Ordination, when hee is remoued from one Church to another, it is euident that in the nature of the thinges, Ordination doth not ſo depend on the title and place of Charge the Ordayned entereth into, as that Ordinations at large ſhould bee voyd; yet are they not to bee permitted, neyther are they in our Church. For the Ordinations of Miniſters in Colledges in our Vniuerſities, are not within the compaſſe of thoſe prohibited Ordinations at large, and *ſine titulo*: and none other, by the order of our Church, may bee Ordayned, vnleſſe he bee certainly prouided of ſome definite place of Charge and Imployment. And as the Auncient were thus preciſe in admitting none into the holy Miniſtery, but with Aſſignation of the particular place of his imployment, ſo they tooke as ſtrict order, that men once placed ſhould not ſodainly be remoued and tranſlated to any other Church or charge.

In the Councell of g *Sardica*, *Hoſius* the Preſident of that Councell ſayd; *That ſame ill cuſtome and pernitious corruption is wholy to bee plucked vppe by the rootes, that it may not bee lawfull for a Biſhoppe to paſſe from his Citty to any other Citty. For the cauſe why they doe ſo, is knowne to all, ſeeing none is found to paſſe from a greater citty to a leſſer: whence it appeareth, that they are inflamed with ardent deſires of couetonſneſſe, and that they ſerue their owne ambitious deſignes, that they may exerciſe dominion, and grow great. If therfore it ſeeme good to you all, that ſuch an euill as this is, may bee more ſeuerely puniſhed, let him that is ſuch a one, bee reiected from all Communion, euen ſuch as Lay-men inioy.* To whome all the Biſhoppes anſwered; *it pleaſeth vs well.* To whome *Hoſius* replyed; *Though any ſhall bee found ſo ill aduiſed, as haply in excuſe of him-ſelfe to affirme; that hee receiued letters from the people, to draw him from his owne Citty to another; yet I thinke, ſeeing it is manyfeſt, that ſome fewe not ſincere in the Faith, might bee corrupted by reward, and procured to deſire his tranſlation, all ſuch fraudes ſhould altogether bee condemned: So that ſuch a one ſhould not bee admitted, ſo much as to the Communion which Lay-men inioy, no not in the end: which thing if it ſeeme good vnto you al, confirme and ſettle it by your Decree.* And the Synode anſwered, *it pleaſeth vs well*; g. *Canone.* 2.

Leo, to the ſame purpoſe writeth thus; h *If any Biſhoppe, deſpiſing the meaneneſſe of his owne Citty, ſhal ſeeke to gette the adminiſtration and gouernment, of ſome more noted, and better reſpected place, and ſhall by any meanes tranſlate and remoue himſelfe to a greater People, and more large and ample Charge, let him bee driuen from that other* h *Leo. Epiſt.* 84. *cap.* 8.

chayre which hee sought, and let him bee depriued also of his owne. So that hee bee neyther suffered to rule ouer them, whome, out of a couetous desire, hee would haue subiected to him-selfe, nor ouer them, whome in pride hee contemned and scorned. And the like is found in other: but as [i] *Theodoret* sheweth, it was ambition, and such other like euills, that these Holy Fathers sought to stoppe and preuent, rather then generally to condemne all Translation of Bishoppes from one Church and Citty to another. For these changes may some-times bring so great and euident vtility, that they are not to bee disliked. And therefore the same [k] *Theodoret* sheweth, that not-withstanding this Canon, *Gregory Nazianzen*, was remoued from his Church, and constituted Bishoppe of *Constantinople*. And [l] *Socrates* reporteth, that *Proclus* was remoued thether from *Cyzicum*.

[i] Lib. 5. cap. 8.

[k] Ibidem.

[l] Lib. 7. cap. 39.

Wherefore, passing by these matters as cleare and resolued of, Let vs proceed to see, first, to whome it pertayneth to Elect: Secondly, to whome it belongeth to Ordayne such as are duly elected and chosen to the worke of the Ministery.

Touching Election, [m] wee thinke, that each Church and People, that haue not by lawe, custome, or consent, restrayned them-selues, stand free by Gods law to admitte, maintaine and obey no man, as their Pastor, without their liking: and that the peoples election by them-selues or their rulers, dependeth on the first principles of humane fellowshipps and assemblies: for which cause, though Bishoppes by Gods Lawe haue power to examine and ordayne, before any may be placed to take charge of soules; yet haue they no power to impose a Pastor on any Church against their wils, nor to force them to yeeld obedience & maintainance to any, without their liking. And therfore anciently (as [n] *Leo* sheweth) the custome was that he should be chosen of al, that was to be ouer al, that the wishes and desires of the Cittizens should be expected; the Testimonies of the people should be sought, the will and liking of the noble and honourable should bee knowne, and the Cleargy should choose. All which thinges are wont to bee obserued and kept in ordinations, by them that know the rules of the Fathers, that the rule of the Apostle may bee followed in all thinges, who prescribeth, that *hee who is to bee ouer the Church*, should not onely haue *the alowance of the faithfull*, giuing witnesse vnto him, but the *testimony also of them that are without*, and that no occasion of any scandall may bee left, while hee, who is to bee the Doctor of peace, is ordayned in peace and concord, pleasing vnto GOD, with the agreeing and consenting desires of all. And in the same Epistle hee addeth: *Teneatur subscriptio Clericorum, honoratorum testimonium, ordinis consensus et Plebis*: That is, Let the subscription of the Cleargy be had, the testimony of the honourable, and the consent of the order and people.

[m] D. Bilson. perpet. gouernment. cap. 15. pag. 339.

[n] Epist. 89.

[o] Lib. 1. Epist. 4.

[o] *Cyprian* to the same purpose writeth thus: *The people beeing obedien-*

dient to the precepts of the Lord, and fearing God, ought to seperate themselues from a sinfull and wicked Ruler, and not intermingle them-selues, or to haue any thing to doe with the sacrifices of a sacrilegious Priest: especially seeing they haue power eyther to chuse such Priestes as are worthy, or to refuse such as are vnworthy. And a little after in the same Epistle, hee hath these wordes: *For which cause it is diligently to bee obserued and kept, as from the tradition of GOD, and the Apostles, (which thing also is obserued and kept with vs, and almost throughout all Prouinces) that for the due performance of the worke of Ordination, when any Ruler and Gouernour is to bee ordayned, the Bishoppes of the same Prouince, which are nearest, should come together vnto that people, ouer whome hee is to bee sette; and that the Bishoppe should bee chosen in the presence of the people, which most fully and perfectly knoweth the life of euery one, and hath perceiued by their conuersation what kinde of works they are wont to do. Which thing also we see to haue beene done in the Ordination of* Sabinus *our Colleague, to witte, that vppon the voyces of the whole Brotherhood, and the iudgement of the Bishoppes, which came together, and which sent their letters expressing their opinion of him, the Episcopall dignity was conferred vppon him, and with the imposition of handes hee was ordayned into the voyd roome of* Basilides.

That in the time of *Chrysostome*, the people had interest in chusing their Pastors, it is euident out of his booke of [p] Priest-hood. The Fathers of the *Nicene* Councell (as wee finde in [q] *Theodoret*) write to the Church of *Alexandria*, and to the beloued bretheren of *Ægypt*, *Lybia* and *Pentapolis* in this sort: *If haply any Bishoppe of the Church do fall asleepe, let it bee lawfull for such of the sect of* Meletius, *as haue beene not long since restored to the Communion of the Church, to succeed into the place of him that is dead, if so be that they shall seeme to bee worthy, and the people shal chuse them: yet so not-withstanding, that the voyce and consent of the Bishop of the Church of* Alexandria *bee added to seale and confirme the same.* And touching the election of *Nectarius*, the Bishoppes of the first Councell of *Constantinople* write thus: [r] *Wee haue ordayned the most reuerend and beloued of God* Nectarius *Bishop, before the whole Councell, with al consent and agreement, in the presence of* Theodosius *the Emperor, beloued of God, and of the whole Cleargy, the whole Citty likewise with vnanimous consent agreeing there-vnto.* And *Leo* prouideth and taketh order what shal be done, when they that should elect, agree not. His words are these: [s] *When yee go about the election of the chiefe Priest or Bishop, let him be aduanced before al, vpon whome the consenting desires of the Cleargy and People concurre with one accord: & if their voyces be diuided betwixt twaine, let him be preferred before the other in the iudgement of the* Metropolitane, *which hath more voyces & merits; but let none be ordayned against their wils and petitions, least the people despise or hate the Bishop which they neuer affected, and lesse care for religion when their desires are not satisfied.*

[p] *Lib. 3.*
[q] *Lib. 1. cap. 8.*
[r] *Theodoret. lib 5. cap. 9.*
[s] *Leo Epist. 84. cap. 5.*

And *Gregory* the Biſhoppe of *Rome* long after, allowing the election by the people, hath theſe wordes: [t] *If it bee true that the Biſhoppe of Salona bee dead, haſten to admoniſh the Cleargy and people of that Citty, to chooſe a Biſhoppe with one conſent that may bee ordayned for them.* And to *Magnus*, about the election of the Biſhoppe of *Millaine*, hee ſaith: [u] *Warne the Cleargy and people, that they diſſent not in chuſing their Prieſt; but that with one accord they elect ſome one, that may be conſecrated their Biſhoppe.*

Gregor. li. 2. Epiſt. 22.

[u] *Lib. 2. Epiſt. 26.*

By all which teſtimonies we ſee, what intereſt anciently the people had in the choyce of their Biſhoppes, and how carefull good Biſhoppes were that they ſhould haue none thruſt vppon them againſt their wills; that they ſhould proceed to election with one accord if it might bee; or otherwiſe, that ſuch ſhould bee ordayned as were deſired by the greater part, and that all thinges might bee done peaceably and without tumult.

But how much in time, they abuſed this their power, it is too euident. For [x] *Nazianzen* reporting the choyce of *Euſebius* to be Biſhop of *Cæſarea*, ſaith, the Citty of *Cæſarea* was in a tumult, and the people diuided about the choyce of their Biſhoppe: and the ſedition was ſharpe, & hardly to be appeaſed; and that, as men diſtracted in many minds, ſome propoſing one, and ſome another, as is often ſeene in ſuch caſes, at length the whole people agreeing on one of good calling among them, commended for his life, but not yet baptized, tooke him againſt his will, and with the helpe of a band of ſoldiers, that was then come to the Citty, placed him in the Biſhops chayre, and offered him to the Biſhops preſent, and mixing threates with perſwaſions, required to haue him ordayned and pronounced their Biſhoppe.

[x] *In Epitaphio Patris.*

Likewiſe, at *Antioch* (as [y] *Euſebius* reporteth) there was raiſed a grieuous ſedition about the depoſing of *Euſtathius*: and after, when another was to be choſen, the flame thereof ſo increaſed, that it was like to haue conſumed the whole Citty. For the people being diuided into two parts, the Magiſtrates of the Citty ſupported the ſides, and bandes of ſoldiers were muſtered as againſt an enemy: and the matter had vndoubtedly bin tryed by the ſword, if God, and the feare of the Emperour writing to them, had not aſſwaged the rage of the multitude. But how-ſoeuer, ſuch was the diſſention, that eight whole yeares the place was without a Biſhop. [z] When *Dioſcorus* Biſhop of *Alexandria* was depoſed by the Counſel of *Chalcedon*, and *Proterius* ſette in his place, a mighty and intollerable ſedition grew among the people for it: ſome affecting *Dioſcorus*, & ſome cleauing to *Proterius*. The people oppoſed them-ſelues againſt the Magiſtrates, & when they thought with ſtrong hand to ſuppres the vprore, the multitude with ſtones, beat the ſoldiers into the church beſieged thē in it, & deſtroyed a number of them with fire: and, vpon the death of *Martian* the Emperor, they choſe a new Biſhop, and brought him into the Church

[y] *Li. 1. cap. 24.*

[z] *Euagrius. li. 2. cap. 5, & 8.*

on Easter day. They slew *Proterius*, and sixe other with him in the Temple, and drew his body wounded and mangled along through the quarters of the Citie. [a] The like dissention grew in the Church of *Millaine* after the death of *Auxentius* the *Arrian* Bishop; but the issue was very happy: For *Ambrose*, at that time a secular Magistrate, seeing the division to bee very dangerous, and threatning the ouer-throw of the state of the Citty, entred into the Church, and made an excellent Oration, perswading them to peace; where-with all sides were so well pleased, that with one consent, they desired to haue *Ambrose* for their Bishop, who was not yet baptized: and the Emperour was carefull to satisfie their desire, and commanded that it should bee as they had desired. [b] In the Church of *Rome*, after *Liberius*, *Damasus* succeeded in the Episcopall office: whome *Vrsinus*, a certaine Deacon of that Church, not enduring to bee preferred before him, waxed so mad, that hauing perswaded and drawne vnto him a certaine ignorant and rude Bishop, and gathered together a company of turbulent and seditious persons in the Church of *Sicinius*, hee procured him-selfe to bee made Bishop against all order, law, and ancient custome. From which fact proceeded so great sedition, nay so great warres (some of the people defending *Damasus* as lawfull Bishop, and some *Vrsinus*) that the places of prayer were filled with the blood of men. The people in this sort abusing their authority and power, were restrained by the decrees of Councels, and by the lawes of Princes, and their right and power to choose their Pastors, many wayes limitted and straitned, till in the end it was wholy taken from them. For first, the Councell of [c] *Laodicea* forbad, that elections of such as were to serue in the holy Ministery of the Church, and execute the Priests office, should be left to the multitudes. But that Councell was but particular, and could prescribe no lawes to the whole world: and therefore after this, the people swayed things very much still: and [d] *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*, after this time, charged the Bishops to thrust none vpon the people with-out their consent.

[a] *Ruffinus lib. 2. cap. 11.*

[b] *Ibid. cap. 10.*

[c] *Canone. 13.*

[d] *Vbi supra.*

And euen in the *Romaine* Church the election of the people continued a long time after this decree of the Councell of *Laodicea*. For Pope *Nicholas* the second, in the Councell of *Laterane*, in the yeare of our Lord 1059. with the consent of the whole Synode, decreeth on this sorte: [e] *Instructed and guided by the authority of our predecessors, and other holy Fathers, wee decree and determine, that when the Bishop of this Vniuersall Church of Rome dyeth; first of all the Cardinall Bishops shall most diligently consult together about the election of a new, and soone after they shall take vnto them the Cardinall Cleargie-men, and so the rest of the Cleargie and people shall come to giue consent to the new election. And because the Sea Apostolicke is preferred before all the Churches in the world, and therefore can haue no Metropolitane ouer or aboue it, the Cardinall Bishops doubtlesse*

[e] *Decreti pars 1. Dist. 23. ca. 1.*

supply

supply the place of the Metropolitane, and are to promote and lift vp the new elected Bishop to the top of Apostolicke height. Yea the presence and testimony of Lay-men was not excluded in such elections a long time after: for [e] *Gregory* the seauenth was elected by the Cardinals of the Church of *Rome*, Clearkes, Acolythes, Subdeacons and Presbyters, many Bishops, Abbots and others, both of the Clergie and Laity being present. But Christian Princes, Kings and Emperours, being chiefe among those of the Laity, and so hauing a soueraigne consent among and ouer the rest, in such elections as pertained vnto them by the right of humaine fellowship and gouernment, interposed them-selues in these businesses, and sundry wayes abridged that liberty, that the people in some places tooke vnto them. [f] *Zozomen* noteth, that after the death of *Nectarius*, Bishop of *Constantinople*, the Cleargie and people resolued to haue *Chrysostome* a Presbyter of *Antioch*, a man famously renowned through-out all the Empire, to bee their Bishop. Which their resolution the Emperour confirmed by his assent, and sent and fet him, and called a Councell to make his election more authenticall. Likewise [h] after the death of *Sicinius*, though some would haue had *Philip*, others *Proclus* Presbyters of that Church to succeed, yet the Emperour by the perswasion of certaine vaine men, called a stranger thither, to wit, *Nestorius*, who afterward prooued an Archhereticke.

[e] *Platina in vita Greg. 7.*

[f] *Lib. 8. cap. 2.*

[h] *Socrates. lib. 7. cap. 29.*

[i] After the death of *Maximianus*, successor to *Nestorius*, the Emperour tooke order with-out delay that *Proclus* might be placed in the Bishops chaire by the Bishops present, before the body of *Maximianus* was buried, least any variance and quarrelling might ensue. Neither did the Emperours medle lesse with the election of the Bishop of *Rome*, then of *Constantinople*.

[i] *Idem. lib. 7. cap. 39.*

For (as [k] *Onuphrius* rightly obserueth) after the *Gothes* were driuen out of *Italy* by *Narses*, the Lieutenant of the Emperour, and the country subiected againe to the Empire of the East, in the dayes of *Iustinian* the Emperour there began a new custome in the election of the *Romaine* Bishops; which was, that so soone as the Bishop of that Sea should bee dead, the Cleargie and people (as formerly they had done) should presently choose another to succeed into his place; but that hee might not bee consecrated and ordained by the Bishopps, till his election were confirmed by the Emperour, and till hee gaue leaue to ordaine him by his Letters Patents. For which confirmation a certaine summe of money was paide, which it is likely *Iustinian* did, or by his authority caused *Vigilius* the Bishop of *Rome* to doe it, that the Emperour might be assured of the conditions of the newly elected Bishop, least a factious and busie man being chosen, hee might conspire with the barbarous people that then sought to encroch vpon the Empire, and so cause a reuolte of the City of *Rome* & the country of *Italy* from the Easterne Empire, the Bishop growing

[k] *Annot. in Platinam. in Pelagio. 2.*

growing great, and the Emperor being far off. Vpon which constitution it came to passe that the *Romains* chose for the most part such a one, as they thought would bee acceptable to the Emperor, and of whome hee might be perswaded, that hee would attempt nothing preiudiciall to the state of the Empire, the *Lombardes* about that time or presently after troubling *Italy*. This custome was continued till the time of *Benedict* the Second,[l] in whose time *Constantine* the Emperour, for the good opinion hee had of him, and loue hee bare to him, gaue commandement that the election of the Bishoppe of *Rome* being resolued on, the Bishoppes should presently proceed to the ordination of him, without expecting any confirmation from the Emperour. But the power of confirming the newly elected Bishoppe of *Rome* before hee might bee ordayned, or execute the Bishoppely office, was againe restored to *Charles* the great and his successors, Kings of *France* and Emperours of the West, in more ample sort then it had beene before by [m] *Adrian* the First; which being againe taken from his successors by [n] *Adrian* the Third, was restored to *Otho* the First, King of the *Germanes*, and Emperour of the West, by *Leo* the Eighth.

From which time it continued till *Gregory* the Seauenth,[p] who though hee was glad to seeke the Emperours confirmation him-selfe, when hee first entred into the Popedome, yet after-wards hee disclaymed it as vnlawfull: so condemning many of his Predecessors, that had allowed and confirmed this part of Imperiall power, vnder great paines and curses to fall vpon such as should euer goe about to violate the same. After whose times other Popes reserued the whole power of electing the *Romane* Bishoppe to the Cardinalls alone, as we see the manner is vnto this day.

Thus writeth *Onuphrius*, professing that hee carefully looked ouer all the ancient monuments of the *Romane* Church, to find out the certainty of these things. Neither neede we to doubt of the truth of that hee writeth, yet for farther proofe, least any man should doubt, I will produce the reports of Historians, and the Acts of Councells to confirme that hee saith. *Platina* in the life of *Pelagius* the Second saith, nothing was done in the election of the *Romane* Bishoppe in those daies, without the Emperours consent and confirmation: and sheweth that the reason why *Pelagius* was created Bishoppe without the command of the Emperour, was, for that they could send no messenger to him, the Citty being besieged. And touching *Gregory* the First, [q] hee reporteth, that when hee was chosen Bishoppe of *Rome*, knowing the Emperours consent necessarily to bee required in the election and constitution of the Bishoppe, vnwilling to possesse that place and roome, hee sent vnto him, earnestly intreating him to make voyde the election of the Cleargy, and people: which his suite the Emperour was so farre from graunting, that

l *Platina in Benedicto.2.*

m *Decreti.part. 1. Dist. 63. cap. 22.*

n *Platina in Adriano.3.*

o *Decreti.part. 1. Dist. 63. cap. 23.*

p *See before cap. 46.*

q *In vita. Gregory. 1.*

that hee ſent to confirme the Election, and to enforce him to take the Paſtorall charge vpon him, in that moſt dangerous and troubleſome time. Whereby wee ſee how farre the Emperours intermedled in the election and conſtitution of the *Romaine* Biſhoppes in thoſe daies. It is true indeed, that the ſame *Platina* reporteth, that [r] *Conſtantine* admiring the ſanctity and vertue of *Benedict* the ſecond, ſent vnto him a ſanction, that euer after all men ſhould preſently take him for Biſhoppe (without expecting the concurrence of the authority of the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, or the Exarch of *Italy*) whomſoeuer the Cleargy, people, and armies of the *Romanes* ſhould chuſe. Not-with-ſtanding this freedome and liberty continued not long: for (as wee may read in the [s] *Decrees*) *Charles* the great, and *Adrian* the firſt held a Synod in the Church of Saint *Sauiour* in *Rome*, wherein met 153. Biſhoppes, religious men and Abbottes, in which Synod *Adrian* with the conſent of the Biſhoppes there aſſembled, gaue vnto *Charles* power to chooſe the Biſhoppe of *Rome* and to order the Apoſtolicall ſea, togethes with the dignity of *Patricius*, or Father of the common-wealth; and beſides decreed, that all Arch-biſhoppes and Biſhoppes in the Prouinces abroade, ſhould ſeeke inueſtiture of him, and that no man ſhould bee eſteemed a Biſhoppe, or bee conſecrated, till he were allowed and commended by the King. This Decree the Councell publiſhed, anathematizing all that ſhould violate it, and confiſcating their goods; yet did [t] *Adrian* the third (as *Platina* reporteth) take ſo good heart vnto him, that whereas *Nicholas* the firſt, did but attempt ſuch a thing rather then performe it, he in the very beginning of his Papal dignity made a Decree, that without expecting the Emperours conſent or ratification, the election of the Cleargy, Senate and People ſhould bee good. But *Leo* the Eighth in a Synod gathered together in the Church of Saint *Sauiour* in *Rome*, following the example of *Adrian* the firſt, with the conſent of the whole Synod reſtored vnto the Emperor that power and authority, which *Adrian* the firſt had yeelded vnto him, and *Adrian* the Third had ſought to depriue him of. The words of that Councell are theſe [u] *I Leo Biſhoppe, and ſeruant of the ſeruants of God, with the whole Cleargy and people of* Rome *do conſtitute, confirme, and ſtrengthen, and by our Apoſtolicall authority graunt and giue to our Lord* Otho *the firſt King of Germaines, and to his ſucceſſors in this Kingdome of Italy for euer, power to chuſe a ſucceſſor, and to order the Biſhop of this higheſt Sea Apoſtolike, as alſo Arch-biſhoppes and Biſhoppes, that they may receiue Inueſtiture from him, and conſecration whence they ought to haue it, thoſe onely excepted which the Emperour him-ſelfe hath graunted to the Popes and Arch-biſhoppes; and that no man hereafter, of what dignity or religious profeſſion ſoeuer, ſhall haue power to chuſe a Father of the Common-wealth or a chiefe Biſhop of the higheſt Sea Apoſtolicke, or to ordaine any Biſhoppe what-ſo-euer, without the conſent of the Emperour firſt had, which conſent & confirmation notwithſtanding*

ſhal

[r] *In Vita. Benedicti. 2.*

[s] *Part. 1. diſt. 63. cap. 22.*

[t] *Platina in Adriano 3.*

[u] *Diſt. 63. c. 23*

shall bee had without money. So that if any Bishop shall bee chosen by the Clergie and people, hee shall not bee consecrated vnlesse hee bee commended and inuested by the fore-named King. And if any man shall attempt to do any thing against this rule and Apostolicall authority, Wee decree, that hee shall bee subiect to excommunication, and that if hee repent not, hee shall bee perpetually banished, or bee subiect to the last, most grieuous, deadly and capitall punishments. Hence it came that when any Bishop was dead, they sent his staffe and ring to the Emperour: and hee to whom the Emperour was pleased to deliuer the same, after a solemne fashion and manner, was thereby designed and constituted Bishop of the voyde place. Thus wee see how authentically, vnder great paines and curses, the Pope and Councell yeeld that right to the Emperour, subiecting all that euer should go about to disanull their Decree, to the great curse, perpetuall banishment, and grieuous punishmens. Yet Pope *Hildebrand*, who, as if hee had been a fire-brand of hell, set all the world in a Combustion, [x] disanulled this lawe as impious and wicked; and *Victor*, *Vrbanus*, and *Paschalis* succeeding him were of the same minde.

[x] *Naucler. vol. 2 Generat. 36.*

By reason whereof there grew a great dissention betweene the Popes and Emperours; *Henry* the fourth, and after him *Henry* the fifth, challenging not onely the right of confirming the election of the Popes, but power also to conferre Bishoprickes and Abbayes by Inuestiture of staffe and ring, as the Popes, *Adrian* and *Leo* had yeelded and granted to *Charles* and his successors; which thing also had been enioyed by the Emperour for the space of three hundred yeares: and the Popes on the other side thinking it vnlawfull for the Emperours, in this sort, to bestow either Bishoprick or Abbay, & forbidding them to to do, vnder paine of the great curse. But *Henry* the fifth forced Pope *Paschall* to confirme vnto him the ancient right againe, and to accurse all such as should dislike, resist, or seeke to disanull it: which yet not long after hee reuersed againe in another Councell: and in the [y] dayes of *Calixtus*, the Emperour resigned his right, and the Pope allowed, that within his Kingdome of *Germany*, elections should be made in his presence, and that with the aduice of the Metropolitane and Bishops of the Prouince hee might assist & strengthen the better part, and that the elected should receiue from him all things belonging to the King by the reaching forth of his Scepter. [z] *Mathew Paris* saith; the contention betweene Pope *Paschall* and *Henry* the Emperour about the Inuestiture of Bishops & Abbots, which the Emperours had enioyed three hundred yeares in the times of three score Popes was so ended, that both Bishops and Abbots should first sweare Canonicall obedience to their Ecclesiasticall superiours, and be consecrated, and then receiue Institution from the Emperour by rod and ring. Thus we see what right and interest ancient Emperors challenged to themselues in the election of the Bishop of *Rome*, and in conferring other dignities of the Church, and that

[y] *Ibidem. Gener. 38.*

[z] *In Henrico 5. pag. 62.*

the

the latter Popes condemned that as euill and wicked which their Predecessors not onely allowed, but prescribed vnder great and grieuous paines and curses. Where-vpon [a] *Auentinus*, noteth, that among the Popes, *Eadem facta modo superstitionis, modo pietatis, modo Christi, modo Antichristi, modo iustitiæ, modo tyrannidis nomine accipiuntur*; that is, that the same facts, deeds and things, are at one time blotted with the marke of superstition, and at another time set out with the glorious title of Piety: at one time attributed to Christ, at another time to Antichrist; at one time iudged iust & righteous, and at another time tyrannicall and vniust. [b] *Genebrard*, (acknowledging that there haue beene many vile monsters that haue gotten into *Peters* chayre, and that there were fiftie Popes rather Apostaticall and Apostaticall, then Apostolicall) layeth the blame vpon the *Romaine* Emperours, as if they had placed those monsters in *Peters* Chayre. It is well hee confesseth that such beasts haue entred into the Church of *Rome*, but if hee did not, wee would easily proue the same. For (to omit *Hildebrand*, whom some called a monster, and an enemy to man-kinde, who caused more Christian bloud to be shed, and more grieuous confusions to rent and shake in sunder the Christian world, then any heretickes or persecutors had euer done before, so that hee was forced to confesse at his death to God, to holy Church, and blessed *Peter*, that hee had grieuously offended in his Pastorall office; and *Ioane* the Whore, because (as [c] *Onuphrius* thinketh) shee was not Pope but the harlot of *Iohn* the twelfth) the Stories mention such vile monsters sitting in that chaire, that [d] *Benedict* the fourth is highly commended, for that though hee did nothing memorable, yet hee liued an honest and a good life. But that the Emperours were the cause of the placing of these Monsters (as *Genebrard* would make vs beleeue) it may not bee yeelded. For betweene the time of *Adrian* the third (who tooke the power of confirming Popes from the Emperours) and the raigne of *Otho* the first, to whom it was restored by Pope *Leo*: there entred *Formosus*, *Bonifacius*, *Stephen*, *Romanus*, *Theodorus*, *Iohn* the ninth, *Christopher*, and *Sergius*, all men of ill note: and *Iohn* the twelfth, then whome the earth did neuer beare a more prodigious and vile monster. [e] This wretch, *Otho*, at the earnest suite of the *Romaines*, caused to be deposed by a Councell of Bishops, and *Leo* to bee chosen. Where-vpon the power of choosing the Pope, and ordering the sea Apostolicke, was againe by consent of *Leo* the Pope, and the people and Cleargie of *Rome*, giuen and confirmed to him and his successors for euer, in sort before expressed. For (as [f] *Sigonius* saith) *Leo* rightly considered, that after the time of *Adrian* the third, the ambition of the *Romaines* filled the Church with beasts, disordered these elections, and set all in a tumult; and therefore thought no meanes so fit to reforme these disorders, to represse these insolencies and preuent these mischiefes, as to put the bridle into the Emperours hands againe. Yet not long

[a] *Annal. lib. 4. pag. 322.*

[b] *Chronograph. lib. 4. seculo. 10.*

[c] *Annot. in Platinam in Ioanne 8.*

[d] *Lib. Cron. in Benedicto. 4.*

[e] *Otho Frisingens. Chron. lib. 6. cap. 23.*

[f] *De regno Ital. lib. 7.*

ding after, the *Romaines* casting off the yoake, and breaking the bands in sunder, put in *Boniface* the seauenth, *Benedict* the ninth, and *Syluester*, who sold the Popedome to *Gregory* the sixt, all which Popes were so intollerably wicked, that [g] *Platina* calleth them *teterrima monstra*, that is, most vile, hideous and ougly monsters. And [h] *Henry* the second called a Councell, and deposed *Gregory* the last of them, and placed *Twidager* a *Germaine* in his place, who was afterwards named *Clement*, who againe restored the right of choosing the Pope to him and his successors; for that (as *Sigonius* [i] noteth) after the law prescribing and requiring the Emperours consent to bee had in such elections was taken away, the state of the Church was newly put in great danger. So that *Henry* the second was forced to come into *Italy*, to set things in order. And therefore it is more then ordinary impudency in [k] *Genebrard*, to impute all the confusions in the elections of the *Romaine* Bishops to the Emperours, who were not the causes of them, but often-times quide them by their Princely power. Neither is it lesse strange blabber and other dare condemne that authority in the Emperours as vnlawfull, which had continued from the time of *Iustinian* to *Benedict*, and was againe confirmed by *Adrian*, *Leo*, and other Popes, with their Councels of Bishops; and by vertue whereof Saint *Gregory* and other possessed the Episcopall chayre, who are vniustly censured by *Genebrard*, as entring by the Posterne gate, in this respect. Neither haue the Popes beene better or the election freer from faction, since the Emperours were wholy and finally excluded, then they were before. For what shall we say of *Bonifacius* the Eighth, of whome it is said, [l] that hee entred like a Foxe, and died like a Dog, that hee coosened poore *Celestinus* his predecessor, and by false practises wonne him to resigne the Popedome to him, and resting not contented here-with, tooke vpon him to dispose of all the Kingdomes of the world at his pleasure? of [m] *Iohn* the three and twentith, a vile man, and a Diuell incarnate? and *Alexander* the sixt, of whome so many horrible things are reported by [n] *Onuphrius*, [o] *Volaterran* and others? And touching factions and schismes, whereas there haue beene thirty of them in the Church of *Rome*, neuer any endured so long as the last, which was since the Emperours were wholy excluded from intermedling with Papall elections. For it continued fortie yeares, and could neuer bee ended but by the helpe of *Sigismund* the Emperour in the Councell of *Constance*.

Wherefore seeing so many Councels and Popes yeelded the power of electing, or at least of allowing and confirming the Popes to the Emperours, and seeing so good effects followed of it, and so ill of the contrarie, there is no reason why our Aduersaries should dislike it. For seeing the people anciently had their consent in these affaires, [p] *Fredericke* the Emperour had reason when hee sayde, that him-selfe as King and ruler of the people, ought to bee cheife

[g] *Platina in Gregorio.6.*
[h] *Otho Frising. Chron.lib.6. cap.31.*
[i] *De regno Ital.lib.8.*
[k] *Vbi supra.*
[l] *Platina in Bonifacio.8. & VValsingham in Edwardo.3.*
[m] *Vide acta Concilij Constantiensis Sess. 11. act.6. & Sess.12.*
[n] *In Alexandro 3.*
[o] *Anthropologie lib.22.*
[p] *Otho Frisingens. de gestis Frederic.1. lib.1. cap.1.*

chiefe in choosing his owne Bishop. Neither had the Emperours onely this right in disposing of the Bishopricke of *Rome* and other dignities Ecclesiasticall, but other Christian Kings likewise had a principall stroake in the appointing of Bishops. For (as *Nauclere* noteth) the *French* Kings haue had the rights of Inuestitures euer since the time of *Adrian* the first: and [r] *Duarenus* sheweth, that howsoeuer *Ludouicus* renounced the right of choosing the Bishop of *Rome*, yet hee held still the right of Inuestiture of other Bishops, into the place whereof came afterwards, that right which the King vseth, when in the vacancie of a Bishopricke hee giueth power to choose, and some other royalties which the Kings of *France* still retaine.

q Vol. 2. gener. 38.

r Defens. pro libertate Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ. cap. 43.

It appeareth by the [s] twelfth Councell of *Toledo*, that the Kings had a principall stroake in elections in the Churches of Spaine: And touching *England*, [t] *Mathew Paris* testifieth, that *Henry* the first by *William of Warraste* his agent, protested to the Pope, hee would rather loose his kingdome then the right of Inuestitures; and added threatning words to the same protestation. Neither did he onely make verball protestations, but hee really practised that hee spake, and gaue the Archbishopricke of *Canterbury* to *Rodolphe* Bishop of *London*, inuesting him by Pastorall staffe and ring. *Articuli cleri* prescribe, that elections shall bee free from force, feare, or intreaty of Secular powers: yet so, as that the Kings license bee first asked, and after the election done, his royall assent and confirmation bee added to make it good. Where-upon the Statute of prouisors of Benefices, made at *Westminster* the fiue and twentith of *Edward* the third, hath these words: *Our Soueraigne Lord the King and his heyres shall haue and enioy for the time, the collations to the Archbishoprickes and other dignities electiue, which bee of his aduowry, such as his progenitours had, before free election was granted: such that the first elections were granted by the Kings progenitours, vpon a certaine forme and condition, as namely to demand license of the King to choose, and after choice made, to haue his royall assent. Which condition beeing not kept, the thing ought by reason to returne to his first nature.*

s Canone. 6.

t In Henrico. 1. pag. 56.

So that wee see, that at first the Cleargie and people were to choose their Bishops and Ministers; yet so, that Princes by their right were to moderate things, and nothing was to be done without them. But when they endowed Churches with ample reuenewes and possessions, and disburdened the people of the charge of maintaining their Pastors, they had now a further reason to swaye things then before. And thence it is, that the Statute aboue mentioned saith, the Kings gaue power of free elections, yet vpon condition of seeking their license and confirmation, as hauing the right of nomination in themselues, in that they were Founders. Likewise touching Presbyters, the ancient [u] Canon of the Councell of *Carthage*, (which was, that Bishops should not ordaine Clearkes without

u Concil. Carthag. 4. Canone. 22.

the

the consent of their Cleargie, and that also they should haue the assent and testimony of the Cittizens) held while the Cleargie liued together vpon the common contributions and diuident, but when not onely titles were deuided and distinguished, and men placed in rurall Churches abroad; but seuerall allowance made for the maintenance of such as should attend the seruice of God by the Lords of those country townes, out of their owne lands, and the lands of their tennants, they that thus carefully prouided for the Church, were much respected. And it was thought fitte they should haue great interest in the chooſing and nominating of Clearkes in such places. [x] *Iustinian* the Emperour, to reward such as had beene beneficiall in this sort to the Church, and to encourage others to doe the like, decreed. That if any man build a Church or house of prayer, and would haue Clearkes to bee placed there, if hee allowe maintenance for them, and name such as are worthy, they shall bee ordained vpon his nomination. But if hee shall chooſe such as bee prohibited by the Canons as vnworthy, the Bishop shall take care to promote some whome hee thinketh more worthy. And the Councell of [y] *Toledo* about the yeare of Christ sixe hundred fifty and fiue, made a Canon to the same effect. The words of the Councell are these: *Wee decree, that as long as the founders of Churches doe liue, they shall bee suffered to haue the chiefe and continuall care of the said Churches, and shall offer fit Rectors to the Bishop to bee ordained. And if the Bishop neglecting the founders shall presume to place any others, let him know that his admission shall bee voyde, and to his shame; but if such as they chooſe, bee prohibited by the Canons as vnworthy, then let the Bishop take care to promote some whome hee thinketh more worthy.*

[x] *Nouell. Constit. 123. cap. 18*

[y] *Concil. Toletan. 9. Canon.*

Whereby wee see, what respect was anciently had to such as founded Churches, and gaue lands and possessions to the same: yet were they not called Lords of such places, after such dedication to God, but Patrons onely: because they were to defend the rights thereof, and to protect such as there attended the seruice of God: and though they had right to nominate men to serue in these places, yet might they not iudge or punish them if they neglected their duties, but onely complaine of them to the Bishop or Magistrate: Neither [z] might they dispose of the possessions thus giuen to the Church, and dedicated to GOD, but if they fell into pouerty, they were to bee maintained out of the reuenues thereof. This power and right of nomination and presentation resting in Princes and other founders, can no way preiudice or hurt the state of the Church, if Bishops (to whom examination and ordination pertaineth) doe their duties in refusing to consecrate and ordaine such as the Canons prohibit; but very great confusions did follow the Popes intermedling in bestowing Church-liuings, and dignities, as wee shall soone finde, if wee looke into the practise of them in former times.

[z] *Duaren. de Sacris Eccles. minist. & Benef. lib. 5. cap. 4*

Chap. 55.

Of the Popes disordered intermedling with the elections of Bishoppes and other Ministers of the Church; their vsurpation, intrusion, and preiudicing the right and liberty of others.



He Popes in former times greatly preiudiced the right and liberty of other men, and hurt the estate of the Church of God three waies: first by giuing priuiledges to Fryers, (a people vnknowne to al Antiquity) to enter into the Churches and charges of other men, to do Ministeriall acts, and to get vnto themselues those things which of right should haue beene yeelded to other. Secondly, by Commendams; and Thirdly, by reseruations and prouisions. Touching the First, [a] *Mathew Paris* noteth that about the yeare of our Lord 1246, the Preaching Fryers obtayned great priuiledges from the Pope, to preach, to heare confessions, and to doe other ministeriall acts, euery where disgracing the ordinary Pastors, as ignorant and insufficient to gouerne the people of God.

[a] *In Henrico. 3 pag. 672.*

This new found order of Fryers, hee saith, seemed to many discreete and wise men to tend to the ouer-throw of the order of Pastors and Bishoppes setled by the blessed Apostles and holy Doctors; and that, not hauing beene aboue thirty yeares in *England* they were growne more out of order, then the Monkes of Saint *Austine* and *Benedictes* order were in many ages. For such was their impudent and shameleſſe boldnesse, that they came to the Synods of Bishoppes, Prelates, and Archdeacons, sitting as Presidents in the middest of their Deanes, Rectors, and other worthy men, requiring their letters of commission and priuiledge to bee read, and themselus to bee admitted and commended to preach in their Synods and Parish Churches as Embassadors and Angells of GOD with all honour. In this insolent sort went they vp and downe from place to place, and asked of euery man, (though of a religious profession) to whom hee confessed him-selfe; and if any one answered, that hee made his confession to his owne Priest, they asked againe, what Idiot that was? they told, him hee was neuer hearer of Diuinity, that hee neuer studied the Decrees, and that hee was not able to discusse any one controuersie; adding that such Priests were blind, and guides of the blind; and willed all men to come vnto them as to men knowing to discerne betweene Leprosy and Leprosy: to whom the hard and obscure things were knowne, and the secrets of God reuealed: where-vpon many (especially Noble-men and Noble-women) be

be-tooke them-ſelues to theſe, contemning their owne Paſtors: ſo that the ordinary Miniſters grew into great contempt, which grieued them not a little, nor without cauſe. But of theſe Fryerly people no man hath written better then *Armachanus*: [b] who excellently deciphereth their intollerable hipocriſie, iniuſtice, & couetouſneſſe, ioyned with all cunning and coozening practiſes and deuiſes. Their hypocriſie hee diſcouereth, in that though they pretended pouerty, yet they had houſes like the ſtately pallaces of Princes, Churches more coſtly then any Cathedrall Churches, more and richer Ornaments then all the Prelates of the world, more and better bookes then all the Doctors and great learned men of the world: cloyſters, and walking places ſo ſumptuous, ſtately and large, that men of armes might fight on horſe-backe and encounter one another with their ſpeares in them, and their apparell richer then the greateſt and moſt reuerend Prelates.

[b] *Armacanus Serm. 4. facti in vulgari apud crucem S. Pauli London. Anno.* 1356.

Their Iniuſtice hee ſheweth in their iniurious intruding into other mens Churches and charges, depriuing them of their authority, honour, and maintenance: and their couetouſneſſe, in that they ſought onely to doe thoſe things that might bring gaine; and inſinuated them-ſelues into the fauour and liking of the great ones of the world, little regarding thoſe of meane condition. Wherevpon hee warneth all men to take heed of them as wicked ſeducers, that enter into houſes, and lead captiue ſimple women laden with ſinnes, bringing in ſectes of perdition, and in Couetouſneſſe making merchandiſe of men by craftie and fained wordes of flattery. * This is that vnprofitable, and moſt dangerous and damnable generation of diſguiſed and masked hypocrites, which like Locuſts are come out of the bottomleſſe pitte, in theſe laſt ages of the world, eating vp and deuouring whatſoeuer is greene and flouriſhing vpon the earth.

* See to this purpoſe *Clemangis de corrupto eccleſiæ ſtatu. Gerſon contra Bullam Mendicantium*

The Monkes in their beginning were people of a farre other ſort: For they tooke not on them to Preach or Miniſter Sacraments, but were a kinde of voluntary Penitents, according to that of Saint *Hierome*; [c] *Monachus Plangentis, non Docentis officium habet*: that is, a Monke is a mourner, hee is no teacher. And againe: [d] *Alia Monachorum eſt cauſa, alia Clericorum. Clerici paſcant oues, Ego paſcor. Illi de Altari viuunt, mihi quaſi infructuoſæ arbori ſecuris ponitur ad radicem, ſi munus ad Altare non defero*: that is: The condition of Monkes and of Clearkes is very different. Clearkes feede the ſheepe, but I am fedde; they liue by the Altar, but if I bring not my gift to the Altar, the Axe is lifted vp againſt mee, and laide as to the roote of an vnfruitfull tree. And therefore (as [e] *Duarenus* noteth) in ancient times Monkes were meere Lay-men, neither were there any Prieſts or Clearkes found in Monaſteries; but they came all, as other of the people did, to the common Temples and Churches, to bee taught, to pray, and to receiue the Sacraments. Which thing hee ſaith, *Iuſtus an*

[c] *Hier. contra Vigilantium non procul a fine.*

[d] *Ad Heliodorum.*

[e] *De Sacris Eccleſiæ miniſt. & Benef. lib. 2. cap. 20.*

the Emperour plainly enough expresseth: and with him agreeth Bishop [f] *Lindan*, who saith, that in ancient time all Monkes were Lay-men, and that they were all excluded and shut out of the Quire: when they came into the Temple and house of God, some-times they did send for a Priest to doe Ministeriall actes among them, and in the end some of them were ordained Priests, that so they might haue the Ministration of Sacraments among them, and make as it were a certaine Church among them-selues, and so neither bee forced to goe to other Churches, nor to borrowe Priests from other.

[e] *Panoplia. lib.4.cap.75.*

And to the same purpose [g] *Hugo de sancto Victore* saith, that by speciall fauour and indulgence, the diuine orders of Ministery are granted to Monkes, that they might liue more quietly within them-selues; not that they should exercise Prelacie in the people of GOD; but that they might celebrate the communion of GOD, within their owne priuate retiring places, which yet they say in the beginning was not so. For Monkes and men dwelling in the wilderneſſe, are said to haue had Priests assigned vnto them. But (as [h] *Duarenus* noteth) hereby the passage was opened, and all Monkes began to be ordained Priests, (though they had no gouernment of the Church) that they might procure the more dignity to them-selues; the order and degree of Cleargie-men beeing more high and honourable then that of Monkes. Neither did they long containe them-selues within these bounds after they had attained to bee Priests; but gotte authority and iurisdiction ouer Churches abroad, eyther becauſe they were founded within their lands, or for that it pleased the Pope to take them from Bishops, and subiect them to these Monkes. At the first (as the same [i] *Duarenus* noteth) they liued apart, in certaine abiding places, which they had in the mountaines and deserts, whence they were called not onely Monkes, but *Heremites* and *Anchorites*, though at certaine houres and set times they mette. Afterwards they began to liue together, and the places where they liued were called *Cenobia* of the communion of life.

[g] *Erudition. Theol. de sacrã. fidei li.2. part. 3.cap.4.*

[h] *Vbi supra.*

[i] *Ibid. cap.21.*

And when certaine Ecclesiasticall persons remaining in Cities and places of resort, and teaching the people, tyed them-selues to like obseruations, though haply not altogether so strict, as these had done, they were called [k] *Canonici*, that is *Regulars*, rather then *Monachi*, Monkes, of which order Saint *Austine* is supposed to haue beene the Author.

[k] *Vide Cassandri consultat. De Canonicis.*

Afterwards, in processe of time, some other Cleargy-men liuing together, and tied to the obseruation of rules and Canons, but not so strict as these, nor so neere vnto Monkish profession, were called Secular Canons, and the other for distinctions sake Canons Regular. In these societies young men were trained vp, as likewise they were in all Cathedrall Churches,

Churches, till the founding of the Vniuersities, passing through all the *minor* orders, and performing for a space the duties belonging to them, that so they might bee fitted for greater imployments. [l] The Monkes had one among them, that commanded ouer all the rest, named *Cœnobiarcha*, *Archimandrita*, or *Abbas*; and for the better performance of his duty, tooke vnto him another, whose helpe hee might vse in the gouerning of those that were subiect to him, who was named a Prior. This Prior either assisted the Abbot in the gouernment of those Monkes, which liued within the bounds of the Monastery, and was called a Prior Claustrall; or those lesser Couents that were abroad, and yet subiect to the Abbot, and was named a Prior Conuentuall. By that hath beene said, wee see, that the profession of Monkes in the beginning was voluntary penitency, and a retired life, not medling with publicke affaires, either Ciuill or Ecclesiasticall, (as appeareth by the Decree of the Councell of [m] *Chalcedon*) that they were meere Lay-men, that they gloried not in the perfection of their estate, as they that call them-selues Religious in our time doe, but confessed, that men of action and employment, who conflicted with the manifold oppositions of the world, and declined not the battell, were more valiant souldiers of Christ in his spiritual war-fare, then themselues, who fearing their owne weakenesse did runne away.

[l] *Duarenus vbi supra. cap. 22.*

[m] *Canon. 4.*

They acknowledged them-selues inferiour to the whole Ecclesiasticall order, came to the common Prayers and Sacraments with the rest of the people, and paide their tithes, and yeelded all other duties, as well as the rest: howsoeuer in the end, they degenerated and grew out of kinde, putting themselues into the Ministery, intruding them-selues into the gouernment of the Church, spoyling the Bishops of their Iurisdiction, and inferiour pastors of their maintenance, by appropriating to themselues the liuings that formerly belonged to them. But the Fryers professe an intermedling with the publick direction and guidance of the people of God, causing great confusions in the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie, and are most vnlike the ancient Monkes, and their beginning was but of latter time.

[n] *Cap. 43.*

[o] *De Concilijs Euangelicis & statu perfectionis.*

[p] *In extrauagant. tit. de verb. significatione. & in extrauag. ad Conditorem Canonum.*

[n] *Comm. in Concord. Euangel. cap. 100.*

These were principally of foure sortes: but among them all the *Minorites* or *Franciscans* seemed to bee the strictest. For whereas the Monkes possessed lands in common, though none of them had any personall propriety in any thing, and the rest of the Fryers had the right of mooueable goods in common, though they possessed no lands, these professed to haue nothing but the bare and single vse of things, without all right or claime, as I haue shewed [n] before. About which profession of theirs, there was great contention in the time of *Iohn* the two and twentith, the folly and hypocrisie of which men (thinking perfection to consist in pouertie) is sufficiently refuted by [o] *Gerson*, [p] *Iohn* the two and twentith, **Iansenius*, and other, who shew, that perfection consisteth

in the vertues of the minde, that pouerty or riches neither make a man better nor worse, and consequently pertaine nothing to perfection, otherwise then as the care and loue of them hindereth, or the neglect of them furthereth the feruency of loue.

From this first way, whereby the Pope disturbed the Ecclesiasticall order, which was by giuing priuiledges to exorbitant Fryers, let vs proceede to the second, which is by *Commendams*. In ancient times (saith q *Duarenus*) when a worthy Pastor was not presently found to bee set ouer a Church so soone as it was voyde, to auoide those euils and inconueniences, which for the most part Anarchy bringeth forth, the custome was, that in the meane while, the voyde Church should bee commended and committed to some honest man, who beeing but as a Tutor and procurator onely, should bee bound faithfully to giue an account of that hee should doe. For hee was not Pastor of the Church, but appointed onely for a time to take care of it.

q *De Sacris Eccles. Minist. & Benef. li. 5. cap. 8.*

All commendams are not to be condemned, notwithstanding any abuse of the time: for sometimes by reason either of the scarcity of sufficient Pastors or the insufficiency of the pastors manitenance arising out of one Church, more Churches the one are committed to one.

But in time, this thing (which was at first most profitable and behouefull, and deuised to prouide for Churches in vacancie,) was strangely turned to the hurt and plague of them. For they who by the Canons may not haue the gouernment of Churches or Monasteries committed to them, haue both Churches and Monasteries commended vnto them perpetually, and as long as they liue. And such is the forme of this committing or commending in the Popes grants, that they to whome Churches are so commended, haue free power not onely to dispose of such things as belong vnto them, but to consume, waste and spend them, with-out beeing subiect to any account. And truely it is strange, that men of witte and vnderstanding, who deuised this fraudulent kinde of practise, found not out some fairer colour of so great and grosse a corruption, that so they might not haue seemed so plainly and openly to haue despised the Canons, and to make a mock of them: Thus farre *Duarenus*.

In this sort the Pope gaue the greatest Bishoprickes of the world in *Commendam*, or perpetuall administration to his Cardinalls, and sometimes in title also; but so, that the were called Bishops elect of such a place, and neuer consecrated. The third way whereby the Pope preiudiceth the Church, is by taking on him to giue Church-liuings in all partes of the world to whom he pleaseth; a thing neuer thought of in the first ages of the Church. For the Bishop of Rome had no power to ordaine Clearkes out of his owne Dioceese, or Bishoppes out of his owne Prouince, the Canons prouiding that a Bishoppe should bee chosen by the Cleargy and people, and ordained by the Metropolitane and other Bishoppes of the Prouince. It is true indeed, that as Patriarch of the West hee was to confirme the seuerall Metropolitanes subiect to him, either by imposition of handes, or by sending the Pall

as all other Patriarches like-wise were to do; but in the Patriarchshippe of any of the rest he might not meddle, as appeareth by the [r] contention betweene *Rome* and *Constantinople* about the *Bulgarians*, nor within his owne Precinctes further then the confirming of the Metropolitanes, as it is euident by the Councell of [s] *Chalcedon*, forbidding the Patriarch of *Constantinople* to medle in the ordinations of Bishoppes, and requiring him to content him-selfe with the confirmation of Metropolitanes, to whome yet in the same Councell equall priuiledges with the Bishoppe of *Rome* are giuen. So that it is not likely that in those times the *Romane* Bishoppes challenged to them-selues any such power and right, as now they do. Nay [t] *Duarenus* pronounceth, that there is no doubt, but that the more ancient and holy Bishops of *Rome*, contenting them-selues with their owne Church, left the administration of other Churches free to their owne Bishoppes, as rather thinking themselues Bishops of that one citty then of the whole world, which thing haply moued a certaine Bishoppe (of whome *Paulus* [u] *Æmylius* maketh mention) to answere some-what peremptorily to *Gregory* the Eleuenth, asking him why hee went not to his Church? for where as *Gregory* sat at *Auinion*, and not at *Rome*, hee said vnto him, If one should aske thee why thou goest not to *Rome*, that hath bin so long forsaken of her Bishoppes, thou wouldest haue much lesse to answere then I haue. But the latter Bishoppes of *Rome* contented not themselues here-with; neither did they thinke it enough to be Bishoppes of *Rome*, and prime Bishoppes amongst and before the rest, but they would needes be vniuersall Bishoppes, and therefore thought it no robbery to concurre with all other Bishoppes, and to preuent them if they could in giuing voyde Benefices before them: And because it was not easie to preuent the Bishoppes in this sort, in Prouinces and Kindomes farre remote, therefore they found out a more certaine and ready way, wherby to take from them their right and power: for a custome grew in and preuayled, vnknowne to former times, of certaine Papall graunts wherein Benefices not voyd were commanded to bee bestowed and conferred when they should bee voyd, vpon such as the Pope should thinke fit, and specially vpon strangers. These were called *Gratiæ expectatiuæ*, and *Mandata de prouidendo*: and [x] hereof the whole state of *England* complayned to *Innocentius* the Fourth, affirming, that by vertue of these Prouisions there were so many *Italians* beneficed in *England*, that the reuenues which they had from hence was 600 o markes; which was more then the bare reuenue of the Kings, and yet as if this had not beene enough, there came one *Martine* with Commission from the Pope to wrong the poore Church of *England* a little more.

[r] *Bimius in vita Adriani secundi. nom. 3. Concil. part. 2.*

[s] *Action. 16.*

[t] *De Sacris. Eccles. minist. & Benef. li. 3. cap. 1.*

[u] *Æmyl. de reb. gestis Francor.*

[x] *Matth. Paris. in. Henrico. 3. pa. 639.*

This man conferred certaine Benefices actually voyd of the value of thirty markes by the yeare vpon strangers, and when they dyed hee

put in others without the priuity of the Patrons, and went about to assure to such as hee pleased the like Benefices not yet voyd, when-soeuer they should bee voyd; besides many other most vniust exactions, wherewith hee vexed the poore *English*, putting all such as resisted against him vnder the sentence of excommunication and interdiction, taking more on him then euer any Legate did (though hee came not as a Legate) to the great preiudice of the Crowne of *England*; seeing no Legate was to come hether, vnlesse hee were desired by the King.

The Messengers that the State of *England* sent to the Pope, to make knowne their greeuances and complaintes, were greatly disliked by the Pope, and their message no way acceptable to him: and therefore though dissembling the matter he gaue them some good wordes, as if there should bee no more such Prouisions made, but onely for some particular persons, and they not aboue twelue in number, yet such was the good nature of the man (as *Mathew Paris* noteth) that hee would not suffer the poore *English*, though sore beaten with many stripes, once to cry or complaine. But because they published these their complaintes in the Councell of *Lateran*, which was holden at the time of their comming, hee was exceeding angry, and [z] dealt with the *French* King to make warre against the King of *England*, and eyther to depriue him of his Kingdome, or to make him wholy to stoope to the pleasure of the Pope, and the Court of *Rome*: which the *French* King vtterly refused to doe.

[y] Pag. 669.

[z] Ibidem.

After these thinges thus past betweene the Pope and the *English*, he did worse then euer before. [a] Where-vpon there was a new meeting of the States of *England*, wherein these greeuances were made manifest and complayned off: First, that the Pope was not content with his ordinary reuenew of *Peter-pence*, but exacted other contributions without the Kinges knowledge. Secondly, that the Patrones of Churches were not permitted to present Clearkes, but *Romaines* were put into them, who neither vnderstood the Language, nor euer meant to liue heere; but carryed away the money out of the Realme. So that neyther was the people instructed, hospitality kept, the Churches repayred, nor any good done: and beside, [b] ȳ Original Patrons were depriued of their right, one *Italian* succeeding another in the Churches founded by them, without their knowledge, and that vnwelcome Messenger, *Non obstante*, too often sent vnto them.

[a] p. 674.

[b] 667.

These their complaints, the King, the Bishoppes, Abbots, Lords and Commons made knowne by their letters [c] and messengers to the Pope, with earnest desire of reformation and redresse: but could receiue none other answere from him, but that the King of *England* had his Counsell, and so had he; that the King began to kicke against him, and to play the *Fredericke*. And such was his displeasure, that all *English* were repelled

[c] Pag. 687.

and

and driuen away as Schismatickes. [c] After this, new letters were againe written to the Pope, and in the end a Priuiledge was graunted, that no Prouisions should bee made for *Italians*, Cardinals, or the Popes Nephewes, before the King were first earnestly intreated to be content with them, only to abuse such as would be abused. For the Pope went forward stil in his Prouisions, as formerly he had done, as appeareth by his letters to the Abbot of Saint *Albons*, and by the [d] worthy letters of the Bishoppe of *Lincolne* written to the Pope about these matters, and his [e] speaches against the Pope a little before his death. And heere by the way, it is worth the noting, that [f] *Mathew Paris* hath, that in the time of *Gregory* the Ninth vppon complaint of one *Robert Tewing* Patron of the Church of *Lathune*, the Popes Graunt made in preiudice of his right was reuersed, because it was not knowne that the Patrone of that Benefice was a Lay-man when it was giuen by the Pope. So that if it had beene in the gift of a Cleargy-man, it must haue stood: so ready was the head of the Church to oppresse Church-men, and their possessions of all other were most fitte for spoyle. So little respect was there had to religion in those dayes, and so were all thinges returned to their old *Chaos* againe. Whence it came that [g] the heartes of all men went away from the Pope and the Church of *Rome*: whereof the one sought to bee esteemed a Father, and the other a Mother to al Churches; but the one of them proued a step-father, and the other a step-mother. Neyther did the Pope like a wilde Bore make hauocke onely in the Vine-yard of the Lord of Hostes, planted in this Island, which lay open to bee spoyled by all passengers, but hee plaid his parte also in all other Kingdomes of the West: though some resisted more against his intrusions then others.

[c] P. 689.
[d] P. 791.
[e] P. 843.
[f] P. 848.
[g] Pag. 496. Pag. 791.

Touching *France*, wee read in the booke intituled, *Pro libertate Ecclesiæ Gallicæ, aduersus Romanam aulam, defensio Parisiensis Curiæ, Ludouico vndecimo Gallorum Regi quondam oblata*, turned out of *French* into *Latine* by *Duarenus*, & added to his book *De sacris Ecclesiæ Ministeriis*, that there being a great number of goodly Churches founded by the Kings of *France*, when ỹ Bishops of *Rome* began to preiudice the liberties of thē, the King, the Nobles, the Princes of the Blood, the Cleargy and Commons, assembled to resist the vexations, oppressions, and wronges of the Court of *Rome*, and made many good Constitutions for the repressing of such insolencies.

So *Lewys*, when first the Pope beganne to meddle, in the yeare one thousand two hundred sixty seauen, decreed that Prelacyes and dignities electiue should be giuen by election: and such as are not electiue, by collation, and presentation of Patrons; and that the Court of *Rome* should extort no money for any such thing, out of the Kingdome of *France*.

And

And when, notwithstanding this Decree, in processe of time the Court of *Rome* attempted diuers thinges contrary to the liberty of the Church of *France*, *Charles* the Sixth, with the aduice of his Nobles, Prelates, Abbots, Colledges, Vniuersities and other partes of his Kingdome, in the yeare one thousand foure hundred and sixe, made a Constitution, whereby he restored the Church to her auncient liberty: and this Decree was published in the yeare one thousand foure hundred and seauen; in which yeare *Benedict* the Pope, and his Ministers hauing imposed and exacted great summes of money, a new complaynt was made to the King: and there-vppon a Decree made, that nothing should be paid out of *France* in the nature of *Annates* or Tenthes, and that such as had beene excommunicated for refusall of them, should bee absolued againe.

In the yeare one thousand foure hundred and eighteene, a Constitution was made, whereby all reseruations and Apostolicall graces, as they call them, together with all exactions of the Court of *Rome* were forbidden. And when as the *Romaines* contemning all Constitutions, ceased not to trouble and confound the Hierarchy of the Church, and scattered abroad euery where throughout the World their reseruations and expectatiue graces, (whence followed great and horrible deformities in the Church) at last a Generall Councell was assembled for the reformation of the Church, in the head and members; which prohibited these reseruations and expectatiue Graces, restored the Canons touching Elections and Collations, and subiected all that should contumaciously resist (yea though the Pope him-selfe) to due punishment. The Decrees of this Councell, *Charles* the Seauenth confirmed, with the consent of all estates of his Kingdome, and this his Decree of Confirmation was called the *Pragmaticall sanction*. But the Popes neuer rested till they hadde, if not wholy ouerthrowne it, yet greatly weakened it.

The atteinptes of *Pius* the Second (who beeing a priuate man in the Councell of *Basill* set it forward what hee could) are not vnkowne, as also of *Sixtus* the Fourth; *Innocentius* the Eighth, *Alexander* the Sixth, *Iulius* the Second, and *Leo* the Tenth, who published a Constitution, whereby the Pragmaticall sanction was much weakened, though not wholy taken away; and those his new Decrees were called *Conuenta*, that is, agreements betweene the King and him. From these Decrees the Vniuersitie of *Paris* appealed to a Generall Councell.

And thus wee see how well the Popes fulfill the commaundement of *CHRISTE* in feeding his Sheepe, that labour so mainly the ouerthrowe of those Canons, which beeing taken away, the whole Ecclesiasticall order is confounded, whole Countries are made desolate

and

and forsaken, Kingdomes are robbed of their money and treasure, and Churches are ruinated and subuerted. For so didde all good men out of woefull experyence complayne in former times.

Wherefore passing by these intrusions, vsurpations and tyrannicall inter-medling of Popes with thinges not pertayning to them, it is euident by that which hath beene said, that the Election of fitte Ministers to teach the people of GOD, pertayneth to the Cleargy and people, by the reasons and groundes of humane societyes, vnlesse by their owne consent, forfeyture, restraint of superior authority commaunding ouer them, or speciall reasons preuayling more then those generall groundes of humane fellowshippe, it bee taken from them. As in case of founding Churches and endowing them with landes, the Patrones haue the right of presenting: and in cases of intollerable abuses, negligences or insolencies, the Prince (as head of the people) assumeth to himselfe, the nomination of such as are to serue in the holy Ministery of the Church.

Some there are that thinke the right of the people in chusing their Pastors and Ministers to bee such, as that it may not bee limited, restrained or taken away vpon any consideration what-soeuer, and that therfore there is no lawful Election of Ecclesiastical Ministers, vnlesse the people chuse: But the error of these men is easily refuted. For seeing the Scripture and Word of GOD giueth no such power to the people, and all the interest they haue, or can clayme, is but from the ground of humane fellowship, subiect to many limitations, alterations and restraintes, there is no reason to thinke that necessarily the people must euer elect their Pastors.

In the reformed Churches of *France* and *Geneua*, the people giue no voyces in the election of Ministers, but are onely permitted, if they haue any causes of dislike or exception, to make them knowne to the Pastors and guides of the Church; and the power of iudging of such exceptions resteth wholy in them. In so much that when one *Morellius* a fantasticall companion sought to bring the elections of Bishoppes and Ministers to bee Popular, and swayed by the most voyces of the people, hee was condemned by all the Synodes in *Fraunce*, as [h] *Beza* sheweth in his Epistles. [h] *Epist.* 83.

That there is no precept in the whole new Testament forcing popular elections it is euident: And the onely example that is brought of any such thing, is that of the [i] seauen Deacons, but first there was some speciall reason, why the peoples consent was sought in the election of these Deacons, being to bee trusted with the [i] Actes. 6.

treasure

treasure of the Church, and the disposing of the contributions of the faithfull: and secondly, from one example, a generall rule may not be gathered, Seeing the circumstances of things, times and persons, admit infinite varieties, some alleadge that place in the *Acts* for proofe of popular elections, where the Apostles are said to haue appointed Elders or Pres-
k Acts.14.23. byters by χειροτονία, because χειροτονία signifieth that kind of election, that is made by the more part of the voyces of the Electors expressing their consent by lifting vp of their handes, as some times men shew their consent by going to one side of the place or roome where they are, whence they are said, *Pedibus ire in sententiam*. But surely these places are vnaduisedly alledged for proofe of popular Elections. For first, the Apostles onely are said χειροτονῆσαι, and consequently the election pertayned to them onely, and they onely elected; for χειροτονία signifieth to elect, and not to gather voyces. Secondly, though χειροτονία do originally signifie that kind of election, which is made by many, expressing their consent, and giuing their voyces or suffrages by lifting vp of their handes; yet may it bee extended more generally to signifie any election of many expressing their consent by writing, by liuely voyce, or by go-
l Acts.10.41. ing to one side of the place where they are; yea any choyce whatsoeuer, though made by one alone, as it appeareth in that the l Apostles are said to haue beene witnesses formerly designed and appoynted by χειροτονίαν, whereas Christ onely chose them, and they were not elected by the voyces of many, or any but himselfe alone. And in Ecclesiasticall writers the m same word signifieth Ordination that is by Imposition of hands, as it were easy to proue by many testimonies of Antiquity.

m *Can. Apost. cap.1. Chrysostom. hom.14 in Acta. in illa verba: cum orassent imposuerunt illis manus. Concil. Nicen. in epist. ad Alexandrinos. apud Theodoret. hist. Eccl. li.1. cap.9.*

Chap. 56.

Of the Ordination of Bishops and Ministers.

From the Election of Ministers, whereof wee haue sufficiently spoken, let vs proceed to their Ordination, with which none but the Guides of the Church are trusted. And therefore, how-so-euer the peo-
n 1. Tim.5.22. ple may some-times elect, yet they are charged, n *not to lay hands hastily on any man, nor to communicate with other mens sinnes*. So that the moderation of all things in this kind resteth in them, and this is all that the Scripture prescribeth touching the designing and appoynting of Ministers: namely, whome, and how, they that haue power of ordaining, must ordaine. Ordination is the setting of men a part to the worke of the Ministery, the commending of them with fasting and prayer to the grace of God, and the authorizing of them to performe things pertayning to God; which others, without

without ſuch ſanctification neyther may nor can doe. Wherein the Ceremony of Impoſition of handes is vſed. Firſt, to expreſſe the ſetting of them apart for ſacred imployment. Secondly, to let them know that the hand of God is with them, in all that they doe in his name, and by his authority to guide, direct, ſtrengthen and protect them. Thirdly, to note out the perſon vpon whome the Church by her prayers deſireth the bleſſings of almighty God to bee powred in more plentifull ſort then vppon others, as beeing to take charge of others. This Ordination is eyther of Biſhoppes, to whome the care and gouernment of the Church is principally committed; or of other inferior Cleargy-men.

Touching the Ordination of Biſhoppes, the Councell of [b] *Nice* decreeth, that a Biſhoppe muſt be ordayned by all the Biſhops in the Prouince: and that if it ſeeme hard, eyther in reſpect of ſome vrgent neceſſity, or the length of the wayes, that they ſhould all meete, yet there muſt bee three at the leaſt to concurre in all ſuch ordinations, the reſt by their letters teſtifying their conſent, and the Metropolitane confirming that they doe.

[b] *Canone.* 4.

The Councell of [c] *Antioch* in like ſort decreeth, That a Biſhoppe ſhall not bee ordayned without a Synode, and the preſence of the Metropolitane; That the Metropolitane by his letters ſhall call vnto him all the Biſhoppes in the Prouince, if conueniently they may come together; if not, that at the leaſt the greater part bee preſent, or giue their conſent by writing. And that if at any time there grow any difference among the Biſhoppes of the Prouince about the perſon that is to bee ordayned, the greater part of voyces ſhall ſway all.

[c] *Canone.* 19.

In the Second Councell of [d] *Carthage*, all the Biſhops with one conſent ſaid: *It ſeemeth good to vs all, that without conſulting the Primate of each Prouince, no man eaſily preſume, though with many Biſhoppes, to ordaine a Biſhoppe in what place ſoeuer without his commaund: but if neceſſity ſhall require, that three Biſhoppes in what place ſoeuer they be with the commaund of the Primate ſhall haue power to ordayne a Biſhop.* And becauſe the concurrence of the Metropolitane, was to bee ſought, and his preſence or direction had in euery ordination; therefore leaſt by his fault there might bee too long and dangerous delayes, it was ordered that vnleſſe it were in caſe of neceſſity, all ordinations ſhould bee within three monthes after the voydance of any place: and that if by the fault of the Metropolitane there were any longer delay, he ſhoud be ſubiect to Eccleſiaſticall Cenſure and puniſhment

[d] *Canone.* 12.

In latter times vnder the Papacy, they [e] permitted by ſpeciall diſpenſation one Biſhoppe aſſiſted with two mitred Abbots, to ordayne a Biſhoppe, contrary to al the old Canons requiring three Biſhops at the leaſt. The forme and manner of ordination wee find in the Fourth Councell of [f] *Carthage*, which preſcribeth that when a Biſhoppe is to bee ordayned,

[e] *Bellarm. de notis Eccleſiæ lib. 4. cap. 8.*

[f] *Canone.* 2.

two

two Bishoppes must hold the booke of the Gospells ouer his head, and that one powring forth the blessing vppon him, all the other Bishops that are present must touch his head with their handes: This is the forme of Episcopall ordination. But touching Presbyters and Deacons, the [h] Councell of *Hispalis* saith: That the Bishop alone may confer Ecclesiastical honor vpon them, but that alone he cannot take it from them, which yet is not so to be vnderstood, as if the Bishop alone without his Presbyters might ordayne Presbyters, but that he may without the concurrence of other Bishops, giue that honour of Presbyteriall order, which without them he cannot take away againe. For otherwise the Councel of [i] *Carthage* prouideth that in the ordination of a Presbyter, the Bishoppe holding his hand on his head, and blessing him, all the Presbyters that are present shall hold their handes by the handes of the Bishoppe. Whereas [k] in the ordination of a Deacon, it sufficeth that the Bishop alone, put his handes vppon the head of him that is ordayned; becausse he is not sanctified to Priestly dignity, but to the seruice of the Church. So that other Ministers are to concurre in the ordination of the Ministers of the Word and Sacraments, as well as the Bishoppe; being equall to him in the power of Order & Ministery, and his assistants in the worke of it; yet hath the Bishop a great preheminence aboue them in the Imposition of hands: For regularly no number of Presbyters imposing handes can make a Minister without the Bishoppe. The reason whereof is, becausse no Ordinations are to bee made *sine titulo*, that is, without title or place of employment: and none but Bishoppes haue Churches, wherein to employ men; seeing they onely are Pastors of Churches, and all other are but their assistants and coadiutors: not becausse the power of Order, which *is* giuen in Ordination is lesse in them then in Bishoppes. So that Bishoppes alone haue the power of Ordination, and no man may regularly do it without them. Where-vppon ordinarily, and according to the strictnesse of the old Canons, all ordinations, made otherwise, are pronounced voyd: as wee read of one [l] *Coluthus*, whose ordinations were therefore voyded, becausse hee tooke on him to ordayne, beeing no Bishoppe but a Presbyter onely.

But seeing Bishops and Presbyters are in the power of order the same, as, when the Bishoppes of a whole Church or Countrey fall from the Faith, or consent to them that so do, the care of the Church is deuolued to the Presbyters remayning Catholike; and as in the cause of necessity they may do al other things regularly reserued to Bishops only, (as [m] *Ambrose* sheweth, that the Presbyters of Ægypt were permitted in some cases to confirme the baptized, which thing also [n] *Gregory* after him durst not condemne.) So in case of Generall defect of the Bishops of a whole Country, refusing to ordaine any but such as shall consent to their Heresies, when there appeareth no hope of remedy or helpe from other partes

of

h *Hispalens. Canone. 6.*

i *Carthage. 4. Canone. 3.*

k *Ibid. canone. 4.*

l *Athanas. Apologia. 2.*

m *In 4. Cap. Epist. ad Ephes.*

n *Lib. 3. Epist. 36.*

of the Church, the Presbyters may chuse out one among them-selues to bee cheefe, and so adde other to their numbers by the imposition of his and their handes.

This I haue proued in my [o] third booke out of the authorities of *Armachanus*, and sundry other, of whome *Alexander* of *Hales* speaketh. To which we may adde, that which [p] *Durandus* hath, where he saith: That *Hierome* seemeth to haue beene of opinion, that the highest power of consecration or order, is the power of a Priest or Elder. So that euery Priest in respect of his Priestly power may minister all Sacramentes, confirme the baptized, and giue all Orders; how-soeuer for the auoyding of the perill of Schisme, it was ordayned that one should bee chosen, to haue a preheminence aboue the rest; who was named a Bishoppe, and to whome it was peculiarly reserued to giue Orders, and to doe some such other thinges. And afterwardes hee saith: that *Hierome* is clearly of this opinion. Neyther can the *Romanistes* deny this, and iustifie their owne practise.

[o] *Chap.* 39.
[p] *In Sent. lib.* 4. *dist.* 24. *quest.* 5.

For their *Chorepiscopi*, or Titular Bishoppes, are no Bishoppes (as I haue [q] proued at large out of *Damasus*, not disputing or giuing his priuate opinion, but resoluing the point, and prescribing to other, what they must beleeue and practise) and yet do they of the Church of *Rome* permitte these to ordayne, not onely Sub-deacons and other inferiour Cleargy-men, but Priestes and Deacons also; and hold their Ordinations to bee good and of force.

[q] *Chap.* 29.

If any man haply say, that a Bishoppe when hee is old, and weake, or otherwise employed, may haue a *Coadiutor*, and consequently, that it is no such absurdity to admitte these Suffragan and Titular Bishoppes; and that therefore they may haue power to ordayne, as being truly Bishoppes, and yet Presbyters in no case bee permitted so to do: for answer here-vnto let him read that which I haue written in the 29. chapter of this booke concerning this matter.

Chap. 57.

Of the thinges required in such as are to bee ordayned Ministers: and of the lawfulnesse of their Marriage.

From the election and ordination of Ministers, we are to proceed to ỹ things required in them that are to be chosen & ordayned. [a] *If any man* (saith the Apostle) *desire the office of a Bishoppe, he desireth a worthy worke. A Bishop therfore must be vnreproueable, the husband of one wife, watching, sober, modest, harberous, apt to teach, not giuen to wine, no striker, not giuen to filthy lucre*

[a] 1. Tim. 3.

lucre, but gentle, no fighter, not couetous, no young ſcholler, but well reported off, euen of thoſe that are without. The Canons of the Church require the ſame things, and adde ſome other: as that no man may bee choſen and ordayned a Miniſter of the Word and Sacraments, till hee bee thirty yeares of age: nor none that was baptized in his bed; & the like. The Papiſts proceed further, & not contenting them-ſelues with the moderation of the Apoſtle, and the Primitiue Fathers, admitte none into the holy Miniſtery, but thoſe that are vnmarryed, or beeing marryed promiſe to liue from their wiues: and yet not ſo neyther, if eyther they haue beene twice marryed, or if they marryed with a widow. Wherefore letting paſſe the thinges the Apoſtle preſcribeth, & thoſe other which the Canons adde, of which there is no queſtion, let vs come to the marriage of them that are to bee admitted into the holy Miniſtery of the Church. It is clearly confeſſed by the beſt learned in the *Romaine* Church, that Biſhops, Preſbyters and other Cleargy-men, are not forbidden to marry, or being marryed, before they enter into the Miniſtery, to continue in matrimoniall ſociety with their wiues, by any law of God: and therefore there is little feare of offending againſt God, eyther by admitting ſuch into the Miniſtery as will not liue ſingle, or by entering into it, with purpoſe of marriage. [b] *Non eſt eſſentialiter annexum debitum continentiæ ordini ſacro* (ſaith *Aquinas*) *ſed ex ſtatuto eccleſiæ: vnde videtur, quod per Eccleſiam poſſit diſpenſari in voto continentiæ, ſollemnizato per ſuſceptionem ſacri ordinis:* that is; It is not eſſentially annexed vnto holy order, that men ſhould containe and liue ſingle that enter into the Miniſtery, but by the Decree of the Church only. So that it ſeemeth, that the Church may diſpenſe in the vow of continency, though made ſollemne by taking of holy orders. And in another place he ſaith; [c] that it is from the Churches conſtitution, that they who are entred into the holy orders of the Church, may not matry: which yet is not the ſame among the *Gracians*, that it is among the *Latines*. For the *Gracians* make no vow, and do liue with their wiues that they marryed before they entered into orders: of the ſame opinion is [d] *Bonauentura*, who acknowledgeth, that in the Primitiue Church, it was otherwiſe touching this matter, then now it is in the Church of *Rome*; and endeauoreth to giue reaſons of the difference. [e] *Scotus* and [f] *Ockam*, are of the ſame iudgement; and all the reſt of the Schoole-men of note agree with them. And [g] *Caietane*, a great learned Diuine, and a Cardinall in our time, pronounceth confidently, that it cannot bee proued, eyther by reaſon or authority, (ſetting aſide the Lawes that are poſitiue, and vowes which men make to the contrary) that a Prieſt doth ſinne in contracting marriage. And that therefore the Pope with good conſcience may diſpenſe with ſuch a one, and giue him leaue to marry; though there bee no inducement of publike profit, or benefit leading him ſo doe. And addeth that reaſon ſeemeth to bee ſtrong on the contrary ſide for the lawfulneſſe

of

b Secunda. ſecundæ. quæſt. 88. art 11.

c Part. 3. qu. 53. art. 3.

d In Sent. lib. 4. diſt. 39. quæſt. 2. & 3.

e In 4. Sent. diſt. 27.

f Dialog.

g In reſponſ. ad articulos Pariſienſes. Opuſc. tom. 1. tract. 17.

of such dispensation : because(as it appeareth by *Peter Lombard* in the fourth of the *Sentences*)neyther Order, in that it is Order , nor holy Order,in that it is holy,crosseth or hindereth Marriage. And (as it is in the *Decrees*)Deacons in ancient times might marry,euen in the West Church: and (as it is in the same *Decrees)* they of the East Church are ioyned in marriage,euen after they are entered into holy Orders. Neyther is that glosse to bee admitted , which expoundeth their coupling or ioyning in marriage , of the liuing in marriage formerly contracted : Seeing the whole course and cohærence of the Text speaketh of the Contract of Marriage,as by the opposition of the practise of the West Church (the Priestes whereof are said not to marry)it may bee confirmed. These are the wordes of Cardinall *Caietan*.

With him agreeth Cardinall [h] *Bellarmine* , and confirmeth that hee sayth by three reasons,whereof the first is this : Priestes are not forbidden by Gods Law to company with their wiues,which they marryed before they entered into holy Orders : Therefore they are not forbidden to marry after they are entered. The consequence hee proueth; because if any thing bee found in marriage that cannot stand well with the sacred function and imployment of Ministers , it is the act of Matrimony and not the contract , which is a thing most honest, and is soone past.

[h] *De Clericis. lib.1.cap. 8.*

Where-vpon , they that dislike the marriage of Church-men, were wont to alleadge the cares of household , and of children , causing distraction of mind,and other like things,and not the Contract or Sacrament of Marriage : and therefore he rightly reproueth *Clithoueus* , for that hee [i] thinketh the matrimoniall society of such as were married before they became Ministers of the Church,is not forbidden by Gods Lawe ; and yet feareth not to say , that the contract of marryage ensuing after the enterance into the holy Ministery is forbidden.

[i] *Lib.de Continentia Sacerdotum.ca. 4.*

Wherefore leauing the consequence as good and sufficiently proued, hee confirmeth the antecedent in this sort. That Presbyters are not forbidden by Gods lawe to liue with their wiues , which they marryed before they entered into the holy Ministery,it appeareth in that the *Romane* Church hath for many ages past permitted the Presbyters of the *Greeke* Church to liue with their wiues which they married before their Ordinatiõ;which it could not do,if so to liue were forbiddẽ by Gods law:that so ℣ *Romane* Church hath allowed those of the *Greeke* Church to liue with their wiues, he proueth by good authority.For in the [k] *Decretals* it is reported,℣ a certayne *Grecian*,while he was yet in the *minor* Orders,according to the custome of the *Greeke* Church marryed a wife,and afterwards when he was a Priest begat a son of his lawful wife. This Priests son was thought fit to be a Bishop,and chosen so to be ; the Arch-bishoppe made question , whether hee might confirme his Consecration or not , as

[k] *Cap. cum olim.De coniugatis.*

doubting of his Legitimation. To whome *Innocentius* the Third writeth thus: *Wee considering that the East Church neuer admitted the vow of continency, but that they of the East while they are yet in the* Minor *Orders contract marriage, and when they are in the higher Orders, vse that marriage which they then contracted, doe commaund, that vnlesse any custome bee against it (in that these* Græcians *liue among the* Latines*) if there be no other Canonicall impediment, you proceed without doubting to the Confirmation & Consecration of him.* Wherby it is euident that the Bishop of *Rome* allowed the marriage of the *Græcians*: for *Innocentius* saith, this Presbyter, after hee was a Presbyter, begatte a sonne of his lawfull wife: and approueth, nay commaundeth his sonne as lawfully begotten to be ordyaned, if it were not offensiue, becausse hee conuersed among the *Latines*.

The next reason that *Bellarmine* bringeth is, for that there is no prohibition of almighty GOD found eyther in the old, or new Testament: and the third, for that it is said in the Councell of [l] *Ancyra*, that Deacons, with the licence of the Bishoppe, may marry after they are ordayned. Whence it followeth, that they are not forbidden to marry by GODS Lawe; seeing Bishoppes may not dispense with GODS Law. And this Councel (as *Bellarmine* truly noteth) is most auncient, and approued by *Leo* the Pope. The vttermost therefore that our Aduersaries can say, is that the Church by her authority hath forbidden the marriage of Presbyters & Bishops: wherfore let vs take a view of the lawes of the Church concerning this matter: and for our more orderly proceeding in the examination of the same, let vs first obserue what the Church decreed, touching them that beeing married enter into the Ministery. Secondly, touching them that entered being single. Concerning the first, it is euident, that till the time of *Siricius*, married men were permitted throughout the whole Church to enter into the Ministery, and to liue with their wiues.

[l] *Cap. 10. & Dist. 20. ca. de Libellis.*

In the Epistles of [m] *Cyprian* among other things, *Nouatus*, ordayned a Presbyter of *Carthage* by *Cyprian*, is charged, first, that he suffered his owne father to dye of hunger, and tooke no care for his buriall when hee was dead. Secondly, that by violence offered to his owne wife, he caussed her to be deliuered of her childe before her time; so that the child dyed, and he was guilty of the murther thereof: for which crymes hee feared to bee put from his Priestly function, and the Communion of the Church; and threfore preuented his punishment by a voluntary Schismaticall departure. Where wee see a Presbyter permitted by *Cyprian* to liue with his wife, and no way blamed, for that he had companied with her: but for that when shee was with childe by him, he had stricken her in such violent sort, that shee was vntimely deliuered, not without the death of the childe. Where-vpon *Pamelius* hath this annotation

[m] *Epist. 49.*

vpon

vppon the Epistle of *Cyprian*: *Many married men at that time were taken into the Cleargy, because there were few other to bee had: and therefore it is not to be marvayled at, that* Cyprian *maketh mention of the wife of* Novatus *who was a Priest.* That *Tertullian* was married, it appeareth by the booke which he hath written to his wife: and ý neyther he nor she voluntarily seperating themselues had vowed continency, it appeareth by ý perswasions he vseth to induce hir to liue single, and not to marry again after his death, in those euill and dangerous times if haply hee should dye before her; or at the least, if she could not nor would not contayne, to marry with none but a beleeuer. Had shee bound her selfe by vowe to containe, hee would not thus haue left her to her owne liberty, and if she could not, nor would not contayne, hee was bound by the Apostles rule, not to defraud her, but to yeeld vnto her due beneuolence. Neyther haue wee these examples onely, but many more: for we read in *Gratian*, of the sons of Presbyters and Bishoppes, that were promoted to the Papall dignity. [n] So was *Bonifacius* the Pope, the sonne of *Iucundus* the Presbyter; *Felix* the Pope, the sonne of *Felix* the Presbyter; *Agapetus* the Pope, sonne of *Gordianus* the Presbyter; *Theodorus* the Pope, sonne of *Theodorus* the Bishoppe, and many more he sayth there were, who beeing the sonnes of Bishoppes or Presbyters were aduanced to sitte in the Apostolicall throne. And addeth [o] that when the sonnes of Presbyters and Bishoppes are sayd to haue beene aduanced and promoted to bee Popes, wee are not to vnderstand them to haue beene such as were borne of fornication out of lawfull marriages, which were lawfull vnto Priestes before the prohibition: and in the Orientall Church are proued to be lawfull vnto them euen vnto this day.

n *Dist.* 56.

o *Ibid.*

[p] *Socrates* sayth, that in *Thessalia* there was a particular custome growne in, that if a Cleargy-man, after hee became a Cleargy-man, companyed with his wife, which hee married while he was yet a Layman, hee should bee putte out of the Ministery of the Church. Whereas all the most famous Presbyters and Bishops also in the East, might if they pleased, but were no way by any law constrayned to refraine from the company of their wiues. So that many of them euen when they were Bishops, did begette children of their lawfull wiues.

p *Lib.* 5. *cap.* 21.

A particular and most approued example whereof, wee haue in the Father of *Gregory Nazianzen*: who being a Bishoppe, not onely liued with his wife till death deuided them, but became the Father also of *Gregory Nazianzen*, (as worthy and renowned a man, as any the *Greeke* Church euer had) after hee was entered into the Priestly office, as appeareth by his owne words reported by [q] *Gregory Nazianzen.*

q *In Carm. de vita sua.*

For after many motiues vsed by him to *Gregory Nazianzen* his son, to perswade him to assist him in the work of his Bishoply Ministery, the last

that hee moſt inſiſteth on, is taken from the conſideration of his old age, diſ-inabling him to beare that burden, and performe that worke any longer that hetherto hee had done. And therefore intreating him to put to his helping hand, he breaketh out into theſe words: *Thou haſt not liued ſo long a time as I haue ſpent in the Prieſtly office, therefore yeeld thus much vnto mee, and helpe mee in that little time of my life that is yet behinde: or elſe thou ſhalt not haue the honour to bury mee, but I will giue charge to another to do it.* Heere wee ſee *Gregory Nazianzens* father was employed in the Prieſtly function before hee was borne; and that therefore hee became the father of ſo worthy a ſonne after hee was a Biſhoppe, or at leaſt after hee was a Preſbyter. Neyther was the father of *Gregory Nazianzen* ſingular in this behalfe.

[p] *Epiſt. ad Dracontium.*

For [r] *Athanaſius* writing to *Dracontius*, (who beeing greatly in loue with a retyred and monaſticall kinde of life, refuſed the Biſhoply office, when hee was choſen vnto it; for that hee feared hee might not in that ſtate liue ſo ſtrictly as formerly hee had done) controuleth this his conceit; and telleth him that hee may in the Biſhoppes office hunger and thirſt as *Paul* did, drinke no wine as *Timothy*, and faſt often as did the Apoſtle. So that the Biſhoppes office is no cauſe of doing ill, or doing leſſe good, then may bee done in other ſtates of life: and there-vppon aſſureth him, that hee hath knowne Biſhoppes to faſt, and Monkes to eate; Biſhoppes to drinke no wine, and Monkes to drinke it; Biſhoppes to worke miracles, and Monkes to do none; laſtly many biſhoppes neuer to haue marryed, and Monkes to haue become fathers of children: and on the contrary ſide Biſhoppes to haue become fathers of children, and Monkes to haue liued altogether as Monkes without deſire of Poſterity.

[q] *Stromat. lib. 3. pag. 199.*

Neyther can this authority of *Athanaſius* bee auoyded, as *Bellarmine* ſeeketh to auoyd it; namely, that thoſe Biſhoppes did ill, which hee ſaith became fathers of children. For [q] *Clemens Alexandrinus* an auncient *Greeke* Father, ſayth expreſly, *The Apoſtle admitteth the huſband of one wife to bee a Biſhoppe, and that though hee bee a Preſbyter, Deacon, or Lay-man, if he vſe marriage aright, and ſo as not to incurre iuſt reprehenſion, he ſhallbe ſaued by the procreation of children.* [t] *Chryſoſtome* accordeth with *Athanaſius* and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and ſayth, that marriage is in ſo high a degree honourable, that men with it may aſcend into the Epiſcopall chayres; euen ſuch as yet liue with their wiues.

[t] *In 1. ad Timoth. 3.*

For though it bee an hard thing, yet it is poſſible, ſo to performe the duties of marriage, as not to bee wanting in the performance of the duties of a Biſhop: wher-vnto [u] *Zozomen* agreeth ſaying of *Spiridõ*

[u] *Lib. 1. cap. 11.*

that

that though hee had wife and children, yet hee was not therefore any whitte the more negligent in performing the duties of his calling, and of *Gregory Nyssene* it is reported that though he were married, yet he was no way inferior to his worthy brother that liued single. But som haply wil obiect, that *Epiphanius* is of another minde, and that hee saith, [y] where the strictnesse of the Canon is obserued, none but such as are vnmarryed, or resolued to refraine from matrimoniall society with their wiues, are admitted into the Ministery of the Church. VVee deny not, but that hee saith so: But hee confesseth in the same place, that many in the Church, did liue with their wiues in his time, and beget children euen after their admission into the Ministery.

So that the strictnes of the Canon he speaketh of, was not general, but in some certayne places only, as I noted before out of [z] *Socrates*. Nay, it is euident by *Socrates*, that how-soeuer in *Thessalia*, *Thessalonica*, *Macedonia*, and *Hellas* this strictnesse preuayled; yet all the Bishoppes of the East besides, were left to their owne liberty: and how-soeuer some in diuers places went about to take away this liberty, yet the worthyest men the Church had, stood in defence of it, protesting they would not suffer themselues to be inthralled in this behalfe.

To which purpose, that of the famous and renowned *Synesius* is most excellent: who, when they of *Ptolemais* would needes haue him to bee their Bishoppe, (which thing hee little desired) hee made them acquainted with his present condition, and resolued purpose for the time to come.

[a] *God* (saith hee) *the Law, and the sacred hand of* Theophilus, *hath giuen vnto mee a wife. I therefore tell all men afore-hand, and testifie vnto al, that I wil neither suffer my selfe to be altogether estranged and seperated from her, neyther will I liue with her secretly as an adulterer. For the one of these is no way pious and godly, and the other no way lawfull; but I will desire and pray vnto God that exceeding many and most good and happy children may bee borne vnto me. Neyther will I haue him, that is to bee chiefe in ordayning of me, to be ignorant hereof.* This liberty the Councel in [b] *Trullo* impeached in respect of Bishops, but in respect of Presbyters it continueth in all the East Churches of the world, euen till this day, *Greeke*, *Armenian* and *Ethiopian*: warranted vnto them by the Canons of the Apostles, Iudgement of Bishoppes, Decrees of Councells, and the consent of all other partes of the World.

For first, the Apostle Saint *Paul* telleth the *Corinthians* [c] *hee had power to lead about a wife a sister, as well as the bretheren of the Lord and* Cephas. Which wordes [d] *Clemens Alexandrinus* interpreteth in this sort: *Paul* feareth not in a certayne Epistle to speake to his yoke-fellow; which hee did not lead about with him, because he had no need of any great seruice. Therefore hee saith in a certayne Epistle: Haue wee not power to lead about

[y] *Epiphanius Heref. 59.*

[z] *Li. 5. cap. 21.*

[a] *Synesius. ad fratrem pag. 68. lib. Epist.*

[b] *Canone. 12.*

[c] *1 Cor. 9. 5.*

[d] *Stromat. lib. 3. pag. 192.*

about a sister a wife, as the rest of the Apostles? but they truly, as it was meete, because they could not spare their Ministery attending without distraction to preaching, lead their wiues about, not as wiues but as sisters; which should minister together with them, among the women which kept the houses, by whome the doctrine of the Lord might enter into the closet of women, without reprehension or suspition. Neyther doth *Clemens Alexandrinus* onely so vnderstand the wordes, but a [d] *Romaine* Bishoppe also. So that our Aduersaries haue no reason to charge vs with heretical peruersnesse, for expounding the Apostles words, of the Apostles wiues. Neyther can their interpretation of faithful women following the Apostles, and ministring vnto them things necessary, any way stand with the Apostles drift and meaning: for first, it is no way to bee conceited, that those Apostles which had wiues, would not lead them about rather then strange women. Secondly, the word of leading about, implyeth a kinde of authority, right, and interest, in those women which the Apostles lead about: which might bee verified of them in respect of their wiues, but not in respect of such women, as out of their deuotion followed them, if any so didde. Thirdly, the Apostle doth not say, *Wee haue power to lead about a woman a sister*, as they read it; but *a sister, a woman, or wife.* Now the addition of woman to sister is idle and needlesse: seeing euery sister is vndoubtedly a woman. Therefore wee must vnderstand the Apostle to say; a sister, a wife. [e] *Hieronyme* indeed vnderstandeth the Apostles wordes of strange women, and not of their wiues: yet denyeth hee not, but that other interpret them otherwise, and translateth, and alleadgeth the words doubtfully, of the Apostles leading about women or wiues.

[d] *Decreti. part. 1. Dist. 31. cap. 11.*

[e] *Hier. contra Iouinian. lib. 1.*

Besides this clayme that the Apostle maketh of power and authority in this behalfe, else-where prescribing what manner of men must bee chosen vnto the Bishoppes office, hee saith [g] *A Bishoppe must bee the husband of one wife, one that can rule his owne house, hauing children vnder obedience, with all honesty.* Now to say, they were to forsake their wiues as soone as they should enter into this calling, is most absurd, and contrary to the very Law of God and nature. For it is not in the power of the man to with-draw himselfe from his wife, with whome hee is one flesh, seeing [h] *the man hath not power of his body, but the wife.*

[g] 1 Tim. 3. 3.

[h] 1 Cor. 7. 4.

Where-vpon [i] *Thomas Aquinas* resolueth, that a man entering into holy Orders, cannot without the consent of his wife with-draw himselfe from her; but is bound to liue with her still, and to yeeld vnto her due benequolence. Neyther may man and wife part by consent perpetually, but for a time onely, according to that of the Apostle, [k] *Defraud not one another except it bee by consent for a time, that ye may giue your selues to fasting and prayer, and againe come together, that Satan tempt you not for your*

[i] *part. 3. qu. 53. art. 4. ad primum.*

[k] 1 Cor. 7. 5.

gouernimente. Answerable heere-vnto, the Canons attributed to the Apostles forbid Bishoppes, Presbyters and Deacons to putte away their wiues vppon any pretence of religion. The wordes of the Canon are these: *Let no Bishoppe, Presbyter or Deacon, put away his wife vppon any pretence of religion: if hee doe, let him bee put from the Communion, and if he persist, let him be remoued from his Order.* This Canon (saith *Zonaras*) condemneth those sacred Ministers of the Church that putte away their wiues. For that such putting of them away seemeth to bee done in disgrace of marriage; as if the companying together of man and wife, were an impure and vncleane thing. Whereas the Apostle pronounceth, that [n] *Marriage is honourable, and the bedde vndefiled.*

[l] *Canone.* 6.

[m] *In explicatione Canonis.*

[n] Hebr. 13. 4.

The *Romanists* to auoyd and decline the force of this testimony, say, that this Canon forbiddeth Bishops, Presbyters, & Deacons y casting away of al care of prouiding for their wiues, but not the forsaking of their company: but this their euasion is easily refuted. First, because there is no shew of euill in Clergy-mens prouiding for the necessity of their wiues, which they married while they were Lay-men: nay it would seeme vnto all men most vnnatural for them to cast off al care of them, & all men would condemne them for so doing; but in the companying with them (in the sinister iudgement of some men) there is; in respect wherof some forsake their wiues, vnder a pretence of religion. Secondly, because the Fathers in the Sixth General Councel (who no doubt vnderstood y meaning of these Canons far better then the *Romanists* do vnderstand them) as forbidding Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, the refraying from companying with their wiues, & not the neglecting to prouide for their necessities. In the Councel of *Nice* some went about to make a Law, that Bishops and Ministers of the Church should not, after their entering into the holy Ministery, company with their wiues, which they had formerly married. But [p] *Paphnutius* Bishop of a Citty in the vpper *Thebais*, who was a most holy man, by whom miracles had bin wrought, & who for confessing the faith of Christ, had had one of his eyes pulled out, though him-selfe were neuer married, cryed out aloud, and besought them, to lay no such heauy yoke on the neckes of them that were entered into the holy Ministery; affirming, that *Marriage is honourable among al, and the bed vndefiled*; calling the company of a man with his wife by the name of chastity: and aduising them to take heed, least they did greatly hurt the state of the Church by making so strict a Law: for that all cannot indure so seuere a rule of Discipline; & for that also this rule haply cannot bee so easily obserued by their wiues. To these speaches of *Paphnutius* the whole assembly of Bishops assented. So that this controuersie was ended, & each man left to his owne liberty. This of *Paphnutius* is reported by [q] *Socrates*, *Zozomen*,

[o] *Canone.* 10.

[p] *Socrates. lib.* 1. *cap.* 8.

[q] *Vbi supra.*

q *Vbi supra.*
r *Lib. 1. cap. 22.*
s *In uita Paphnutij.*
t *Hist. Eccles.*
u *Dist. 31.*
x *De Clericis. lib. 1. cap. 20.*

[r] *Zozomen*, [s] *Suidas*, *Nicephorus*, and all alleaged by [u] *Gratian* as true: yet [x] *Bellarmine*, and the Iesuites feare not to reiect it as false; as if they knew better what was done one thousand three hundred yeares agoe, then all that euer haue beene since: and the better to discredite this poore report, they charge both *Socrates* and *Zozomen* with Heresie, and contemne their Storyes. So must all go to the ground, that standeth in their way, bee it neuer so auncient: and yet they are the men that plead Antiquity. But if this bee a fayned and counterfeyt Story, what are the signes of the forgery, whereby they discerne it to be so? Surely there appeare none; but it cannot be true (the Iesuite saith) because it is contrary to the report of *Epiphanius* and *Hierome*.

y *Heref. 59.*

Touching [y] *Epiphanius* I haue shewed already, that hee hath nothing contrary to this narration of *Socrates* and *Zozomen*: for hee confesseth that Bishoppes and Presbyters in his time, liued with their wiues, and begatte children of them, in such places, where the strictnesse of the Canon was not admitted. So that the Canon hee speaketh of, which was admitted in *Thessalia*, *Thessalonica*, *Macedonia*, and *Hellas*, and was proposed and reiected in the Councell of *Nice*; was but particular and local; which may stand well enough with the narration of *Socrates* and *Zozomen*, that the Councell of *Nice* decreed nothing touching this point, but left it as they found it. The like may bee sayd of *Hierome*. For *Hierome* writing against *Vigilantius* speaketh of certayne Bishoppes, which would ordayne no Deacons vnlesse they marryed wiues, thinking that no single men liue chastly: who surely (if any such were found in those times) are not to bee excused. But if they onely demaunded first of them, that were to bee ordayned, before they ordayned them, whether they would liue continently, or not, and if they answered that they would not, willed them to marry before they ordayned them (as *Zonaras* writing on the Canons of the Apostles sheweth that they doe in the *Greeke* Church) they were not to bee blamed: Seeing the Councell of [z] *Ancyra* permitted Deacons, protesting when they were ordayned, that they would not liue single, to marry after they were entered into Orders.

z *Canone*, 10.

a *Contra Vigilantium.*

But [a] *Hierome* in opposition to the practise of these men, asketh what the Churches of the East, of *Egypt*, and of the Apostolike Sea shall doe, which admitte into the Cleargy, virgins, or such as contayne, or such as if they had wiues, yet cease to bee husbands? whereby it may seeme, that this Canon of Bishoppes liuing from their wiues, was admitted generally, which is contrary to the narration of *Socrates*.

But they that vrge these wordes of *Hierome*, should consider; first, that hee doth not say that these Churches mentioned by him, admitted none to the Ministery, but such as were single, or hauing wiues resolued to liue no longer with them in matrimoniall society; but that they admitted

admitted such as had neuer beene married, or hauing had wiues ceased to bee husbands, contrary to their practise, that would admit none as hee saith, vnlesse they saw their wiues to haue great bellies, or heard the children crying in their Mothers armes. Secondly, supposing that these Churches mentioned by *Hierome*, admitted none, but such as had neuer beene married, or hauing beene married ceased to bee husbandes, hee plainly sheweth by the particular mention of these Churches, [b] that there was no such thing generally preuayling; and so no way contrarieth the report of *Socrates*, and the rest.

[b] As in the Councell of Constantinople. *Can.* 2. Aegypt, and the East are opposed to Asia, Thracia. &c.

Wherefore seeing neither *Epiphanius*, nor *Hierome*, will by their contradiction eleuate the authority of *Socrates*, *Zozomen*, and the rest, the Cardinal wil improue their narration by another meanes. The Councel of [c] *Nice*, hee saith, forbiddeth Bishoppes, Presbyters and Deacons to haue any woman in their houses, besides their Mother, Sister, or Aunt: whence hee thinketh it may bee inferred, that it did forbid euery of these to haue any Wife dwelling with them in the same house; seeing if they might haue wiues, they might vndoubtedly haue hand-maides to attend them.

[c] *Canone.* 3.

This proofe is no better then the former: for in the Canons of the *Nicene* Councell, translated out of the *Arabian* tongue and put into the first Tome of Councells by *Binnius* out of *Alphonsus Pisanus*; (in which, as *Francis Turrian* professeth, in his Proeme before the same Canons, there is nothing but that which is approued, and worthy that great Synode of *Nice*) the Decree of the Councell is conceaued and expressed in such wordes, that it is euident it was neuer meant to bee extended to such Bishoppes, Presbyters, or Deacons, as haue wiues; but to such onely, as neuer were married, or are widowers. The wordes are these. [*] *We decree, that Bishoppes dwell not with women, neither any Presbyter that is a widower*: the same is decreed touching euery Presbyter that is vnmarried, and the Deacons which haue no wiues: and that Priests might liue with their wiues in those times, the 78. of those Canons maketh it most cleare, for it laieth a more heauy punishment vpon him, that hath a wife liuing, and liuing with him, if he commit adultery, then vpon him, that neuer was married, or is a widower. Wherefore let vs passe from the Councell of *Nice*, to the Councell of *Gangra*. [d] *Socrates* sheweth that *Eustathius* Bishop of *Sebastia* in *Armenia*, so farre disliked marriage, that he perswaded many women to forsake their husbands, that he contemned married Presbyters, and condemned the prayers and blessinges of Presbyters hauing wiues, which they married while they were Lay-men. Now it is not to be imagined, that he would haue despysed them if they had put away their wiues, (for he perswaded to that; and many women hearkning vnto him, departed from their husbandes) but because they retained them still; yet did the [e] Councell of *Gangra* condemne him; adding, that if any one

[*] *Canone.* 4.

[d] *Lib.* 2. *cap.* 33. & *Sozome. lib.* 3. *cap.* 13.

[e] *Canone.* 4.

one contrary to the Apostolicall Canons, shall presume to put any one of them, that haue taken holy orders, as Presbyters, or Deacons, from companying with their wiues, hee shall bee deposed. To this wee may adde the Sixth Generall Councell holden in *Trullo*, wherein a Decree was passed, that such as doe enter into the Ministery being married, shall bee permitted to liue with their wiues. The words of the Councell are these: [f] *Because wee haue vnderstood, that it hath beene deliuered to the Church of Rome for a Canon, that Deacons or Presbyters, who shall bee thought worthy to bee ordained, shall professe and promise to company no more with their wiues; weekeeping the ancient Canon of Apostolicall perfection and order, will and decree, that the marriages of such men, as are in holy orders, henceforth, and from this moment of time shall be firme and stable, no way dissoluing their coniunction with their wiues, nor debarring them from companying with them, at conuenient times. Wherefore if any man bee found worthy to bee ordained a Subdeacon, Deacon, or Presbyter; Let him by no meanes bee debarred from entring into such a degree, because hee liueth with his lawfull wife, neither let it bee required of him, at the time of his ordination, to promise to refraine from the lawfull companying with his wife; least by so doeing, wee bee forced to doe wrong to marriage, ordained of God, and blessed by his presence: The Euangelicall voyce crying out alowde, the things which GOD hath ioyned, let no man sunder: and the Apostle teaching, that Mariage is honourable, and the bed vndefiled: And againe saying; Art thou bound to a wife? seeke not to bee loosed, &c.*

[f] Canone. 13.

Thus doe the Fathers and Bishops assembled in this Councell, forbid and condemne the putting of Presbyters, Deacons and Subdeacons from the society with their wiues, alleadging the ancient Canon, vse, and custome, and many excellent authorities, and reasons out of the Scriptures and word of God; shewing that no such thing can bee done without great iniury to the state of Marriage, and without separating those whom God hath ioyned together: and yet sodainely forgetting them-selues, they [g] forbidde Bishoppes to liue with their wiues; so ouer-throwing the ancient custome and Canon, and separating those that God hath ioyned together.

[g] Canone. 12.

Whereby that which had beene free from the Apostles times (as [h] *Zonaras* noteth) was forbidden, and the Canon of the Apostles repealed. Yet did these Fathers (as wee see) most carefully prouide, that Presbyters and Deacons should not bee restrained. And indeed, this liberty hath continued according to their Decree in this behalfe passed, euer since, in all the East Churches of the world. For first, touching the *Greeke* Church, which is principally directed by the Canons of this Councell, it is euident by [i] the censure of the Orientall Church, vpon the Confession of *Ausburge*, translated out of *Greeke* into

[h] *In explicatione Canonum Apostol.*

[i] Cap. 21.

into *Latine*, and published by *Stanislaus Socolonius*. Secondly, the Sixth [k] Generall Councell testifieth, that the *Armenians* were so farre from disliking the marriage of their Cleargie-men, that they ranne into the other extreame. For they confined the Election of Churchmen within the stocke of Church-men; as the Priesthood was confined in the time of *Moses* law, and contained within the tribe of *Leui*. And thirdly, [l] *Damianus a Goes* witnesseth, that among the *Æthiopian* Christians, Cleargy-men are married; and that by dispensation of the Patriarche, after the death of the first wife, their Priests and Ministers may marry the second: though with-out such dispensation they may marry but once.

[k] *Canone.* 33.

[l] *Damian. a Goes de morib. Aethiop.*

The *Armenians* and *Æthiopians* (I suppose) haue not restrained their Bishops, from liuing in matrimoniall society with their wiues, more then their Presbyters and Deacons: seeing they take no notice of the prescriptions of the Sixth Generall Councell, wherein this restraint began: The Armenians receiuing but onely the three first, and the *Æthiopians* onely the first foure Generall Councels.

Thus hauing taken a view of the course of things in the Church, from the beginning, and made it euident, that generally there neuer preuailed any restraint of Cleargy-men from companying with their wiues, which they married while they were but yet Lay-men, or in the inferior orders and degrees of Ministerie, and that the greatest part of the Christian world hath euer from the beginning, euen vnto this day, enioyed the liberty, which some vniustlye sought to impeache; let vs see where it was restrained or taken away, and by whome.

Of the restraint in *Thessalia*, whereof *Heliodorus* was Author, as likewise in *Thessalonica*, *Macedonia*, and *Hellas*, and of the endeauours of *Eustathius* Bishoppe of *Sebastia* in *Armenia*, resisted by the Bishoppes in the Conncell of *Gangra*, I haue spoken sufficientlye already, and haue shewed, that this restraint could not preuaile, nor continue in those partes; all these Churches holding their libertye in this matter euen vnto this daye. Therefore I will proceede to speake of the restraint, that some sought to bring into the West Church.

The first restraint of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons from companying with their wiues, that I doe finde in the West Church, was in the Prouinciall Councell of [m] *Elliberis* in *Spaine*; holden in the yeare three hundred and fiue, twenty yeares before the Councell of *Nice*, consisting of nineteen Bishops. But I hope our Aduersaries will not much presse vs with the authority of this Councell; seeing themselues make so little account of it as they doe.

[m] *Canone.* 33.

There are some most excellently learned (saith [n] *Binnius* in his notes vpon

[n] *Tomo. 1. Conciliorum.*

vpon this Councell, that thinke it erroneous, and of no authority, and that it is to be contemned as reiected by the Church, for fauouring the heresie of *Nouatus*, the conceit of *Vigilantius*, and their opinion, that would haue no pictures in Churches. [o] *Melchior Canus* saith, the thirty sixth Canon of it is erroneous: and [p] *Bellarmine* saith, it was but Prouinciall, not confirmed, and that it erred in many things: namely, in not admitting to the Communion of the Church, vpon their repentance, such as in the time of persecution denied the faith, or otherwise ranne into grieuous and enormous crimes and sinnes. And Cardinall *Baronius*, howsoeuer [q] varying in his opinion touching this Councell, yet [r] confesseth, there is no mention of it among the Ancient, as of others; and that it was vtterly suppressed, as if it had neuer beene, because it was ill thought of, as fauouring *Nouatianisme*. And therefore contrary to this Councell, the Councell of [s] *Ancyra*, nine yeares after decreed, that they that fell in the time of persecution, and denied the faith, after condigne penance should be receiued to the Sacraments of the Church againe; and that [t] Deacons protesting at the time of their ordination, that they cannot, nor are not resolued to containe, but that they purpose and desire to marry, shall remaine in the Ministery, though they marry after their ordination.

[o] *Loscr. Theolog. lib. 5. cap. 4.*
[p] *De Imaginib. lib. 2. cap. 9.*
[q] *Tomo. 1. anno Domini. 57. num. 119. & trib. sequent.*
[r] *Tom. 2. anno. 305. num. 42.*
[s] *Canone. 4 & 5.*
[t] *Canone. 9.*

This Councell was confirmed by [u] *Leo* the fourth, and by the Councel of *Nice*, as it is in the [x] Councell of *Florence*. So that hitherto, no restraint of Cleargy-men from companying with their wiues preuailed. But almost foure hundred yeares after Christ, [y] *Syricius* Bishop of *Rome*, writing to the Bishop of *Tarracon*, (by whom hee vnderstood that very many Priests and Deacons in those parts, after their ordination, liued with their wiues which they had formerly married, and begat children of them as before, and iustified their so doing by the example of the Priests of the Law) excusing that which was done, as proceeding from ignorance, if they would acknowledge them-selues in fault, and refraine for the time to come, commanded that no such thing should bee any longer permitted.

[u] *Dist. 20. cap. De Libellis.*
[x] *Actione. 4.*
[y] *Inter Epistolas Decretales.*

Where-vpon the [z] second Prouinciall Councell of *Arle*, holden in the time of this *Syricius*, decreed, that no married man should bee admitted to the degree of Priest-hood, vnlesse hee would promise to refraine from the company of his wife, and yet permitted him to haue her liuing in house with him. [a] *Innocentius* the first, who began his Popedome about the yeare of our Lord foure hundred and two, insisted in the steps of *Syricius* his Predecessor, and drew some particular Bishops to concurre with him. So that in some particular Councells, the lawfull society and companying of Cleargie-men with their wiues, began to bee restrained. In the [b] second Councell of *Carthage*, as it is vsually reckoned, but indeed the last, the Legate of the Bishop of *Rome* being present, procured the Bishops to passe a Decree, that Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons, should

[z] *Ca. 2. & 3.*
[a] *Epist. 3.*
[b] *Canone. 3.*

refraine

reſtraine from the company of their wiues; falſely affirming, that the Apoſtles did teach ſo, and Antiquity practiſe ſō; contrary to that which I haue before alleadged out of the Canons of the Apoſtles, the Councell of *Gangra*, the ſpeaches of *Paphnutius* in the Councell of *Nice*, the report of *Socrates* the Hiſtorian, and the Decree of the ſixth Generall Councell, affirming, the leauing of Cleargy-men to their liberty in this behalfe to bee Apoſtolicall, and Ancient.

The [c] first Councell of *Toledo* holden in the yeare of our Lord foure hundred, decreed, that Deacons which had liued with their wiues ſhould not bee preferred to bee Presbyters, nor Presbyters to bee Biſhoppes, though they had ſo done before the reſtraint made by the Biſhops that were before them, but laide no other puniſhment on them. The Councell of [d] *Agatha* holden in the yeate fiue hundred and ſixe, ſheweth plainly, that at that time many Prouinces tooke no knowledge of the Decree of *Syricius* and *Innocentius*; but that their Presbyters and Deacons liued with their wiues ſtill; and excuſeth them in reſpect of their not knowing of any reſtraint; and continueth them in their places, onely debarring them from further promotion, and preſcribing that the Decree of *Syricius* ſhall take place in time to come; and that ſuch as know of it and diſobey it, ſhall bee remooued from their places. The [e] first Councell of *Turon*, holden in the yeare foure hundred foure ſcore and two, ſought to remit ſome-thing of the ſeuerity of ſome particular Councels, wherein the Biſhops directed by the prohibition of *Syricius* and *Innocentius*, had gone too farre. The words of the Councell are theſe: *Though our Fathers, out of the authoritie committed to them, decreed that what Prieſt or Deacon ſoeuer, ſhould bee found to beget children of their wiues, ſhould bee put from the communion of the Lord; yet wee moderating this extreame ſeuerity, and by a more equall conſtitution mollifying and mitigating that which was too hard, haue decreed: That a Prieſt or Deacon continuing in Matrimoniall ſociety with his wife, and not ceaſing from the procreation of children, ſhall not bee lifted vp to any higher degree, nor offer ſacrifice vnto God, nor miniſter to the people: but let this be enough for them, that they are not put from the Communion.* Thus wee ſee, that within a ſhort time after the publiſhing of theſe Decrees, the Biſhops were forced out of due conſideration to remit ſome-thing of that ſeuerity, that ſome other ſet on by *Syricius* and *Innocentius* had vſed, till at length the execution of theſe Decrees was in a manner wholy neglected as vnprofitable, and too heauy a burden for the Miniſters of the Church to beare. Where-vpon wee ſhall finde, that in all the Prouinces of the Weſt, the Presbyters and Deacons of the Church were married, at that time that *Hildebrand* climed vp into the Papall Chaire, and had beene long before. Priests in thoſe times (ſaith [f] *Auentinus*) had wiues publickly, as all other Chriſtians, and begate ſonnes and daughters of them, as it appeareth by the inſtru-

[c] *Canone.* 1.

[d] *Canone.* 9.

[e] *Canone.* 2.

[f] *Lib.* 5. *Annal. Boiorum. pag.* 564.

ments

ments of donations made to Churches, and Abbaies, wherein these Priests wiues together with their husbands, are brought as witnesses, and are stiled by the name of *Presbyterissæ*. Yea so generall and so well setled was the marriage of Cleargie-men in those times, that when *Hildebrand* began to restraine and forbid it, the whole Nation of Cleargie-men rose vp against him, called him Monster, and enemy of man-kinde, and pronounced him to bee Antichrist. And such was the resistance against this rashe and inconsiderate attempt of the Pope, that hee could by no meanes preuaile, though hee caused so great confusions, tumults and disorders in the Christian world, as the like had neuer beene seene in any of the bloudy persecutions, that were in the time of the Primitiue Church: and was forced to confesse a little before his death, that hee had caused grieuous scandales in the Christian world. The circumstances of the whole narration found in the Historians are these.

g *Naucler. vol. 2. generat. 36.*

§ So soone as the Decree of *Hildebrand* was published, presently the whole faction of Cleargie-men was enraged against him: crying out that hee was an hereticke, and a man damnablie erring in his iudgement, who forgetting the speach of our Lord, that saith, *All men receiue not this word; Let him that can receiue it, receiue it*: and of the Apostle, who saith, *Let him that cannot containe, marry; for it is better to marry then to burne*, would by violent inforcement constraine men to liue after the manner of Angells; and while hee denyed, and sought to restraine the ordinary and accustomed course of nature, loosed the raynes, and gaue free libertye to whoredome, and vncleannesse: protesting, that if hee should goe forward to vrge the execution of this his Decree, they were resolued rather to forsake the Ministery, then their mariage. And that then hee, before whome men did stincke, should see, whence Angells are to bee had, to vndertake the gouernment of the Church and people of God.

Notwithstanding all this resistance, and these earnest protestations, *Hildebrand* went forward, vrged the matter, and reproued the Bishops as careless and negligent. The Archbishop of *Mentz* fearing the Popes displeasure, and yet considering, that it would bee no easie matter to alter a custome so strongly and by so long tract of time confirmed, proceeded moderately in those parts, where hee had to doe: giuing those of the Cleargie halfe a yeares respite, to aduise themselues, praying and beseeching them to resolue to doe that willingly, which of necessity they must doe.

But after the time expired, which hee had giuen vnto them, hee called a Synode, and was earnest with them, that without all further delay or excuse, they would presently, eyther abiure their marriage, or put themselues from seruing any longer at the Altar. They on

the

the contrary ſide alleadged many reaſons to perſwade him, not to vrge them to any ſuch extremities: and when they found, that neither intreaty, and humble petition, nor weight of reaſon would preuaile, but that though profeſſing him-ſelfe vnwilling thus to vrge them, yet he was forced ſo to doe by the Popes mandate; and that therefore he muſt haue no denyall, but that they muſt yeeld; they went out of the Councell-houſe, as if it had beene to deliberate, and reſolued among them-ſelues either neuer to returne, or other-wiſe ſo to returne, as to pull him out of his chaire, before hee ſhould pronounce ſo curſed a ſentence againſt them, and to take away his life from him; that ſo his vnhappy ende might be a warning to all poſterities, that no ſucceding Biſhoppe might euer dare to attempt, ſo to wrong and diſhonour the Prieſtly degree and order.

The Arch-biſhoppe by the meanes of ſome, that wiſhed well vnto him, vnderſtanding of this conſpiracy, to preuent the tumult, which hee ſaw to bee vnauoydable, if hee did not ſpeedily giue them ſome ſatiſfaction and contentment, ſent vnto them, beſought them to be quier, and to returne into the Synode; and promiſed, that as ſoone as any opportunity ſhould bee offered, hee would do his beſt indeuour to perſwade the Pope to deſiſt from theſe courſes: Theſe thinges were done in the yeare 1074.

The yeare following, the Arch-biſhoppe againe vrged by the Pope, called another Councell at *Mentz*, to which the Popes Legate came, bringing his letters and mandates, and requiring him to vrge them pretently, to yeeld, and if they ſhould refuſe ſo to do, to puniſh them with the loſſe of their degree & order, which thing when he was about to do, preſently all the Cleargymen which ſate round about, roſe vp, and ſo refuted, & reiected that he ſaid, with words, & by the violent mouing and ſhaking of their hands, and geſture of their whole bodies, ſhewed them-ſelues to bee ſo moued againſt him, as that hee feared euer to goe out of the Synode aliue; and ſo at laſt, ouercome with the difficulty of this attempt, hee reſolued to deſiſt from medling with this matter any more, which hee had ſo often to no purpoſe taken in hand, and to leaue it wholly to the Pope to do what he would. Theſe were the vaine attempts of the *Romaniſtes* for the reſtrayning of lawfull Marriage, which though they preuailed not at the firſt, according to the wiſhes of the wicked Pope, yet cauſed the moſt horrible confuſions in the Weſterne Church, that euer had beene: for Lay-men taking occaſion here-vpon, deſpyſed their Prieſts, medled with the Miniſtration of Holy things, miniſtered the Sacrament of Baptiſme, annoynted men with the filthe which they tooke out of their eares, in ſteade of oyle; did many thinges moſt diſorderedly, and committed ſundry intollerable outrages. And

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[h] *De Clericis. lib. 1. cap. 19.*

therefore it is most strange that [h] *Bellarmine* should so forget him-selfe as he doth, For wheras all stories impute these confusions, prophanations & contempts of sacred things to the restraint of marriage, and the disgracing of it, so hard is his forhead, that he blusheth not to write, that the marriage of Ministers would hinder the due and reuerent administration of Sacraments; and that experience shewed it, in that in *Germany*, in the time of *Gregory* the Seauenth when Priests began to marry wiues, their grew so great contempt of the Sacraments, that Lay-men began to administer them, as *Nauclerus*, and others report. In which speach of his, there is no word true: for neither did Priests begin to marry in *Gregoryes* time, but had beene ordinarily married long before, as [i] *Nauclerus* testifieth, saying, it was an old & confirmed custome, that was not easily to be altered, which *Gregory* sought to take away, when hee went about to forbid the marriage of Priests: So that they did rather cease to marry in his time then beginne. Neither doth any story impute the confusions, prophanations, and contempts of Sacraments and sacred things in those times to the marriage of Priests, which was publickly allowed long before, without any such euill ensuing, as [k] *Auentinus*, and others do testify, but to the restraint of it. And therefore it was not the beginning (as *Bellarmine* vntruely saith) but the ending of Priests marriages in *Gregoryes* time, that brought in so many and hideous euills into the Christian world. Thus hauing seene with how bad successe *Gregory* the Seauenth began this restraint in other partes of the Christian world, let vs take a view of our owne country, and see what footing it had here. [l] *Henry Huntingdon* an ancient Historian and of good credit, reporteth that before the time of *Anselme* Bishoppe of *Canterbury*, the mariage of Presbyters and other Ministers of the Church, was not forbidden in *England*; and that when he forbad it, howsoeuer hee pleased some, for that there seemed to bee greater purity in single life, then in the state of Mariage; yet this his prohibition seemed to other to bee very dangerous: fearing that whiles he sought to bring men to that, which is aboue the reach, and without the compasse of humane frailty, hee would occasion many greeuous and scandalous euils. But howsoeuer, this his endeuour tooke not place by and by; for the same author reporteth, that after that time one *Iohn Cremensis*, a Cardinal came into *England*, and went about to restriane ỹ Marriages of Church-men: So that it appeareth, that *Anselme* had effected nothing. This worthy Cardinall (as hee reporteth) held a Synod at London, and in the same made a vehement and bitter speach against the mariage of Presbyters; asking if it were not an impure and vnfitting thing for a Minister of the Church to rise vp from the side of an harlot, (for so it pleased him to terme the lawfull wiues of Church-men) and to goe to the Altar to consecrate the Sacrament of the Lords Body and Blood. But see the iudgment of God, saith *Huntingdon*. The Impure Cardinall that had thus inveighed

[i] *Vbi supra.*

[k] *Vbi supra.*

[l] *Lib. 7.*

inueighed against Marriage, the night following was taken in bed with an Harlot though hee had said Masse and consecrated the blessed Sacrament in the morning; which thing was so euident that it could not, and so foule, that it was not fit to bee concealed, and hee addeth, that if any *Romane* Prelate or other dislike this his most true report, hee were best to take heede hee follow not the example of *Cremensis*, least the like dishonour come vnto him as did vnto *Cremensis*, who being at first receiued in very glorious manner, was in the end cast out with disgrace; and who despising lawfull mariage, feared not to commit most filthy whoredome. *Math. paris in Henrico 1. pag. 67.*

Herevpon it seemeth, the matter of restraint of Presbyters marriage had no good successe at that time; which appeareth also in that [m] after this time in a Councell it was referred to the King, and he was authorised and appointed to punish such Presbyters and ministers of the Church, as hee should find maryed, but hee notably deceiued the Popes Agents, that thus authorised him; for hee tooke mony of such as were found to bee married and suffered them so to redeeme their liberties, which greeued them not a little: yet did they in the end so farre forth obtayne their desires, and the tyranny of Antichrist so farre preuayled, that Presbyters durst no longer bee knowne publickely to bee married, but were forced to take another course: for as it appeareth by the [n] Decrees of *Otho*, in the time of *Henry* the Third, many contracted matrimony secretly, and when in processe of time children were borne vnto them, for their good, when they saw it fit, they would take order it might bee proued they were married, and their children borne in marriage, either by witnesses, or publike instruments, either while they liued, or after their death. Whereby it is euident, that howsoeuer the impure *Romanistes* sought to keepe Clergy-men from marrying, and to force them by censures of the Church, and other extremities to put away their wiues, yet at that time they durst not pronounce their marriages voyde, nor their children illegitimate: for if they had, these men would not so carefully haue prouided to be able to make proofe of their marriages for the good of their children. So that though there wanted not instruments, set a worke by the Pope some hundreds of yeares past, that sought to restraine the marriage of Cleargy-men, yet was not their restraint like vnto that of the *Romanistes* at this day, for they did not so restrayne Cleargymen from marrying, or liuing with their wiues, as to prouounce their marriages to be voyde, neither did they seperate those that God had ioyned together, but if they would marry, or continue with their wiues, which they had formerly married, they permitted them so to do, and onely put them from the ministery. Presbyters in former times (saith [o] *Duarenus*) if they tooke wiues in those places where mariage was forbidden, were put

[m] *Math Paris in Henric. 1. pag. 68.*

[n] *Constit. Othonis de vxoratis a Beneficiis Remouendis.*

[o] *De Sacris Eccles. minist. & Benef. li. 4. ca. 8*

put from the Miniſtery, or perhaps, where more ſeuerity was vſed, were excommunicated; but their Mariage was not voyded; yet is it not to be denied, but that *Syricius* & *Innocentius* ſpake very vnreuerently of the ſtate of Marriage, indeuouring to proue that Presbyters are not to be ſuffered to marry, becauſe to liue in mariage is to liue in the fleſh, and they that are in the fleſh cannot pleaſe God. How abſurd and inconſiderate this kind of reaſoning is, euery man (I thinke) will eaſily diſcerne: for whereas the [p] Apoſtle, and after him [q] *Paphnutius* in the Councell of *Nice*, pronounce that Mariage is honourable among all and the bed vndefyled; and [r] *Chryſoſtome* affirmeth, that it is ſo honourable that men may be lifted vp into the Biſhoppes chaires with it; with what face can theſe men ſay that to liue in mariage is to liue in the fleſh, in ſuch ſort as not to pleaſe God. [s] *Bellarmines* euaſion, that they ſpeake not of mariage ſimply, but of forbidden mariage, ſuch as that of Prieſts is, when they ſay to liue in mariage is to liue in the fleſh, and that therefore they ſay onely, they who liue in vnlawfull & forbidden mariage, liue in the fleſh, and cannot pleaſe God, will not ſerue the turne. For they ſpeake not of vnlawfull and forbidden mariage, but goe about to proue, that mariage is to be forbidden and denied to Presbyters, by a reaſon taken from the nature of it, and ſome-thing in it, or conſequent of it, in reſpect whereof it cannot ſtand with the holineſſe of the degree and calling of Presbyters and Miniſters.

p Heb. 13. 4.
q Socrates. lib. 1. cap. 8.
r In 1. ad Timoth. 3
s De Rom. Pont. lib. 4. cap. 10.

So that they ſay ſimply, to liue in mariage, is to liue in the fleſh: and that therefore the holy miniſters of the Church, who may not liue in the fleſh, muſt bee forbidden to marry; their words being a reaſon moouing them to prohibite mariage, and not taken from the prohibition, as it will eaſily appeare to any one that will take the paines to view the [t] Epiſtles of theſe *Romane* Biſhopps (if yet they haue not beene corrupted, as many other things of like nature haue.) But how-ſo-euer we cenſure theſe ſayings of the Popes, it is moſt certaine, that thoſe particular Biſhoppes of the Weſt, who vpon miſconceit ſought to reſtraine Presbyters from liuing with their wiues, yet neuer proceeded ſo farre as either to pronounce their mariages vnlawfull, or to diſſolue them, till of late. And therefore they were moſt contrary in their iudgements to the lewd aſſertions of Papiſtes; who thinke and teach that the mariages of Church-men are adulteries, and feare not to ſay, that it is worſe for a man to take a wife to liue with continually, then to ioyne him-ſelfe vnto harlots: which prodigious aſſertion, al men in former times, euen they who were moſt auerſe from the mariage of Cleargy-men would haue deteſted. If a Presbyter (ſaith the Councell of [u] *Neoceſarea*) will marry a wife, let him be put from his order, but if hee commit fornication or adultery, let him bee driuen further, and put to pennance.

t Syricij ad. Himericum cap. 7. Innocent ad Victricium. cap. 9. & in Epiſt. ad Exuperium. cap. 1.

u Can. 1.

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Where-vnto the Councell of [x] *Helliberis* before mentioned, agreeth, prescribing that such as commit adultery shall bee put from the Communion of the Church for euer; and like-wise the Councell of [y] *Aruerne*. Some other indeed there were, that proceeded a little further, and put them from the Communion of the Church, that would liue in Matrimoniall society; but the Bishoppes in the Councell of [z] *Turon* thought good to moderate that extremity, and only to keepe them from further promotion and sacred imployment; and with them the Bishops in the Fifth Councell of [a] *Orleans* agree. So that these Bishops, though inconsiderately restraining mariage, yet durst not pronounce the Mariages of Church-men voyde, as our Aduersaries now doe; neither did they (for ought I can read) force men to make any vow of continencie. For though some of them required a promise of liuing single, yet was it no vow; seeing a promise made to men is farre different from a vowe, which is a promise made to God. And many of them (as it may seeme) vrged such as they admitted into the Ministery, to no such promise at all; but receiued them in such sort, that they should so long bee imployed, as they would refraine, and that if they pleased to marry, they should still inioy the Communion of the Church, but should not bee imployed in sacred function any longer. Touching the promise which some required, the Second Councell of [b] *Toledo* prescribeth, that at eighteene yeares of age they of the Cleargie shall resolue to marry, or promise to containe; and that at twenty they shall be made Subdeacons.

[x] *Canone.* 33. & 18.

[y] *Canone.* 12.

[z] *Turonens.* 1. *Canone.* 2.

[a] *Canone.* 4.

[b] *Canone.* 1.

The Councell of [c] *Ancyra* prouideth, that if Deacons shall protest when they are ordained, that they will not liue single, but will haue wiues, they shall bee permitted to marry, and yet keepe their places. But if professing that they will containe, they betake themselues to former or new mariages, they shall inioy the Lay-communion, but shall bee put out of the Ministery and Cleargy,

[c] *Canone.* 10.

Whereby it appeareth, that there was no vniforme obseruation in the promise of continencie, that was required: Seeing the one of these two Councels requireth it at eighteene yeares of age, of such as were not yet Subdeacons, and the other leaueth such as were to bee Deacons to their owne choyce at the time of their ordination: nor that this promise was thought to make voyde the ensuing mariage; seeing such as contrarye to promise, returned to the state of mariage, were permitted to enioy the communion of the Church as Lay-men, though in some places they were put out of the Ministery and Cleargy. I say in some places, becaus it appeareth by the [d] Councell of *Toledo*, appointing that such shall haue but the places of Lectors onely, that they were not wholy deprined of the honour of Cleargy-men in all places.

[d] *Concil. Tolet.* 1. *Canon.* 4.

Afterwards indeed in the [e] Ninth Councell of *Toledo*, the Bishoppes finding

[e] *Canone.* 10.

finding that all their former indeuours preuailed not, though they voyded not the mariages of Cleargy-men, nor iudged them to bee adulteries as our Aduerſaries doe; yet they adiudged ſuch as ſhould bee borne of ſuch marriages to a kinde of bondage, and depriued them of that poſſibility of inheritance, which formerly they might haue had. But this was but the particular Decree of that Prouinciall Councell, and ſo could binde none but thoſe few Churches in thoſe parts. Neither did it. For long after heere in *England*, (as I haue ſhewed) the Miniſters of the Church were publickly marryed with-out any ſuch wrong done eyther to them, or their children. And long after the reſtraint of *Gregory* the ſeauenth, when this Decree of ſingle life had in ſome ſort preuailed, they did ſtill ſecretly marry, and when they ſaw cauſe for the good of their Children, made proofe of their marriages.

Neither is it to bee maruailed at, that ſome particular Synodes in the Weſt, ſet on by the Biſhops of *Rome*, went about in ſome ſort to reſtraine the lawfull Mariages of Church-men (lawfull I ſay, both by the lawe of God, and the reſolution, allowance, and practiſe of the greater part of the Chriſtian Churches) ſeeing they forbade thoſe, which euen in the iudgment of our Aduerſaries them-ſelues, I thinke cannot bee denied to haue beene lawfull. If the widowe or relicte of a Presbyter or Deacon, ſhall ioyne her-ſelfe to any man in marriage (ſaith the firſt Councell of [f] *Orleans*) let them after chaſtiſment bee ſeperated; or if they perſiſt in the intention of ſuch a crime, let them bee excommunicated. Wherewith the [g] *Epaunine* Councell agreeth, and the ſecond Councell of [h] *Bracar*, ſaying: *If any widdow of a Biſhop, Presbyter or Deacon, take an husband, let no Cleargie-man, nor no religious woman banquet with them; neither let her euer communicate, onely at the time of her death, let the Sacraments of the Church bee adminiſtred vnto her.*

[f] *Canone.15.*
[g] *Canone.32.*
[h] *Canone.29.*

Likewiſe, the Councell of [i] *Antiſiodorum*, decreeth to the ſame effect. Neither can it be anſwered, that theſe Councells forbid the widdowes of Presbyters, Deacons, and Subdeacons to marry, becauſe during the life of their husbands, vpon ſome voluntary parting, they bound themſelues by promiſe to liue continently. For the Councell of [k] *Matiſcon* decreeth, that if the wiues of Subdeacons, Exorciſtes, or Acolythes, ſhall after their death, ioyne them-ſelues in marriage the ſecond time, they ſhall bee ſeperated, and thruſt into the houſes of Nunnes. And yet theſe might lawfully liue with their husbands, euen in the iudgment of them that made this Decree. Neither were they any way induced neceſſarily to promiſe to containe.

[i] *Canone.22.*
[k] *Matiſconenſ. 2. Canone.16.*

Thus hauing ſeene, where, when, and by whom, the forbidding of the lawfull marriage of Presbyters entred into the Church, in what ſort it was vrged at the firſt, how afterwards, what contradiction it found, and how farre forth in the end it preuailed; it remaineth that wee proceed to

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see what good followed vpon it. Where first [l] *Auentinus* telleth vs, that after the restraint of *Hildebrand*, vnder the honest name of Chastity, the greatest part euery-where, without check of punishment, committed whoredomes, incests, and adulteries, and that the Lawe of single life, which offended the good, was exceeding pleasing to impure companions, who now for one wife might haue sixe hundred Harlots. Neither is this the priuate conceit of *Auentinus* alone, but all good and wise men beare witnesse with him, that hee speaketh the truth; and say as much as hee. *Bernard* speaking of the state of the Cleargie in his time, saith, [m] *Many, not all truly, but yet many vndoubtedly, who neither can bee hid they are so many, nor care to bee hid they are so shameleſſe, many surely seeme to haue made the liberty in which they are called, to serue as a fitte occasion to satisfie the flesh; abstaining from the remedy of Mariage, and powring forth themselues into all manner of sinfull wickednesses.* And in the same Chapter hee saith, *That if wee digge downe the wall, according to the wordes of the Prophet* Ezechiell, *wee shall see horrible things in the house of God. For after whoredomes, adulteries, and incests, there are found the passions of ignominy, and the workes of impurity and filthinesse. Would to* GOD (saith hee) *those things that are most vnnaturall, were not committed: that neither the Apostles needed to write of them, nor wee to speake; and that no man would beleeue that so abhominable lust did euer possesse the minde of man. Were not those Cities, which were the Mothers of this impure filthinesse, long since condemned by the iudgment of God himselfe, and consumed with fire? Did not the fire of hell, impatient of delay, preuent the time, and in a sort before the time, consume that cursed Nation? Did not fire, brimestone, and the stormie tempest, consume the very earth and ground it selfe, as priuie to such confusions, as should neuer so much as once bee thought of? Was not all the whole land and ground it selfe turned into an horrible Lake? Surely, fiue heads of the Monster* Hydra *are cut off: but woe is vnto vs, innumerable woe are risen vp. Who hath reedifyed those Cities of villanie? who hath inlarged the walles of impuritie? and who hath spred out those venimous branches? Woe, woe! the enemy of man-kinde hath scattered euery where round about, the vnhappy reliques of that sulphureous burning, and hath sprinckled the body of the Church with those execrable ashes, and hath filled some of the Ministers of the Church, with that filthy, stinking, and impure running sore.*

Saluianus in like sort, in his book of diuine Prouidence, hath these words. [n] *It is surely altogether a new and strange kinde of conuersion, that some men talke of, lawfull things they doe not, and vnlawfull things they commit. They refraine from marriage, but refraine not from Rape. What doost thou O foolish perswasion? God forbad sinne, not marriage: your deedes agree not with your profession. You should not bee the friends of enormous crimes, who professe to doe the workes of vertue. It is a preposterous thing*

[l] *Annal. Boiorum. lib. 5. pag. 565. & 571.*

[m] *Bernard. de Conuersione, ad Clericos. ca. 29.*

[n] *Saluianus de Diuina prouidentia lib. 4. citat. a Espencæo. lib. 1. de Continentia. cap. 12.*

that you doe, it is not conuerſion, but auerſion. You that haue long ſince (as the fame is) forſaken the worke of honeſt marriage, ceaſe at the laſt, from ſinfull wickedneſſe.

[o] *Sigebertus in Chronico. Anni. 1074.*

With theſe agree the Hiſtorians generally, [o] reporting that innumerable euils followed the prohibition of the marriage of Cleargie-men, publiſhed by Pope *Hildebrand*; that few liued continently, though ſome counterfaited ſo to doe, for filthy lucre ſake, and for oſtentation; and that many ioyned both periury and adultery together; and not contenting them-ſelues with an ordinary degree of wickedneſſe, multiplyed their whoredomes, and adulteries exceedingly. Wherevpon wee ſhall finde, that many of the beſt learned, moſt iudicious, and worthieſt men, the Church had in latter times, wiſhed the Lawe of ſingle life to bee taken away, euen as many reſiſted it when it was firſt made. *Durandus* in his booke* *De modo celebrandi Concilij*, prooueth by many reaſons, that it were fitte, that the liberty of marriage were againe reſtored to Prieſts in a Generall Councell.

*Rubrica. 46. fol. 35.

[p] *Æneas Syluius de geſtis Concilij Baſilienſis.*

[p] In the Councell of *Baſill*, when exception was taken againſt the choyce of *Amedeus* Duke of *Sauoy*, (whom many thought fitte to bee Pope) for that hee had beene a married man, and had children, it was anſwered by ſome of good eſteeme, that that was no exception, and that haply it were much better, that Prieſts were permitted to liue in marriage, then reſtrained. For that many of them might bee ſaued in chaſte marriage, which now periſh in their filthy and impure ſingle life. *Æneas Syluius* a great man in that Councell, who was afterwards Pope, and named *Pius* the ſecond, in an [q] Epiſtle to a friend of his, who was in the holy orders of the Miniſtery of the Church, and yet deſirous for the auoyding of fornication, to marry a wife, writeth thus: *Wee ſuppoſe, that you are not ill aduiſed, if when you cannot containe, you ſeeke a wife, though that ſhould haue beene thought on before you had entred into holy Orders. But wee are not GODS, neither can wee foreſee things to come. Wherefore, ſeeing things are come to this paſſe, that you cannot reſiſt the lawe of the fleſh, it is better to marry then to burne. Yet cannot the Pope bee perſwaded to diſpenſe with you; but hee ſtandeth reſolued to holde his ſeuere courſe ſtill, and thinketh it not fitte to grant that to one, which may bee hurtfull vnto many. If therefore you deſire ſafely to marry, you muſt expect ſome other Pope, who may bee more inclineable and yeelding.* And of this *Æneas Syluius*, afterwards named *Pius* the ſecond, [r] *Platina*, and [s] *Sabellicus* report, that hee was wonte to ſay, That *they had, no doubt, reaſon to lead them ſo to doe, that forbade the Marriage of Cleargie-men, but that there were much greater reaſon now to leaue it free againe.*

[q] *Epiſt. 307. ad Ioannem Frundt.*

[r] *In Pio. 2.*

[s] *Annead. 10. lib. 6. pag. 731.*

[t] *Baptiſta Mantuanus* ſaith, that many thought the Lawes againſt marriage to bee euill; that they which made thoſe Lawes, had not ſufficiently

[t] *Faſtorum lib. 1.*

ſufficiently conſidered, what the nature of man can beare, that Chriſt neuer put ſo vnpleaſant a Yoake vpon the neckes of men; that this burden, too heauy for the ſhoulders of men to beare, hath brought forth many monſtrous effects; that it was a ſhew of Piety, but indeed too great boldneſſe, that layde this burthen vpon the ſhoulders of men; that it had beene more ſafe to haue gone that way wherein the diuine lawe directeth vs, and to haue trode in the ſteppes of the Ancient Fathers, whoſe life was better in marriage, then ours that is ſingle.

[u] *Ioannes Antonius* ſaith, in the time of the Primitiue Church, it was lawfull for Presbyters, and ſuch as were entred into holy orders, to haue wiues, ſo that they refrained from companying with them, vpon the dayes wherein they celebrated; that afterwards in the Weſterne Church, they that were entered into holy Orders were commanded to containe: which commandement (hee ſaith) yeelded matter to enſnare the ſoules of many men, and therefore hee verily beleeueth, that as the Church brought in this precept of continencie, ſo the time will come, when the ſame Church will reuerſe and reuoke it againe: which reuocation ſhall bee agreeable to that of the Apoſtle, who ſaith, [x] *Concerning Virgins, I haue no commandement, but I giue aduice.*

[u] *Tit. Qui Clerici vel vouentes matrimonia contrahere poſſint. Citat. ab Andrea Friſio lib. 4. de Eccleſiâ.*

[x] 1. Cor 7. 25.

With *Antonius* agreeth [y] *Panormitanus*: who propoſing the queſtion, whether the Church may giue leaue to Presbyters to contract marriage, or to liue in marriage as the *Græcians* doe, anſwereth, that hee beleeueth it may; and that hee is aſſured it may in reſpect of them, who are not tyed by vowe implyed or expreſſed. Which hee prooueth, becauſe continencie in ſecular Cleargy-men is not of the ſubſtance of order, nor preſcribed by the Lawe of God. For that otherwiſe the *Græcians* ſhould ſinne, and no cuſtome could excuſe them: ſeeing no cuſtome is of force againſt the Law of God.

[y] *De Clericis coniugatis. cap. cum olim.*

Neither doth hee onely thinke, that the Church hath power thus to doe, but profeſſeth, hee thinketh it were behouefull, and for the good and ſaluation of the ſoules of men, that ſuch as are willing to containe, and to lead a life of higher perfection, ſhould be left to their owne will, and that ſuch as are not willing to containe, ſhould by the Decree of the Church be ſet free, to contract mariage. [z] *Alfonſus Veruecius*, as *Andreas Friſius* telleth vs, diſcourſing of the words of *Paul*, (*for the auoyding of fornication, let euery one haue his owne wife*) ſaith, they containe no precept, but a conceſſion or grant; and affirmeth, that by vertue of this grant, euery one that cannot otherwiſe auoyde fornication, may marry a wife. And after certaine remedyes preſcribed to bee obſerued and vſed by Presbyters, that they may auoyde fornication, at laſt, confidently giueth counſell to him, who hauing tryed all thoſe meanes cannot containe, rather to marry a wife, and ſo to prouide for his owne ſaluation, then to commit fornication, and

[z] *Citat. ab Andreâ Friſio. de Eccleſiâ. lib. 4.*

ſo to caſt him-ſelfe head-long into eternall death: but yet perſwadeth ſuch a one, to doe nothing without ſeeking the Popes conſent; hopeing that hee will diſpenſe in ſuch a caſe; ſeeing the power hee hath was giuen him for edification, and not for deſtruction. *I dare confidently ſay,* (ſaith *Polydore* [a] *Virgill*) *that it hath beene ſo farre from beeing true, that this inforced Chaſtity, hath excelled that which is in marriage; that no ſinfull crime hath brought greater diſgrace to the order of the Miniſtery, more euill to religion, or made a greater and deeper impreſſion of ſorrowe in all good men, then the ſtaine of the impure luſt of Prieſts. And therefore haply, it were behouefull for the Chriſtian common-wealth, and for the good of them that are of that ſacred order and ranke, that at the laſt a publicke Lawe might bee made to giue leaue to Prieſts to contract Marriage. Wherein rather they might liue honeſtly and holily without infamie, then in moſt filthy manner defile them-ſelues with this ſinne of Nature.*

[a] *De Inuent. Rerum. lib. 5. cap. 4.*

And Biſhop [b] *Lindan* ſaith: *Surely euen at this day, it is lawfull to take chaſte and honeſt married men into the order of Prieſthood: which (in my iudgement) might much better bee done in ſome Prouinces of* Germany, *then to ſet ouer them certaine moſt impure companions, or any longer to endure and tollerate, Knaues, Apoſtataes, and Sacriligious Paſtors.* With theſe agreeth [c] *Eraſmus*, affirming, that in his conceit, hee ſhould not ill deſerue, nor take the worſt courſe for the furthering of humaine affaires, and the right informing of the manners of men, which ſhould procure liberty of mariage (if it might bee) both for Prieſts, and Monkes. And therefore *Sigiſmund* the Emperour, a little before the Councell of *Baſill* began, publiſhed a forme of reformation of the Cleargie, in which among other things this was one, that for-aſ-much as more euill commeth by the forbidding of marriage then good, it were better and more ſafe to permit Cleargie-men to liue in the ſtate of marriage, according to the cuſtome of the Oriental Churches, then to forbid them ſo to do. In the Councel of *Trent*, the Orator of *Bauaria* moued to the ſame purpoſe. And [d] *Chemnitius* reporteth from *Gregory* the Prince of *Anhault*, that *Adolphus* Biſhop of *Mersberge* his vncle, would often ſay, before euer *Luther* began to ſtir, that if there were a Councell, he would be a perſwader, that Cleargy-men might be permitted to marry, and profeſſed that he knew, that many for the quiet of their conſciences ſecretly contracted marriage with thoſe women which they kept vnder the name of Concubines. And ſurely euen the Popes them-ſelues were content to winke at things in this kind. *Georgius Caſſander*, a man of infinite reading, excellent iudgment, and ſingular piety and ſincerity, and therefore ſo much reſpected and honoured by *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian* the ſecond, that they held him the fitteſt man in the world to compoſe the controuerſies in religion; and ſent for him to come vnto them for the ſame purpoſe,

[b] *Citat. a Chemnitio in examine Trident. Concil.*

[c] *In Declamat. de Laudib. Matrimonij.*

[d] *Vbi ſuprà.*

purpose, is clearly of opinion [c] that how-soeuer some in auncient times forbade the marriage of Cleargy-men, yet now it were fitte and necessary, that that law were abrogated: first, because it is found by wofull experience, to bee the cause of many greeuous euils: secondly, for that the seuerity of Discipline, and strictnesse in all courses of life, that was in vse when this Lawe began first to bee vrged, is cleane gone, or much decayed, euen in the opinion of all. So that which was fitte in those times, may now be most vnfit. Thirdly, for that many godly and learned men are thereby * discouraged from entering into the Ministery, refusing to binde them-selues to the obseruation of this lawe of single life, whereby the Church looseth the benefit of their labours; few young men, indeed religious and pious, applying them-selues to the study of Diuinity; but such only for the most part, as seeke nothing but riche and good liuings, that entend a dissolute course of life, and resolue afore-hand, to wallow in all impurity of iust, (besides some few, who inconsideratly before they know them-selues, fall into the snare.) Neyther doth he only thinke it fit, that marryed men bee admitted into the Ministery, and suffered to company with their wiues, according to the custome of the Oriental Churches, but is of opinion also, that they may be permitted to marry, after they are entered into holy Orders, yea though there were no allowed example of any such thing heretofore; seeing the Prohibition is but positiue, and many positiue Constitutions haue beene abrogated. But indeed there are not onely examples of men marrying after entering into Orders; but also of the Churches allowing of the same. For touching Sub-deacons and Deacons, there can bee no question; seeing the Councell of [f] *Ancyra*, which was most auncient, and confirmed by *Leo* the Pope, as [g] *Bellarmine* him-selfe confesseth, decreed, that Deacons, with the Bishoppes leaue, might marry wiues after their enterance into holy Orders.

[c] *In Consultatione de Sacerd. Cælibatu.*

* *Aeneas Syluius* writing to *Petrus Noxetus* hath these words. *Adhuc caui, ne me sacer ordo involueret. Timeo enim continentiam &c. Epist.* 50.

[f] *Canone.* 10.
[g] *De Clericis, lib.* 1. *cap.* 18.

[h] In the time of *Gregory* the Seauenth, and before, as it appeareth by the storyes of those times; Priestes did marry after Orders: and when hee went about to forbid them so to doe, hee was condemned by the whole Nation of Cleargy-men, & deposed in a Councel of Bishops; being iustly disliked as for other things, so for this Antichristian and vile attempt.

[h] *Vide supra.*

Neyther did those men, which desired a Decree to bee passed, to giue the liberty of marriage vnto Church-men, of whom I haue spoken, desire only the permitting of marryed men so to continue, but of such as are not marryed for to marry, as it easily appeareth by their discourses. And surely how-soeuer there might bee some reason of expedience, rather to permitte marryed men to enter into the Ministery, and to continue in the same state, then to suffer such as come into it, vnmarried, to marry afterwardes; yet if the one bee lawfull (as [i] *Bellarmine* rightly noteth) the other

[i] *Vbi supra.*

other cannot bee vnlawfull. For if any thing bee found in marriage, that cannot ſtand with the ſanctity of the Miniſtery, or the due execution of it; it is not the contract, which is a thing moſt ſeemely and honeſt, and ſoone paſt, but the act of it, and the cares accompanying that ſtate of life.

The manner, cuſtome and obſeruation of the *Greeke* Churches, is deſcribed by *Zonaras* in his explication of the Canons of the Apoſtles; where hee ſaith, that Preſbyters, Deacons, and Sub-deacons before they bee ordayned, are aſked whether they will liue ſingle or not; and if they anſwer that they will; they are preſently ordayned. But if they anſwere, that they will not; they are permitted to take them wiues firſt; and then are ordayned after marriage. So that they giue them leaue to marry after they haue choſen them, though before they ordayne them: but if refuſing to marry before ordination (when they are willed to reſolue what they will doe) they marry afterwardes, they are putte from the Miniſtery, but not from their wiues.

* For farther proofe hereof ſee the firſt booke of *Claudius Eſpẽcaus de Continentiâ.*

* By that which hath beene ſayd, it is moſt cleare and euident, that the mariage of Miniſters is iuſtifiable by GODS Lawe, by the Canons and practiſe of the greateſt part of the Church, and by the iudgment of ſundry of the greateſt and worthieſt of the World, in thoſe places, where it ſeemed to be moſt diſliked, in al ages, euen til our time: yet there remayneth ſtill one doubt, touching the lawfulneſſe of their Marriages, that by vow had promiſed the contrary. Concerning which poynt, two thinges are to bee obſerued: firſt, whether their mariage bee voyd, that vowed not to marry.

Secondly, whether they doe Sinne, that vppon any occaſion, or change of the ſtate of thinges, doe contrary to ſuch their vow. Touching the firſt of theſe two poyntes, to witte, that the marriages of ſuch as had vowed the contrary, are not voyd, wee haue the iudgement of ſundry the beſt learned among the Fathers. For firſt, *Cyprian* ſpeaking of Virgins hath theſe wordes: [k] *Quod ſi ex fide Chriſto ſe dicauerunt, pudicè et caſtè ſine vlla fabula perſeuerent. Ita fortes et ſtabiles præmium virginitatis expectent, ſi autem perſeuerare nolunt, aut non poſſunt, melius eſt nubant, quam in ignem delictis ſuis cadant:* That is; if by faith they haue dedicated them-ſelues to CHRIST, let them chaſtly, and with all honeſt ſhamefaſtneſſe, without lying, or falſhood ſo continue, and reſolute and conſtant, let them expect the reward of virginity: but if they will not, or cannot perſeuere, it is better that they ſhould marry, then that by their ſinnes they ſhould fall into the fire. Which wordes are cleare enough for proofe of that which we defend. Yet [l] *Bellarmine* and ſome others ſeeke to auoyd them; making as if *Cyprian* did onely ſay, that if Virgins, that are to reſolue and are yet free, thinke they cannot contayne, it were better for them to marry then to burne.

k *Cyprian. lib. 1 Epiſt. 11.*

l *De Monachis. lib. 2. cap. 34.*

But

But this euasion serueth not the turne: for *Cyprian* speaketh of such as haue already dedicated them-selues to God, willing them to perseuere; and yet sayth, if they will not, or cannot contayne, they were better to marry then to burne: and therefore hee thinketh marriage after a vowe made to the contrary to bee good, though hee that voweth without constant purpose of performing, is not without fault.

Pamelius, writing on this place of *Cyprian* hath these wordes: If *Cyprian* by a certayne indulgence permitted such virgins vppon whome the vayle was not yet putte, to marry rather then to burne, let no man maruayle at it: seeing their marriages, if they do marry, are not dissolued by any Canons, but they are only inioyned penance.

Saint *Austine* agreeth with *Cyprian:* for, speaking of the mariages of such as had vowed the contrary, hee hath these wordes: [m] *They who say, that the mariages of such men are not mariages, but rather adulteries, as it seemeth to mee, doe not acutely and dilligently enough consider what they say: but a certayne likenesse and shewe of truth deceiueth them. For, because they are sayd to chuse* CHRIST *to bee their husband, which out of a certayne loue of Christian sanctity refuse to marry, there are some that argue and say, that if shee bee an adultheresse which maryeth to another man while her husband liueth, as the* LORD *him-selfe defined in the Ghospell, then so long as* CHRIST *liueth, ouer whome death hath no more dominion, shee must needes bee an adultheresse, which hauing chosen him to bee her husband, maryeth vnto any mortall man.*

[m] *Augustin. de bono Viduitatis.*

They truly which thus say, seeme to be moued, by some reason, that is not to bee contemned; but they little consider, how great absurdity followeth vppon that which they say: for seeing a woman may laudably (euen while her husband liueth) with his consent vow continency vnto CHRIST, *according to the argument of these men, no woman may so doe; least (which once to thinke is impious) shee make* CHRIST *him-selfe an adulterer, to whome shee maryeth, her husband yet liuing.*

After this refutation of their reasons, hee goeth forward to shewe the absurd consequences of their opinion. *By this inconsiderate opinion* (sayth hee) *of them that thinke the marriages of women, falne from an holy purpose, if they do marry, to be voyd, not a little euil is brought forth: for from hence it commeth, that women are seperated from their husbands, as adultheresses, and not wiues. And while they thus seperate them, and force them to contayne, they make their husbands truly and indeed adulterers: when as (these their wiues yet liuing) they marry.*

Thus doth *Austine* resolue, that mariages after vowes made to the contrary, are lawfull and good; though the not performing of vowed continency, is a sinne (as hee thinketh) more greeuous then

then adultery, not for that the marriage of such is to bee condemned, but because the inconstancy in not performing that was purposed, and the violating of the vow are condemned. *Non susceptio, à bono inferiori sed ruina ex bono superiori:* not for that they doe a lesser good, but because they fall from a greater. Lastly, not for that they afterwards marryed, but for that they violated their first faith of continency. Which thing that the Apostle might briefly insinuate, hee would not say, *that they haue damnation which marry, after the purpose of a more high degree of sanctity*; not for that they are not to be disliked that so doe, but least their marriage it selfe might seeme to bee condemned; but when hee had sayd, *they will marry*, hee by and by addeth, *Hauing condemnation*, and expresseth why; *Because they haue broken their first faith.* That it may appeare that the Will which fel from a former purpose is condemned and reproued, whether marriage follow or not.

If any man doubt whether Saint *Austine* were the Author of this booke, *De bono viduitatis*, wherein these thinges are found, as some doe; and consequently, whether hee were of the opinion, wee haue recited or not; he may easily know, that this is Saint *Augustines* iudgement, whether this be his booke or not, by his [n] Epistle to one *Bonifacius*, who had vowed a monasticall, retyred, and single life, and yet afterwardes did marry; whome hee telleth, hee cannot now, as otherwise he would exhort to that kinde of life, which he had formerly vowed, because of his wife, so that he thought not his marriage voyd, or that hee was to bee seperated from his wife. His wordes are these: *Thy wife hindereth mee, that I cannot exhort thee to this kinde of life; without whose consent it is not lawfull for thee to contayne. &c.*

[n] *Epist.* 70.

And [o] elsewhere speaking of certayne women, who abode not in that which they had first vowed, which had a desire of marriage, but married not for feare of disgrace, he saith; *It were better for them to marry then to burne*: that is, to be wasted with the secret flame of the conscience in lust: And *Hierome* also is of the same opinion. For speaking to a certayne virgine that had priuately vowed virginity, and that could not indure the straight keeping of her mothers house, he hath these wordes: [p] *If thou be a virgine, why dost thou feare carefull and dilligent keeping? If thou be corrupted, why dost thou not openly marry? This is as a bord to swimme out on after shipwracke. So shouldst thou temper that which thou begannest ill, by vsing this remedy. Neyther truly doe I say this, for that I take away repentance after sin, (that so that which is ill begun, may still continue) but for that I dispayre of drawing of you from that ill company into which you are entered.* And in his Epistle to *Demetriades* hee hath these wordes: *The ill name and report of some that behaue not themselues well, disgraceth and dishonoureth the holy purpose of virgins, and obscureth and blemisheth the glory of the Heauenly and Angel-like family: who must bee plainely and peremptorily*

[o] *De Sanctâ Virginitate. cap.* 34.

[p] *Hierom. Epist.* 47. *de suspecto Contubernio vitando.*

vrged

orged and required either to marry, if they cannot containe, or to containe, if they will not marry.

To these we may adde [q] *Epiphanius*, who indeed maketh it κρίμα, that is, a thing euill, and such as God will iudge and punish, to forgette, neglect, and not performe a vow made to God; but not κατάκριμα, that is, a thing that casteth men into the condemnation of hell fire, and plungeth them into euerlasting destruction to liue in adultery: Who defendeth, that it is better to descend to that state of life, which is lawfull and honourable, with one fault of breaking the vow passed to the contrary, and with teares of repentance to wash away the impurity of that one, fault of inconstancy, and so to bee saued, then to liue in sinne continually & so to perish. So that, though hee thinke it a fault for a man to promise a course of continency to GOD by vowe, and not to performe it; yet he thinketh it better for a man after this one fault committed, which may bee repented off and forgiuen, to marry, then by liuing in continuall adultery, to adde one sin vnto another, and to plunge him-selfe into endlesse destruction. [q] *Hereſi. 61.*

[r] *Hugo de ſancto victore* maketh two constructions of the wordes of Saint *Austine* before alleadged. Whereof the one is, that hee speaketh of secret vowes, whereof the Church can take no knowledge, because there is no witnesse of them; and that Saint *Austines* meaning is, that marriages after such vowes, are to bee reputed good by the Church. The other is, that the Church in the time of *Austine*, allowed marriages, after a vow made to the contrary; but that now ỹ same Church (for considerations her mouing) hath determined otherwise, and by her authority made them voyd. The former of these constructions is too weake and cannot bee allowed. [r] *Erudit. Theolog. de Sacrã. fidei. lib. 2. part. 11. cap. 12.*

For, that *Austine* thinketh marriage is lawfull and good, after knowne vowes made to the contrary, it is euident by his Epistle to *Bonifacius*, whome he blameth for breaking his vow, whereof him-selfe and *Alipius* were witnesses, and yet alloweth his marriage; as also for that in the place interpreted by *Hugo*, hee sheweth that some who were of another iudgment, (as indeed wee finde [s] *Innocentius* Bishoppe of *Rome* to haue bene) dissolued marriages after vowes made to the contrary, which they would not, nor could not haue done, if those vowes had beene altogether secret and vnknowne. Neyther doth that hee sayth in the second place, any better auoyd the cleare euidence of Saint *Austines* iudgement, then the first. For no difference of times, and conditions of men and thinges, can so change the nature of vowes and marriages, as that a vowe at one time should make voyd an insuing marriage, and not at another. Others therfore there be, who go about to auoyd the euidence of the authorities of *Austine* and the Fathers brought to proue the validity of marriage, after vowes made to the contrary, by making a distinction of vowes. These men [s] *Epiſt. 2. ad victricium. cap. 12.*

therefore make two sortes of vowes: naming some *simple*, and other *solemne*; and affirme, that the latter doe debarre men from mariage, and voyd their mariages if they doe marry; but that the former do so debarre them from marrying, that they cannot marry without some offence, and yet if they doe, their mariage is good and not to be voyded.

In 2e 2ę se cundæ quæst. 38. art. 11.

The Diuines of the Church of *Rome* (as *Caietane* rightly noteth) differ much in opinion, about the difference of these vowes. For some of them thinke, that they differ in such sort, as that one of them is a promise onely; and the other a reall and actuall exhibition; and that the solemnity of a mans vowe consisteth in a reall and actuall exhibition of him-selfe, and directing him-selfe into such an estate, as cannot stand with mariage. But this opinion (as hee rightly noteth) cannot bee true; seeing there is no such repugnance simply, and in the nature of the thinges betweene the Order of holy Ministery and Marriage; as appeareth in that the Ministers of the *Greeke* Church (as tyed by no vow) are inliged by all to liue in lawfull Mariage, notwithstanding their Ministery; as also in that the entering into no religious Order, voydeth Mariage, vnlesse it bee approued by the Church.

There is therefore (as hee sheweth) another opinion, that it is not from the different nature of the vowes, that the one voydeth mariage contracted, and the other doth not; but from the authority of the Church, that will haue mariage after a vowe made in one sort to bee voyd, and not in another. The latter of these two opinions [u] *Bellarmine* saith, *Scotus*, *Paludanus*, and *Caietane* follow; and (as *Panormitan* reporteth) the whole schoole of Canonistes. And these doe answere to the authorities of the Fathers, denying mariages to bee voyde after a solemne vow, that they are to bee vnderstood to deny them to bee voyd by Gods Law, and that there was no Law of man then passed to make them voyd, when they liued, that they knew of; and that therefore they might rightly bee of opinion in those times, that no vowes made insuing mariages to bee voyd; seeing no vowes doe voyd mariages by GODS Lawe, and there was no law of man in their time making mariage voyd in respect of a vow made to the contrary. So that euen in the iudgement of many of the best learned of our Aduersaries them-selues, Mariage after a vow is not voyd by Gods Law, but only by the positiue Constitution of the Church, which will haue it so to bee. But against this positiue Constitution two thinges may bee alleadged: first, that it began from that erroneus conceyt, which *Austine* refuteth in his booke *de bono viduitatis*: as it appeareth by the Epistle of *Innocentius*, grounding his resolution for voyding of Mariages in this kinde, vpon that very reason of their beeing espoused to Christ, which haue vowed vnto GOD that they will liue continently. Secondly, that the Church hath no power simply to forbid any man to marry, whome Gods Law leaueth free; seeing single life is

[u] *De Monachis. lib. 2. cap. 34.*

one

one of the thinges that men may bee counselled and aduised vnto, but cannot bee prescribed and imposed by commaundement: that the Church may keepe men from mariage, if they will inioy some fauours, as wee see in Colledges and Societyes, or that She may by her Censures punish such as vnaduisedly, and without iust cause, shall breake their vow and promise, wee make no question: but that She may simply forbid any one to marry, how faulty and punishable soeuer otherwise, we vtterly deny. Neyther is the reason that is brought to proue this power to bee in the Church of any force. For though it were graunted, that the Church by her authority for respectes best known vnto her selfe, may forbid a man to marry with some of those whom God permitteth him to marry; yet will it not follow that She may absolutely forbid any one to contract mariage; seeing parents to whome it pertayneth to direct the choyce of their children, may forbid them to marry with such as they iustly dislike, and yet they may not simply restraine them from marying. So that though it were yeelded, that the Church for causes best knowne to her selfe, may forbid mariage with moe then the Law of God doth; and that in such sort, as to auoyd it, hauing greater power in this behalfe then naturall parents; yet would it not follow that She may simply forbid any one to marry, and voyd his mariage if hee doe; whereas the Law of God voydeth it not. And so wee see, that as Marriage after a solemne vow is not voyd by the Lawe of God, so the Church hath no power to make any Law to make it voyd. But because though it bee so, yet it may seeme, that no man that had vowed the contrary can marry without sinne, it remayneth, that wee proceed to consider and see, whether there bee any cases, wherein a man, that vowed the contrary, may marry without offence to God.

First, touching this poynt, the Schoole-men generally resolue, that the Pope may dispense with a Priest, Deacon, or Sub-deacon to marry though hee haue sollemnely vowed the contrary by entering into holy Orders; because the duty and bond of contayning is not essentially annexed vnto Orders, but by the Canon of the Church onely.

[x] *Aquinas*, and they of that time thought hee might not dispense with a Monke to marry: For that single life is essentially implyed in the profession of a Monke, and cannot bee seperated from the same, as it may from the office and calling of a Priest. But since that time the general opinion is that he may; because though single life cannot be seperated from the profession of a Monke, yet hee that is a Monke may bee freed from that profession hee hath made, and cease to bee a Monke.

[x] *Secunda secundæ. quæst.* 88. *art.* 11.

Neyther is this only the opinion of the Schooles, but the practise of Popes hath concurred with the same. For (as *Petrus Paludanus* reporteth) a Pope reuiued a Monk, who was next in blood, & to succeed in the

[y] *In* 4. *Sent. Dist.* 38.

Kingdome

Kingdome of *Arragon*, and diſpenſed with him to marry a wife for the good of that Kingdome. [z] *Caietan* ſaith, the like is reported in the ſtories of *Conſtantia* daughter and heyre of *Roger* King of *Sicilie*; who was a religious woman, and of fifty yeares of age, and yet by the diſpenſation of *Caleſtinus* was called out of the Cloyſter, and permitted to marry with the Emperour, *Henry* the Sixth, who begatte of her *Fridericke* the Seeond.

[z] *In ſecundam ſecundæ. loco citato.*

And [a] *Andreas Friſius* reporteth out of the Hiſtories of *Polonia*, that *Caſimirus* ſonne of *Merſiſtaus* King of *Polonia* was a Monke, & ordayned a Deacon, and yet when after the death of *Merſiſtaus* his father, there was none to weare the ſcepter of that Kingdome (whence many miſchiefes followed) *Benedict* the Ninth gaue him leaue to marry a wife, making him to leaue his Cloyſter, his vowes, and Deaconſhippe, that ſo there might be a ſucceſſion in that Kingdome. So that there is no queſtion, but that for a common good, men may bee diſpenſed with to marry, that haue ſolemnely vowed the contrary.

[a] *Lib. 4. de Eccleſia.*

Yea [b] Cardinal *Caietan* proceedeth further, and ſayth, that the Pope may diſpenſe with ſuch to marry as haue vowed the contrary, not only, for the publike benefit and good of the whole or common-wealth, but for the greater good of the parties that haue ſo vowed. [c] *Hugo de ſancto victore* diſputing what vowes they are, that muſt be kept, pronounceth peremptorily, that the vowes of fooles are to bee broken, and not kept; and defineth all thoſe to be the vowes of fooles, that eyther are made *de malo, vel de bono malè:* That is; for the doing of ſome ill, or for the doing of ſome good, but not well. For example, if one vow to kill a man, as they did in the Actes, [d] that bound them-ſelues by a vowe neyther to eate nor drinke till they had killed *Paul*; ſuch a vow, is *de malo et malum:* That is; it is for the doing of an euill thing, and it ſelfe is euill. *In quo prima culpa fuit vouere, ſecunda foret, ſi impleretur, perficere:* that is, in which kinde it was ill to vow, and it would be worſe to performe: and therefore ſuch vowes are not to bee kept. Neyther are they onely the vowes of fooles, that are made for the doing of ſome euill, but they alſo that are made for the doing of good, if they bee not well and rightly made, are to be reckoned among the vowes of fooles, that are to bee broken. Now that vow is not well made, which though it bee touching ſomething that is good, yet it is touching that, which eyther one may not lawfully doe, or it is not expedient for him to do. One may not do; as if a woman vow continency without the conſent of her huſband: which it is not expedient to doe; as if a man in faſting or any other worke purpoſe the doing of that which is aboue his ſtrength and ability. All theſe vowes of fooles, as well of the ſecond, as of the firſt kinde, may bee broken without ſeeking any diſpenſation. For a diſpenſation is then needfull when the vow is good and aduiſedly made, and yet (in ſome

[b] *Opuſc. tom. 1. tract. 27.*
[c] *Erudit. Theolog. de Sacrament. fidei, lib. 2. part. 12. cap. 4.*
[d] *Acts. 23. 12.*

particular

particular case that may fall out) not to bee kept. In which case eyther the whole is remitted, or some other thing equiualent is by way of commutation enioyned. Wherefore lette vs consider, what is to bee thought of the vowes of single life, made by men of the Cleargy in latter times.

Touching, which [e] *Andreas Frisius* rightly noteth, that if the vowes of children in respect of their want of iudgement, and the vowes of them that are constrayned, bee little to bee regarded, because they are not voluntary, there is little respect to bee had to those vowes of single life, that men made in latter times; seeing for the most part, they desired not that they vowed, but some other thinges; in respect whereof they doubted not to vow that, they had neyther purpose, nor desire to performe. It was the hope of honour, wealth, ease, and a voluptuous life, that drew the most part of them to make promise of that which they neuer had any loue vnto, & some other of a better mind, finding that they coulde not otherwise enter into the Ministery of the Church, ran into it before they considered of the great waight of the burden which they put vpon their shoulders. It cannot bee denyed (saith [f] *Cassander*) but that they did ill, and ensnared the consciences of men, who admitted young men not yet knowne to them-selues, into the Ministery, and when they found the burden of single life too heauy, which yet together with the honour of their calling they were forced to take vppe, rather dissemble, and in a sort approued any impurity in them, then they would remitte any thing of their owne lawe, or suffer them to marry without consideration of the difference of times, manners, and course of life; which haue made thinges not onely hard but impossible to bee performed, that were in the time of greater seuerity of discipline (as [g] *Gerson* rightly obserueth) not so hard. So that from this hard Law, and the violent vrging of it, many greeuous and most abhominable scandalls in the Church haue proceeded.

[e] *Vbi supra.*

[f] *In Consultat. De Cælibatu Sacerdotum.*

[g] *De vitâ spirituali.*

Wherfore seeing in the iudgement of the best Learned of the Fathers, mariages are good notwithstanding vowes made to the contrary, I thinke wee may boldly resolue, that howsoeuer they did ill, that made inconsiderate vowes of single life, which they neuer ment to performe; yet they did not ill, that out of consideration of their owne infirmity chose rather to marry, then continually to displease God by wallowing in all impurity. [h] *Hugo de sancto victore* bringeth in the secret thoughts of men bound with such vowes, solliciting and vrging them in this sort: Thou canst not resist so violent a passion, nor indure the heate of such burning desires, which haue proclaymed warre against thee, not for this day, or the next, or the third, or fourth alone, nor for the space of a month, or a yeare; they will neuer leaue thee, they will not spare thee,

[h] *Erud. Theolog. de Sacrament. fidei lib. 2. part. 11. cap. 12.*

they will giue thee no peace nor reſt, ſo long as thou ſhalt liue vpon the earth, and carry about with thee this mortall fleſh, they will alwayes oppreſſe thine intention, and auert thy cogitation, that thou ſhalt neuer be able to lift vp thy mind with liberty, or thy wil with purity vnto God. See therefore what thou doeſt: Thou looſeſt this world, and gayneſt not the other. It were better for thee at leaſt to auoyd theſe preſent torments, then wholy to periſh, and no where to ſee or enioy any good. God doth ſee that thou ſuffereſt theſe thinges vnwillingly, that thou art drawne to that thou wouldſt not, and giueſt conſent but by conſtraint. It may bee hee will haue reſpect to the violence of thy paſſion, that hee will take pitty on thee, and pardon thy exceſſe; eſpecially ſeeing the Apoſtle ſaith, it is better to marry then to burne; and againe, for the auoyding of fornication, Let euery one haue his owne wife; it is better to vſe the lawfull remedy for this infirmity, then ſinfully ſtill to burne in luſt. VVhere-vnto hee bringeth in the inconſiderate votary, anſwering thus.

The Lord knoweth that I cannot containe. When I thought I could, I willingly reſolued ſo to doe, and would willingly ſtill continue in the ſame will and reſolution, if I could indure it. But I can no longer abide the heate of theſe burning deſires. Wherfore I reſolue to doe that which onely remayneth, which is to marry a wife, and ſo to ſupport my weakeneſſe and infirmity: Sory truly, that I am forced to come downe from the height of that good I aſpired vnto; but yet deſpaire not, becauſe I deſcend to thoſe things that are lawfull. I had rather, *in inferiori bono ſaluari, quàm in ſummo periclitari*, that is, I had rather be ſaued, containing my ſelfe within the limits of the lower degrees of good; then to indanger my ſelfe in ſ higheſt: and if it be a fault that I deſcend, and performe not that I purpoſed, I will repent of this my fault, and by al due ſatiſfaction pacifie & appeaſe my God; nothing ſhal ſeeme hard vnto me, ſo that I may auoyd this paſſion, and decline this death, *in quâ viuens teneor*, that is, in which I am holden though I liue.

Theſe reaſons hee ſaith muſt needes preuaile, and cannot bee reſiſted; if mariage after a vow made to the contrary bee lawfull; if the Church may not diſſolue it, and if ſaluation may bee attayned by men liuing in it, as I haue ſufficiently proued they may: and therefore our Aduerſaries raſhly condemne ſuch as in our time haue maried, notwithſtanding their vowes.

If a man (ſaith *Friſius*.) ſhall vndertake to carry a burden to a certayne place, and after finding his inability to performe it, ſhall deſire to bee excuſed, and that ſome lighter burden may bee laid vppon him, hee is much better to bee allowed off, then hee that goeth on in that he vnder-tooke, and fainting by the way hurteth him-ſelfe, and diſappointeth

Vbi ſupra.

pointeth him that set him on worke: and in like manner hee is rather to bee approued, that prayeth to be eased of the ouer-heauy burden of single life, and resolueth to liue honestly in mariage, then hee that will still liue single, though neuer so wickedly, what-soeuer *Pighius* and *Eckius* prate to the contrary: who feare not to preferre a Priest that liueth in adultery, before him that marieth a wife.

Besides all this which hath beene said, seeing single life is not simply good, and to bee desired, but respectiuely to certayne endes, therefore they that chose to liue single, and intended not the glory of GOD, the good of his Church, and the more opportunities of doing good without distraction, did not make any lawfull vowe; seeing a vowe must bee of that which is good, and properly of the better good; and consequently were not tyed to the keeping of it; it beeing resolued, that the vowes of fooles, that is, such as are made without respect to the right end, without due consideration of their owne strength, and a free and voluntary purpose of performing that they promise, are not to bee kept.

VVhence it will follow, that the most part of the vowes men made in latter times, not intending the right end, are not to bee kept.

Chap. 58.

Of Dygamie, *and what kinde of it, it is that debarreth men from entering into the Ministery.*

HEtherto wee haue proued the lawfulnesse of Ministers mariage, and sufficiently shewed that no Lawe of GOD or the Church forbiddeth it, and that no rash and inconsiderate vowe hindereth it, if men cannot contayne: Now lette vs proceed to see, whether they bee any more restrayned and limited in their mariage then other men. Some there bee who thinke they are, and teach, that they must marry but once onely; whereas other may lawfully marry as often as they please. And further, they suppose, that if any man haue beene twice maried, or haue maried a VVidowe, hee may not bee admitted into the Ministery. The grounde of which conceyt is that of the Apostle, where he sayth: [a] *A Bishoppe must bee the Husband of one wife:* But the meaning of the Apostle is, that he, who is to be chosen a Bishop, must

[a] 1 Tim. 3. 2.

not haue more wiues then one at one time. So that the Digamy the Apoſtle condemneth is not the hauing of two or more wiues ſucceſſiuely, but the haning of more then one at the ſame time. Of which it is that [b] *Iuſtine Martyr* ſpeaketh, when expounding that ſaying of our Sauiour: *Hee that marieth her that is forſaken, committeth adultery*, hee concludeth that they, who according to mans law runne into Digamyes, by our Maiſters iudgement are found to bee ſinners. And therefore [c] *Chryſoſtome* expoundeth the text of the Apoſtle as meant of Polygamy, which is the hauing of many wiues at once. His wordes are theſe: The Apoſtle ſaith not this as making a Lawe, that none without a wife may bee made a Biſhoppe, but appointing a meaſure of that matter. For it was lawfull for the Iewes, to bee ioyned in the ſecond mariage, and to haue two wiues at once. Thus doth hee interpret the Apoſtles words, though hee were not ignorant that ſome followed another interpretation. And therefore [d] *Bellarmine* vntruly denyeth, that any of the Auncient followed this interpretation, but *Theodoret*. And the [e] *Rhemiſtes* confeſſe that *Chryſoſtome* ſo interpreteth them; but they ſay, that writing vpon *Titus* he followeth the other interpretation; but ſurely it were ſtrange if hee ſhould ſo ſoone forget him-ſelfe. Let vs heare therefore what hee ſaith, that ſo wee may the better diſcerne whether he diſſent from him-ſelfe, and interprete the wordes of the Apoſtle to *Titus*, as they would haue him, or not. His wordes are theſe: The Apoſtle purpoſeth vtterly to ſtoppe the mouthes of heretikes which condemne mariage; ſhewing that mariage is without fault, and ſo precious, that with it a man may bee preferred euen to the holy ſeate and chayre of a Biſhoppe. Alſo with this ſaying he chaſtizeth vnchaſt perſons, while hee ſuffereth them not after their ſecond mariage to be taken to the gouernment of ỹ Church. For hee which is found not to haue kept his beneuolence towardes his wife, which is gone from him, how ſhould he be a good teacher of the Church? Nay rather to what crymes ſhall hee not dayly bee ſubiect? for you all know, that although by the Lawes, ſuch ſecond Mariages are permitted, yet that thing is open to many accuſations. Therefore hee will haue the Biſhoppe to giue no occaſion to them that are vnder him.

[b] *Apologia. 2.*

[c] *In locum Timotheiprædict. & in Titii.*

[d] *De Clericis. lib. 1. cap. 23.*

[e] Annotations vpon that place.

Theſe are the wordes of *Chryſoſtome*. Neyther can any man doubt, that will aduiſedly conſider them, but that hee ſpeaketh of a ſecond mariage while the firſt wife liueth, but is gone away (for ſo are the wordes, and not defunct or dead, as our Aduerſaries tranſlate for their aduantage,) and not of a ſecond Mariage after the death of the firſt wife. For if he did, he would not condemne them that marry the ſecond time as vnchaſt & wantō, or make them ſubiect to any crimes. With *Chryſoſtome* agreeth *Theodoret*: his words are theſe; [f] *The preaching thē began*

[f] *Theodoret. in locum Timothei pradict.*

began, and neither did the Gentills exercise Virginity, nor the Iewes admit it, for they esteemed the procreation of Children to bee a blessing. And therefore for as much as at that time, they were not easily to bee found which exercised continencie, of such as had married wiues, he commandeth them to bee ordained, which had honoured Temperancy. And concerning that saying, The husband of one wife, I thinke certaine men haue said well. For of old time both Greekes and Iewes were wonte to bee married to two, three, or more wiues at once. And euen now when the Imperiall lawes forbid men to marry two wiues at one time, they haue to doe with Concubines and Harlotts. They haue said therefore that the holy Apostle saith, that hee that dwelleth honestly with one onely wife is worthy to bee ordained a Bishop. For say they, hee doth not reiect the second mariage, who hath often commanded that it should bee vsed. For a woman (saith hee) *is bound by the Lawe, so long as her Husband liueth; but if her Husband bee dead, shee is free, that shee may marry with whome shee will, onely in the Lord, &c. For if hee haue thrust away his wife, and bee ioyned to another, he is worthy to bee reprehended, and is iustly subiect to accusation: but if force of death haue disioyned his first wife, and Nature vrging, haue compelled him to bee ioyned to a second wife, his second mariage is proceeded not of his will, but of casualty. These things considered* (saith Theodoret) *I admit the interpretation of those which haue so vnderstood the place.* Neither doe *Chrysostome* and *Theodoret* onely thus interpret the words of the Apostle, but [g] *Theophylact* also.

[g] *In eundem locum.*

The Apostle (saith hee) *prescribeth, that hee who is to bee chosen a Bishop must bee the husband of one wife, because of the Iewes to whome* Polygamy *was permitted, that is, to ioyne mariage with many together.* And [h] *Hierome* maketh mention of this Interpretation. *The Apostle* (saith hee) *was of the Iewes, and the first Church of Christ was gathered out of the remaines of Israell.* Hee knew it was permitted by the Lawe, and ordinary among the people, by the example of the *Patriarches*, and *Moses*, to beget children of many wiues: which thing also was permitted vnto the Priests, and therefore he commanded that the Priests of the Church should not take vnto them-selues the like liberty, nor haue two or three wiues at once: but that they should haue one onely wife at one time. And though he rather incline to another interpretation; yet in his *Commentarie* vpon *Titus*, hee mentioneth this againe, without any signification of dislike, and saith. *We must not thinke, that euery one, that hath beene but once married*, is better then he that hath beene twice married, but that (indeed) hee may better exhort to one onely mariage, and continency, that can bring forth his owne example in teaching. For otherwise, if a yong man marry a wife, and she dye within a little while after, and after her he marry a second, which within a short time he looseth also, and then continue continent, he is to be preferred before him that liueth with one wife till his old age. So that often-times, if he that hath beene but once married, bee preferred before him

[h] *Hieron. ad Oceanum.*

him that hath bene twice maried, his happineſſe is choſen rather then his will: and as ſundry great and worthy Diuines did ſo interpret the Apoſtles wordes as to condemne *Polygamie*, and not to exclude from the Miniſtery men twice maried; ſo the practiſe was according there-vnto. For how-ſoeuer many vrged the other Conſtruction of the Apoſtles wordes, and excluded men twice maried from the holy Miniſtery; yet others did not ſo. And therefore *Tertullian*, who was a *Montaniſt*, and condemned ſecond mariage, in his booke of *Monogamie*, interpreting the Apoſtles words, of ſuch as had maried the ſecond wife, and ſpeaking bitterly againſt the Catholikes of thoſe times, ſaith: the holy Ghoſt fore-ſaw there ſhould come ſome, that ſhould affirme all things to be lawful for Biſhops. For (ſaith he) how many are there among you that gouerne the Church, which haue maried the ſecond time; inſulting againſt the Apoſtles, & not blushing when theſe wordes are read vnder them. [i] *Hierome* was of opinion, that men twice maried might be choſen to be Biſhops or Preſbyters, if they maried both, or one of their wiues before they were baptized. Which was the caſe of very many in thoſe times; ſeeing, (beſides thoſe who were conuerted from *Paganiſme*) many that were borne of Chriſtian parents put off their Baptiſme a long time. So that ſome were elected Biſhops before they were baptized, as wee read of [m] *Ambroſe*. Here-vpon he ſaith, the number of ſuch as had bene twice maried, and yet were admitted into the holy Miniſtery, was exceeding great. His wordes are theſe: *All the world is full of theſe Ordinations: I ſpeake not of Preſbyters, nor thoſe of Inferior degrees; I come to Biſhops, whome if I ſhall goe about particularly to name, I ſhall muſter together ſo great a number as wil exceed the multitudes of them that were at the Councell of* Ariminum. And it appeareth by the Epiſtle of [n] *Innocentius* to the Biſhops of *Macedonia*, that they thought as *Hierome* did; that ſuch as were not twice maried after Baptiſme, might be admitted into the Miniſtery, how often ſoeuer they had bin maried before. It is true that *Innocentius* was of another mind, and [o] *Auſtine* likewiſe: But *Hierome* who is wont to ſpare no man that croſſeth his conceit, calleth them Hypocrites, & telleth them that they are like the *Scribes* and *Pharizees*, that did *ſtraine at a Gnat and ſwallow a Camel, that tithed Mint and Anniſ-ſeed, but let paſſe the waighties thinges of the Lawe*; becauſe they admitted ſuch into the Miniſtery, as had kept Harlots before their Baptiſme, and yet reiected ſuch as had beene maried, for that ſin is waſhed away in Baptiſme, and nothing elſe. *Rem nouam audio* (ſaith he) *quia peccatum non fuit, in peccatum reputabitur.* That is, it is a new and ſtrange thing that I heare, becauſe it was no ſin to haue a wife, therefore it ſhal be reputed for a fault and ſin. Whoredome, Impiety againſt God, Parricide, Inceſt, and the ſin againſt Nature, are purged and waſhed away in the Baptiſme of Chriſt: but this, that a man hath had a wife, ſticketh faſt vnto him ſtill. So are the filthy ſtewes preferred before the honourable & vndefiled

i *Vbi ſuprà.*

m *Ruffinus. li. 2. cap. 11.*

n *Epiſt. 22. cap. 1. & 2.*

o *De bono Coniugali.*

vndefiled mariage-bed. Let the *Pagans* heare what the Haruestes of the Church are, out of of which our Barnes are filled. Let the *Cathecumens* (who are not yet baptized) heare likewise, & let them take heed they marry no wiues before baptisme, neyther enter into the estate of honest mariage: but let them giue them-selues to all impurities; onely let them take heed of the name of mariage, least after they shall beleeue in Christ, this may preiudice them, that sometimes they had not Concubines, nor Harlots, but lawful wiues.

Zonaras in his exposition of the Canons of the Apostles, followeth the Opinion of *Hierom*, & so doth *Sedulius*, *Scotus*, & *Anselme*, as [p] *Sixtus Senensis* reporteth. And this opinion was very generall, as it appeareth by [q] *Ambrose*, who though he disliketh it, yet saith exceeding many did approue it. So that to resolue this point; we see some vnderstood ỹ words of the Apostle as ment against *Polygamie* only, or the hauing of many wiues at once successiuely: and that accordingly many were permitted to gouerne the Church that had bin twice maried; and that of them that vnderstood the words of ỹ Apostle, as ment of the not hauing of more wiues then one successiuely; some excluded onely such as had more then one wife after Baptisme; others, al that had bin twice maried, eyther before or after. But we shal finde that they who generally excluded al them-, that had bin twice marjed from entring into the Ministery, had no good reason leading them so to do. For neyther is he alwaies better, that hath bin but once maried, then he that hath beene twice maried, as I haue shewed out of *Hierome*; neyther can he alwaies better exhort to continence; for how can he exhort others to liue continently, and not to marry the second time, or after the death of their wiues, that him-selfe in his widow-hood committed Adultery, or liued as a whore-monger? seeing the Apostle willeth both men and women, rather to marry the second, third, or fourth time, then to burne in lust, and to commit adultery or fornication. There is therefore a third reason yeelded of this pretended prohibition of marying a second wife, after the death of the first: which is mysticall and taken from a kinde of Sacramental signification, which must be found in them, ỹ are to be admitted into the holy Ministery of the Church. And surely eyther this Reason must preuayle or none: for if it were some moral defect and imperfection, that debarreth men twice maried from entering into the Ministery; or for that it is a signe of incontinency to haue beene twice maried; it might be washed away in Baptisme, as wel as Whoredome, and other Crymes, which yet these men deny. Let vs see therfore what force there is in this Reason of mystical signification.

[r] The mariage of the Fathers in the time of the old Lawe (saith S. *Augustine*) by their many wiues, expressed and figured those Churches, out of the many Nations, People and Kinreds, of the worlde, that weare to ioyne them-selues vnto Christ in Spirituall mariage at his comming:

[p] *Bibliothec. Sanct. lib. 6. annot. 318. & 325.*

[q] *Lib. 10. Epist. 82.*

[r] *August. de bono Coniugali.*

but the marriage of Christians, figureth specially that perfect vnity that shall bee in Heauen, of all faithfull and holy ones, both with Christ, and amongst them-selues. This is *Augustines* reason, and this the [f] Schoolemen vrge.

[f] *Bonauentura in 4. Sèt. dist. 25. quæst. 3.*

But it is strange that men of Learning should stand so confidently vpon so weake a ground. For if the expressing of the vnity between Christ and the Church his Spouse, by the vndeuided vnity that is betweene one man and one woman, be necessarily required in him that is to be chosen a Bishoppe or Presbyter; then of necessity, euery one that desireth to bee a Bishoppe or Presbyter, must marry a wife, that so his Mariage may expresse the Spirituall mariage betweene Christ, and the Church. Nay, seeing Christ neuer with-draweth him-selfe from his Church, but dayly begetteth sonnes and daughters of her vnto God; each Bishoppe must haue a wife, & company with her continually; that so by the matrimonial vnity that is betweene him and his wife, hee may expresse the vnity, that is betweene Christ and the Church. Their answere heere-vnto is, that as Christ is a Husband, so hee is a Virgin; and that therefore a man may beare an expresse resemblance and representation of Christ, by Virginity, as well as by Mariage. So that it sufficeth if eyther hee bee a Virgin, or haue beene but once maried, that is to bee thought capable of Ecclesiasticall honour.

But this answere will not serue the turne: For though a man bee no Virgin, (as [t] *Hierome* professed of him-selfe, that hee was not; and as it is euident *Augustine* was not, in that [u] hee had children borne vnto him:) yet it is not necessary, in the iudgement of our Aduersaries, that such a one should myrry a wife, to make him-selfe capable of Ecclesiasticall honour. Whence it followeth, that there is no necessity of Representing eyther the Virginity of Christ, or his matrimoniall Coniunction with the Church, by the Virginity or mariage of such, as are to be admitted into the holy Ministery. Besides this, it is not enough to expresse the Vnity betweene Christ and the Church, that a man marry but one wife; but it is required also, that hee defile not him-selfe, by beeing ioyned vnto harlots; but that hee keepe him-selfe intirely to his owne wife. For so it is, betweene Christ and his Church; who not onely hath no other wife or spouse, but the Church of the faithfull; but also so intirely loueth her, that hee giueth no part of his loue to any stranger. So that hee, that marying but once, hath eyther before or after such mariage, committed adultery or fornication, doth not expresse the vnity that is betweene Christ and the Church.

[t] *In duab. Epist. Citat. ab Erasmo in vita Hieronymi.*

[u] *Aug. confess. lib. 4. cap. 2. & lib. 6. cap. 15.*

And yet our Aduersaries, that are so peremptory against such as haue bene more then once maried, sette open the dores to let in both VVhoremongers and Adulterers into the Church, and house of God. And therefore the wordes of * *Hierome* may rightly bee applyed vnto them,

* *Hieron. ad Oceanum.*

That

That they tythe Mint and Anniſeed, and omitte the weightier things of the Lawe; and that they ſtraine at a Gnat and ſwallow a Camell, reiecting them as vnworthy, that haue not offended, and admitting ſuch as haue; iuſtifying the ſinner, and condemning the Innocent.

But that wee may perceiue the weakeneſſe of this myſticall Reaſon, wee muſt obſerue that our Aduerſaries admitte none into the Miniſtery that haue beene maried, vnleſſe eyther their wiues bee dead, or by conſent of their wiues they reſolue to Contayne, renouncing that power and intereſt, the man hath ouer the body of his wife; and ſo (indeed) ceaſing to be huſbands. So that if their Preſbyters, & other Cleargy-men haue reſemblance of *CHRISTS* mariage with the Church in reſpect of their mariage, it is while they are no Cleargy-men but meere Laie-men.

Now how-ſoeuer it may be required of them that are to be admitted into ſ Miniſtery, that they haue not bin ſcandulous before their enterance: yet I thinke it is not required, that they haue bene cleare repreſentations or figures of Chriſt; but this is to bee looked for afterwards, when they ſupply his place. Wherfore wee may aſſure our ſelues that this was not the reaſon that moued thoſe to debarre men twice maried, from entering into the Miniſtery that ſo did: but partly a miſvnderſtanding of the Apoſtles words; partly for that (as [x] *Duarenus* noteth) though often marying be permitted, both by Gods Lawe and mans Law; yet the old Fathers did not greatly like it, as arguing immoderate incontinency in them that ſo do. Wher-vpon we ſhal finde that in auncient times, they were all putte to penance, that maried the ſecond time, though Lay-men, and neuer intending to enter into the Miniſtery.

[x] *De ſacris Eccleſ. miniſt. & Benef. lib. 4. cap. 8.*

The wordes of the [y] Councell of *Neocaſarea* are theſe: Concerning ſuch as often *take them wiues, and ſuch as are often maried, it is ordered that they ſhall obſerue and fulfill the time of the Penance, which is preſcribed vnto them: yet ſo as that their conuerſation and faith may ſhorten the time.* And the ſame Councell forbiddeth a Preſbyter to bee preſent at the marriage-feaſt of them that are the ſecond time maried; ſeeing it is preſcribed, that they muſt be put to Penance that marry the ſecond time. And aſketh what Preſbyter that is, that will for a mariage-feaſt conſent to ſuch mariages. And [z] another Canon forbiddeth ſuch mariages to be bleeſſed in the Church.

[y] *Canone. 3. & 7.*

[z] *Referente Ambroſio in 7. cap. 1. ad Corinth. & in 3. 1. ad Timoth. Auguſt. Serm. 243. de tempore. Iſidoro. lib. 2. de Diuinis officiis cap. 19.*

[a] The Councell of *Laodicea* prouideth in this ſort, touching them that marry the ſecond time: Concerning them, that (according to the Eccleſiaſticall Rule) are freely and lawfully ioyned in the ſecond mariage, and haue not ſecretly ſo ioyned them-ſelues: It is fitte that for ſome ſhort time they giue them-ſelues to prayer and faſting, which beeing paſt, by a kinde of Indulgence, they may be reſtored to the Communion.

[a] *Canone. 1.*

The

[b] *Apud Gratian. part. 2. cauſa 31. quæſt. 1.*

The [b] author of the vnperfect worke, that goeth vnder the name of *Chryſoſtome*, proceedeth a little farther in this ſort, The Apoſtles (ſaith he) commanded to enter into the ſecond mariage, for the avoyding of fornication. For according to the precept of the Apoſtle, it is lawfull to take a ſecond wife: but according vnto the rule and preſcription of truth it is (indeed) Fornication.

[c] *Canone. 8.*

This conceipt grew ſo farre, that the Councell of [c] *Nice* was forced, to make a Canon that the *Catharists* ſhould not be receaued into the fellowſhippe of the Church, vnleſſe they would communicate with ſuch, as fell in the time of Perſecution, and with ſuch as had beene twice marryed; whereby it appeareth, that ſome reiected them, as though they might not haue beene receaued into the Church, noe not after Penance. So that to conclude this poynt touching *Digamie*, it is not the hauing of more wiues then one ſucceſſiuely, that the Apoſtle condemneth: but the hauing of more wiues at once. Three reaſons are brought by our Aduerſaries to proue the contrary; but they wilbe found too weake, if wee examine them.

The firſt is, that *Polygamie*, or the hauing of many wiues at once, was not in vſe in the Apoſtles times, and that therefore the Apoſtle had noe reaſon to forbid it; but this may eaſily bee refuted by good authorities. *Your Maiſters* (ſaith [d] *Iuſtin Martyr* ſpeaking to the Iewes) *euen to this day, ſuffer euery one of you, to haue foure or fiue wiues*: and in his [e] *Apologie* hee vnderſtandeth by *Digamie*, the hauing of more wiues then one at one time, and not ſucceſſiuely: for hee ſaith they which according to mans lawe doe enter into *Digamie* or ſecond mariages, are ſinners, according to the Doctrine of our Teacher and Maiſter. And *Theodoret* ſaith [f] *In former times both Iewes and Gentiles tooke vnto them in marriage many wiues.*

[d] *In Triphone.*

[e] *In Apologetico poſteriori.*

[f] *In locum Timothei.*

Their Second reaſon is this. The Apoſtle requireth that a widow muſt haue beene the wife of one husband: and his meaning muſt needs bee, that ſhe muſt not haue had more husbands then one ſucceſſiuely. Therefore when hee preſcribeth, that a Biſhoppe muſt bee the husband of one wife, his meaning is, that hee muſt not haue had more then one wife ſucceſſiuely, the forme of ſpeach being the ſame; that when he ſpeaketh of Widowes hee meaneth that they muſt haue more husbands then one ſucceſſiuely', they proue, becauſe how-ſo-euer Men haue ſome-times had more wiues then one, at the ſame time; yet Women neuer had more Husbands: and [g] here-vpon they charge vs, with intollerable impudency, violent wreſting of Scripture, and bringing ſueh an interpretation of the Apoſtles words, as neuer came into any wiſe-mans cogitation before; when wee ſay, hee repelleth ſuch from entering into the order of widowes, as haue had two huſbands at once;

[g] *Rhemenſes in locum Titi.*

once; and not such as haue beene twice maried. But if it pleaſe them to giue vs leaue, wee will ſhewe them, that they are too violent, and ſay they know not what. For we thinke, nay wee know it hath beene heard off, that a woman ſhould haue two huſbands at one time; yea that both amongſt *Iewes* and *Gentiles* in former times women forſaking their huſbands, or forſaken of them without iuſt cauſe, haue maried againe: which the Apoſtle might iuſtly condemne, and debarre ſuch as had ſo done, from entering into the order, and ranke of ſacred Widowes. Neyther is it hard to ſhew, that our interpretation hath beene thought off, and approued, more then a thouſand yeares ago, by men of as great wiſedome, as our great maiſters that thus inſult vppon vs. For *Theodoret* vpon theſe very wordes of the Apoſtle, writeth thus. Heereof alſo, *it is manifeſt that he reiecteth not ſecond mariages, but decreeth that they liue chaſtly in matrymony: for hee which before hath eſtabliſhed the ſecond mariage by law, hath not here forbidden her which hath bin twice maried, to obtaine bodily reliefe.*

And [h] *Theophylact* likewiſe ſaith; *The Apoſtle requireth* Monogamie *of her, that is to bee admitted into the company of widowes; that is that ſhe haue beene coupled but to one huſband at once, as a ſigne of honeſty, chaſtity and good manners.* Concerning theſe Widowes, two thinges are to be conſidered. Firſt, how and in what ſort they were imployed by the Church. Secondly, how far forth they were tyed not to leaue the Church-ſeruice, and to marry againe.

[h] *In hunc locum.*

Touching their ſeruice, it was firſt & principally, about women that were to bee baptized, for their inſtruction, and the adreſſing of themſelues to that Sacrament and the ſacred Rites of the Church accompanying the ſame: as appeareth by the [i] Conſtitutions of *Clemens*, it beeing more fit for them, to haue priuate and often acceſſe vnto them, then for men. Which thing alſo [k] *Epiphanius* ſheweth, calling them by the name of *Diaconeſſes*. Secondly, the attending, and taking care of the ſicke and impotent.

[i] *Li. 3. cap. 15.*

[k] *Hereſi. 79.*

Touching the ſecond point, we ſuppoſe that theſe widowes, (being of great Age, deſtitute of al outward ſupports, ſeeking reliefe of the Church, and dedicating them-ſelues to the ſeruice thereof) did by this very act, profeſſe and make knowne their purpoſe of continuing in that eſtate of Widowhood, and performing ſuch ſeruice, as to them any way appertayned. And therfore the Apoſtle condemneth them, that after ſuch profeſſion made, waxed wanton againſt *CHRISTE*, ſought to putte them-ſelues out of the holy Miniſtery and ſeruice they had dedicated them-ſelues vnto, and to returne to Secular courſes of life againe. Theſe (according to iudgement of [l] *Epiphanius* were ſubiect to κρίμα that is, iuſt diſlike and blame, and were to bee condemned

[l] *Hereſi. 61.*

condemned for their leuitie, and inconſtancy; but not to κατάκριμα that is to the condemnation of eternall death and deſtruction, if declining adultery and other like vncleanneſſe, they chooſe rather to marry, then to defile them-ſelues with ſuch impurities. And [m] *Auguſtine* reſolueth that their mariage, (notwithſtanding any profeſſion they ſeeme to haue made to the contrary) is not to bee condemned as euill, or to be diſſolued; but that onely their breach of promiſe made to God and his Church and their falling from their purpoſe, is to bee diſliked and condemned. Thus doe theſe learned and holy Fathers reſolue, touching ſuch widowes as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh off And *Peter Lumbard* vpon theſe words of the Apoſtle in like ſort, adding; That they breake their firſt faith euen that they profeſſed in baptiſme, in that violating ſo ſolemne a promiſe, & turning away ſo ſcandalouſly from the calling they had voluntarily put them-ſelues into, they ſeeme to forget and caſt from them the very faith and profeſſion of Chriſtians. Soe that it is cleare, and not denied by vs, that theſe widowes made a kind of promiſe and profeſſion of continuing in widow-hood, when they were admitted to the Almes and Seruice of the Church; and that it was a fault not to bee excuſed, to ſhew them-ſelues inconſtant in this reſpect: yet ſuch was the tenderneſſe of the Church in auncyent times, knowing the weakneſſe of the ſexe, as not to caſt any ſnares vpon them, or to tye them by the bond of any ſolemne benediction or conſecration to a neceſſity of continuing in ſuch an eſtate: but ſhee thought good to leaue them to their owne deliberations and reſolutions: ſo that, though they were wont to put a kinde of ſacred vaile on ſuch virgins, as voluntarily deuoted them-ſelues to God; yet [n] *Gelaſius* forbiddeth any Biſhoppe to attempt any ſuch thing, as the vailing of a widow: If widdowes (ſaith hee) out of the mutability of their mindes, hauing made a kinde of profeſſion of not maryingagaine, ſhall returne to mariage, it ſhalbe at their perill in what ſort they will ſeeke to pacifie God; ſeeing (according to the ſaying of the Apoſtle) they haue broken their firſt faith. For as (if haply they could not containe, according to the Apoſtle) they were no way forbidden to marry; ſo hauing deliberated with them-ſelues ſo to doe, they ought to keepe their promiſe of continent liuing made to God, but we ought not to caſt any ſnare vpon ſuch, but onely to exhort them to doe that is fit, by the conſideration of the eternall rewards and puniſhments, that GOD hath prepared for men, according to their workes, that ſo wee may cleare our ſelues, and make kowne what wee thinke, and they may bee left to giue an accompt of that they doe, knowing beſt their owne intention. This was the Decree of this Pope, and ſome other were of the ſame Iudgement, who admitted widowes to noe Benediction, but that of Penitencie; nor ſuffered no other vayle but the vayle of penitents to be put vpon them.

[m] *De Bono viduitatis.*

[n] *Epiſt. 9. ad Epiſc. Lucaniæ.*

But

But it [o] seemeth this course was not holden afterwards; succeeding Bishops degenerating from the wise and discreet moderation of their Godly predecessors, and laying heauier burthens on mens shoulders then was fit.

[o] *Vide Binnii tomo 2. Concilior. pag. 115. annot. in Toletan. 4.*

Chap. 59.

Of the maintainance of Ministers,

HAuing briefely runne through all those things that conserne the different degrees, orders and callings of them Almighty God employeth in the Ministery of holy things; it remaineth, that in the last place I come to speake of the maintainance of them. That an honourable intertainement is due to the Ministers of God, and disposers of his heauenly Treasures, there neither is, nor can bee any doubt: The light of Nature, the sence of Piety, and the Presidents of the *Iewes* and *Gentils* before Christ, and all Christian Kingdomes, Nations, and People since, most clearly conuincing it. [a] *Who goeth a warre-fare at any time* (saith the Apostle) *at his owne charge? who dresseth a Vineyeard, and tasteth not of the fruite of it? Who attendeth and feedeth a flocke, and eateth not of the milke of it?* It is an Axiome most cleare and euident in the light of Nature, that *The Labourer is worthy of his hire*, and the detaining of his wages is one of the sinnes that crye so lowd, that hee that sitteth in heauen heareth them. If this bee true in them that are employed in any seruice, businesse, or worke in the world, for the good of men; how much more in respect of them, that labour to procure their Spirituall and eternall good? [b] *It is a small thing* (saith the Apostle) *that we should reape your carnall things that haue sowne vnto you spirituall things*: [c] *therefore let him that is instructed in the word, make him that instructed him partaker of all his goods.* The *Galathians* thought them-selues so much bound to the blessed Apostle Saint *Paule* (by whose ministery they were conuerted from Idolatry to serue the true and liuing GOD) that [d] they would haue plucked out their eyes, to haue done him good: perswading them-selues, they were no way able to make recompence vnto him, for all the good hee had done vnto them. And the Apostle is bold to tell *Philemon*, [e] that *hee oweth him-selfe vnto him.* This thing is so cleare and euident, that I suppose no man will contradict any Part of that which hath beene sayde: yet not-with-standing it is not to be dissembled, that *Wickliffe* and some others, let fal some inconsiderate speaches, out of an immoderat dislike of the abuse of things in the *Romane* Church: wherein all piety, care of Religion, and performance of pastorall duties being neglected, by the most part of men; nothing

[a] 1. Cor. 9. 7.
[b] *Ib. ver.* 11.
[c] Gala. 6. 6.
[d] Gala. 4. 15.
[e] *Philem.* 19.

thing was sought after, but riches, honour, and greatnes, accompanied with excessiue and riotous expences, to the great scandall of the world. For the opinion of † *Wickliffe* was; that the ministers of the Church ought to make no such claime to tithes, possessions, or lands, or any other reward of their labours, as may bee pleadable in any temporall court of Iustice, as each man doth to the things that are come to him by inheritance from his fathers, or by his owne purchase; but that they should content them selues with the title of Originall Iustice; by vertue whereof, that is due to euery good man that is fitting to him, and answerable to his condition, merit, and worthinesse.

† In Trialoge.

This opinion of *Wickliffe* proceeded from a dislike of some-thing hee conceaued to bee amisse, but knew not how to reforme. And the censure of *Gerson* vpon this and the like Articles was right and good, that they who proposed them, had cause of offence at many abuses, by them reprehended: but that to goe about to reforme things out of order by such a course as those Articles imported, was to cast out one Deuill by another: where-vpon hee sheweth that a golden meane is to be followed, betweene that immoderat flattery, that gaue to much to the Pope and his Cleargy, and caused them to forget that they were men, and to incroch vpon the right and possession of all other Men; and that vile detraction, that diminisheth the honour and reputation, and taketh away the reward of worth and learning, to the ruine of the Church, and bringing in of all Barbarisme and confusion. Wee say therefore, that this position is to bee reiected, as contrary to the cleare euidence of heauenly truth, the light of Nature, and the practise and Iudgement of all the world; whether we respect *Iewes*, *Pagans*, or *Christians*. For is it so, (the Apostle himselfe disputing and determining the case) that the Ministers of God, by the rules of the law of Nature, and that giuen by *Moyses*, haue more right to a maintenance, fitting to their worth and calings, then the labourer hath to his hyre? And are not all Christian Princes and Magistrates bound, to force by their lawes such as with-hold that which is thus due? Nay may not the Church, by her censures make them that are instructed to minister out of their temporall goods, to such as instruct them? Surely there is no doubt but they may. Which duty being done, the Minister hath as good right by Positiue law, to that maintenance that is fitting for him; and may as lawfully sue for it, in any court of *Mundane* Iustice, as any other may for that, which by any right of this world pertaineth to him. This (I thinke) will not be much gainsaid: For all men will graunt, that a competency of maintenance is due by the prescript of Gods law, and the law of nature; and that Princes must take order that it be yeelded. But the onely thing that is questionable, is, whether God haue determined of this competency; or left the iudgement and determining thereof vnto Men.

In

In the old Law, himself from heauen declared, what he thought to be a fit allowance for his seruants the Priests and Leuites; which we shall find not to haue beene sparing, but very liberall. For, besides the Tenths of all the things that the rest of the Tribes possessed and enioyed, hee gaue them Cities to dwell in, and fields adioyning to the same.

Touching Tithes, in the Booke of *Leuiticus* it is thus written; [h] *All the Tithe of the Land, both of the seed of the ground, and of the fruit of the Trees, is the Lords, it is holy to the Lord: and of euery Tithe of Bullocke and of Sheepe, and of all that goeth vnder the rod, the Tenth shall bee holy vnto the Lord.* And as God prescribed, and commaunded this Rent of the Tenthe to bee paid vnto him, out of all that men possessed by any Right deriued from him; so by his Prophets hee did exact it, when it was vnpaid. [i] *Bring* (saith the Lord of Hostes by his Prophet *Malachie*) *all the Tithes into the Store-house, that there may bee meate in my house, and proeue me now here-with, if I will not open the windowes of Heauen vnto you, and powre you out a blessing without measure: I will rebuke the deuourer for your sakes, and hee shall not destroy the fruit of the ground, neither shall your vine be barren in the field, saith the Lord of Hostes; and all Nations shall call you blessed, for you shall be a pleasant Land.*

[h] Leuit. 27. 30.

[i] Mala. 3. 10.

And touching Cities for the Priests and Leuites to dwell in, God spake vnto *Moses* his seruant in this sort: [k] *Commaund the children of Israel, that they giue vnto the Leuites of the Inheritance of their Possession, Cities to dwell in: Ye shall giue also to the Leuites, the Sub-urbs of the Cities round about them; so they shall haue Cities to dwell in, and their Sub-urbs shall be for their Cattle, and for their substance, and for all their Beasts: and the Sub-urbs of the Cities which ye shall giue vnto the Leuites, from the wall of the Citie outward, shall be a thousand Cubites round about:* These Cities, by Gods owne appointment, were fourtie and eight.

[k] Numb. 35. 2. &c.

Besides this standing Rent of Tithes, which God commaunded his people to paie vnto the Priests and Leuites, and these Cities, which they were to giue them to dwell in; hee made them yet a more plentifull and ample allowance out of his owne immediate Reuenue, and the presents that were dayly brought vnto him. For wheras the people (after they were entred into the land of Promise) stood bound to make some acknowledgment, that they had receiued all of Gods hands, and therefore were to giue vnto him, the best, first, and principall of all that they were blessed with, euen the first of the fruits they gathered; The Leuites by Gods appointment had their parts in these first-fruits: Nay, as we may read in the booke of *Numbers*, God gaue these first-fruits which the people offered to him, to the Priests; saying vnto *Aaron*, and his sonnes, [l] *All the fat of the oyle, and all the fat of the wine, and of the wheat, which they shall offer vnto the Lord for their first fruites, I haue giuen them vnto thee: and the first ripe of all that is in their Land, which they shall bring vnto the Lord, shall be thine.*

[l] Numb. 18. 12.

This

This Allowance did God make them, out of his sette Reuenew of first fruites; and yet was not vnmindefull of them, when any other presents were brought vnto him. So that they, [m] *Who attended at the Altar, were (indeed) partakers of the Altar.* Thus wee see in what sort God did prouide for his seruantes the Priestes and Leuites, in the time of the Lawe.

[m] 1 Cor 9.13.

Wherefore now it remayneth, that, passing by that Addition, that was out of those Offerings, which were proper to those times, we come to see, whether the same kinde of prouision by Tythes (which GOD then prescribed) remaine still in force, by Vertue of any Lawe of GOD, or not.

Heere wee shall finde a great and maine Controuersie betweene the Schoole-men and the Canonists. For the Schoole-men (for the most part, nay all, if wee may beleeue [n] *Bellarmine*) doe thinke, that Tythes are not due since the comming of *CHRISTE*, by any Lawe of *GOD* or Nature.

[n] *De Clericis. lib. 1. cap. 25.*

The Canonists resolue the contrary, aud are so peremptory in their opinion, that they doe (almost) condemne such of Hæresie, as thinke otherwise. [o] *Aquinas* one of the greatest *Rabbins* amongst the Schoole-men, determineth the Question in this sort. The Præcept concerning ỹ paying of Tythes in the time of the old Lawe, was partly Morall, Naturall, and Perpetuall; and partly Iudiciall, applyed to the condition of that people, and so to continue no longer by force of Gods prescription, then that state should continue. In that it prescribed a sufficient, large, and honourable maintenance, to bee yeelded to them that attended the holy thinges of God, it was Naturall and Morall, and is to continue for euer; but in that it prescribed such a proportion, as a fit and competent maintenance, namely the Tenth part out of euery mans increase, it was not Naturall, but Iudiciall, applyed and fitted to the condition of that people.

[o] *Secunda secundæ. quæst. 87. art. 1.*

For the whole Nation of the Iewes, beeing diuided into thirteene Tribes, and the Tribe of Leui, that serued at the Altar and in the Temple, hauing no Inheritance or Possession amongst the rest, but God him-selfe being the Inheritance of them of that Tribe, that they might haue in some proportionable sort, as good an estate of maintenance as any of the rest, he gaue vnto them the Tenth of all that the rest had. If it be said, they were not the Tenth part of the people, but ỹ Thirteenth; and that therefore to make them equall with the rest, God should haue giuen them the Thirteenth part onely; and not the Tenth: hee answereth, that therefore God gaue them something more, then each of the rest of the Tribes had; First, for that hee knew al that hee allowed them would not be duly & exactly paid vnto them, but that they should loose some part of that which he meant vnto them; which by this ouerplus of Allowance, hee would make vppe vnto them againe. Secondly, for that hee would

would haue their allowance to be some-thing better then that which others had, they being more neare vnto him then the rest. Thus doth he make the particular determination of the tenth, to bee iudiciall, fitted to the condition of that people; and neither Morall nor Ceremoniall: and yet saith, that as all things that were done in that state, and by that people, figured some thing that was afterward to come to passe; so this paying of the tenth of that each mā possessed, though it were a iudicial constitution, and not ceremoniall, yet figured the perfecting of all things by Christ the Sonne of God. For in that the number of ten, is the vttermost extent and perfection of numbers, beyond which no man goeth in numbring; by giuing the tenth part (that signifieth perfection) to God, and keeping nine (expressing imperfection to them-selues, they professed their owne wants, defects, and imperfections, and the desire, hope and expectation they had, that God, (in whome onely perfection is found) would in his good time perfect all things by Christ his Sonne. How aptly these things are deliuered by *Thomas*, let the Reader iudge. There are other that likewise insist on the number of ten, as being the vttermost extent of number, but to another purpose. For they say, in that the people of God gaue vnto him the tenth of all that they possessed, which is the vttermost bound, and extent of all the things they had, they did thereby expresse the desire they had, that this tenth part, as being the bound and limit of all the rest, (in a sort included within it,) should sanctifie the rest, and that in respect of the blessing, which God hath promised vnto that, which is giuen vnto him, it should be as a wall of defence, for the safe-keeping of the rest. And yet neither *Thomas*, nor these, make the paying of the tenth to bee Ceremoniall, in respect of these significations, for then no such custome might bee vsed amongst Christians, as some ignorant men haue caught in our age, out of this false conceipt. But *Thomas* supposeth the paying of the tenth, in the particular determination to bee iudiciall, and the other thinke it Naturall and perpetuall. For (say they) seeing something is to bee yeelded to God out of that which wee haue, and the number of ten is the bound of all the things we haue, or can haue, at least one of ten is to be payed vnto God, for an acknowledgement of our obligation vnto him, & for the maintenance of his seruice, and those that attend the same. For if we may passe the number of ten, which is the bound of our possessions, and yeeld no one part thereof as an acknowledgement to God, we neede not to pay any thing to him at all. This opinion is strongly confirmed, in that p *Abraham* payed tithe to *Melchizedech*, (who was a Priest of the high God, and blessed him in the name of the Lord) of all that he possessed, before any law written, or any particular prescription that wee reade of touching the same. Whereby hee shewed (as it may more then probably bee concluded) that tithes are due by the law of nature. Neither did *Abraham* onely by his fact shew the naturall

p Gen 14.20

duty of paying Tithe, but *Iacob* also confirmed the same by the vowe hee made, That if God would prosper his iourney, and bring him backe in
q Gen. 18. 22. safety, the Lord should bee his God, and hee *would offer vnto him the tenth of all that he should giue him.* But some man perhaps will say, that this vow of *Iacob*, prooueth rather the contrary; namely, that hee was not bound to pay Tithes: for men do vow such things as they are not bound vnto, by any generall law of God or Nature. And therefore Cardinall
r *De Clericis lib. 1. cap. 25.* *Bellarmine* saith, *It had beene an impious thing*, for *Iacob* in this conditionall sort, to haue vowed the paying of Tithe, if by the generall lawe of God and Nature he had beene bound there-vnto. But surely this saying of the Cardinall is impious, and iniurious to the holy *Patriarch*, who neuer was charged with any Impiety, in respect of this his vow; neither can be (as I suppose) and yet necessarily must bee, if this inference of the Cardinall be good. For it is the first commandement in the lawe *Naturall* and *Morall*; *Thou shalt haue no other Gods but mee*; and the holy *Patriarch* was bound by a generall Obligation of the lawe of Nature, to take the Lord for his God, and yet hee voweth conditionally; *That if the Lord will be with him*, keepe him in his iourney, and bring him safe back againe,
s ver. 21. *then shee be his God*, and hee will serue him: which if the Cardinall say true, he could not do without Impiety. But let vs passe by this ouer-sight, and see what is to be resolued touching this point. It seemeth by the fact of *Abraham*, and vowe of *Iacob*, before the law, by the prescription of the same in the time of the Law, and by the iudgement and practise of Christians, since the time of the Gospell; that the duty of paying Tithes is
t Origen. Hom. 11. in Numeros. naturall and perpetuall. t How doth our Righteousnesse (saith *Origen*) exceed the Righteousnesse of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, if whereas they doe not eate of the fruites of the earth, before they offer the first fruites to God, and set out the Tithe for the Leuites, wee doe no such thing, but so vse, or rather abuse the things, which God hath giuen vs, *Vt Sacerdos nesciat, Leuita ignoret, Altare non sentiat*: That is, in such sort, that the Priest shall not know of it, the Leuite shall neuer heare of it, and the Altar of God neuer feele it, or haue any sense of it.
u In Malach. 3. Saint *Hierome* saith; *Quod de Decimis, Primitijsq; diximus, quæ olim debebantur à populo Sacerdotibus & Leuitis, in Ecclesia quoque populis, intelligite quibus præceptum est, non solum Decimas, & Primitias dare, sed & vendere omnia quæ habent, & dare pauperibus; quod si facere voluimus, saltem Iudæorum imitemur exordia, & pauperibus partem demus ex toto, ac Sacerdotibus & Leuitis honorem debitum deferamus; quod qui non fecerit, Deum fraudare, & supplantare comminetur.* That is, Vnderstand that which I saide of Tithes and first fruites, which of old were giuen by the people to the Priests and Leuites, concerning the people of the Church also, who are commanded not onely to giue Tithes, and first fruites, but to sell away all that they haue, and to giue to the poore: which if we will

not doe, at the least let vs imitate those beginnings of the *Iewes*, that we may giue a part of all to the poore, and yeeld due honour to the Priests and Leuites; which who so doth not, is conuinced to defraude and deceaue God. Here we see *Hierome* is of opinion, that Christians stand bound at least, to performe as much touching the matter of tithes and first fruites as the *Iewes*; and that he maketh the not paying of tithes to be a sinnefull defrauding of God: but that which he addeth of selling all and giuing to the poore, is not to be vnderstood as meant generally, but onely in some cases that may fall out. With *Hierome*, *Augustine*, or the author of the Sermons *De tempore*, whosoeuer he was, agreeth, saying,[x] *Audi indeuota mortalitas, vosti quia Dei sunt cuncta quæ percipis, et de suo non accomodas omnium Conditori?* that is, Heare O mortall man, voyd of deuotion, thou knowest that all the things that thou enioyest are Gods, and wilt thou present him with nothing that made all? &c. He vouchsafeth to require onely the Tenth, and the First-fruits, and thou denyest him: what wouldest thou doe, if he should challenge nine parts and leaue thee but the Tenth? For why might not God say, the men that serue thee are mine, I made them; the earth that thou tillest is mine, the seed thou sowest is mine, the Oxen are mine that thou wearest in thy worke; yea the showers of raine, the blasts of winde, and the heate of the Sunne is mine; all the things which cause thy increase are mine; and thou onely puttest to thy hand; therefore the Tenth onely is due vnto thee, and the rest is mine? But God (who is rich in goodnesse) hath not giuen thee so sparing a reward of thy labour; for behold, hee is content thou shalt haue nine parts, and expecteth onely the Tenth; and thou most vnthankefully, perfideously, and falsly, withholdest it from him, and therefore in his wrath he often depriueth thee of those nine parts that thou mightest haue had, destroying and bringing to nothing all that which thou hopedst to reape, by immoderate drought, or raine, by hayle, frost, or some other meanes, as seemeth best vnto him. But whatsoeuer we thinke of the Author of these Sermons, it is certaine Saint *Augustine* did vrge a necessity of paying the Tenth, at least, of all that men possesse.[y] Set out (saith he) some certaine thing out of thy reuenewes, increase, or gaine, if thou wilt, the Tenth, though this bee to little, for the Pharisees paied tithes of al that they possessed; and yet, *If our righteousnes exceed not theirs, we cannot enter into the Kingdome of Heauen.* And if we vrge you to the paying hereof (saith he) thinke not that we seeke your wealth, but your well-doing. With *Augustine* agreeth[z] *Chrysostome*. The first Councell of *Hispalis* (as we read in[a] *Iuo*) vrgeth the paying of tithes, as commanded by God, and pronounceth, that he maketh a prey of things holy vnto God, and is as a theefe and a robber, that payeth not tithe of al that he possesseth; and that all the curses which God powred out on *Caine*, that made no good diuision, but gaue the worst to God, and kept the best to himselfe, shalbe powred vpon him.

x *De tempore Serm. 219.*

y *August. in Psal. 146.*

z *in Matth. 23*

a *Iuo: part. 2. cap. 174. in. 2. tom: concil. pag 954. apud Binnium.*

[b] Ca. 17. [c] Can. 5. The first [b] Councell of *Orleance* sheweth that Tythes were payed at that time: and the second [c] Councell of *Matisco* saith, The law of God prouiding for the Priests and Ministers of the Churches, commaunded the people to bring into the holy places, the Tenth of their increase, for an hæreditary portion; that so beeing hindered by no labour, they might in due sort attend the worke of the holy Ministery: which law the whole multitude and heape of Christians, hath kept inuiolabely for a long time.

[d] Can. 14. The Fathers assembled in the [d] Councell of *Forum Iulii*, after they haue alleadged the mandate of Almighty God in the third of *Malachy*, adde, that God him-selfe pronounceth, that his wrath and indignation abideth vppon the Nation or People, which fulfilleth not this his commaundement with an intire heart, and a good will: and after recitall of the blessings and curses that follow them that keepe or breake this commaundement; If yee beleeue not vs, or despise vs (say they) because we are men, beleeue God him-selfe in his threats and promises; & who-soeuer thou art, that professest thy self a Christian, *De suis, non de tuis, da Domino; quia omne quod sumus, viuimus, et habemus, eius est, et de ipsius benignitate suscepimus manu.* ỳ is, giue vnto God of his owne, not of thine, seeing al that we are, liue & haue, is his, & we haue receiued it at the hand of his goodnes. The Fourth [e] Councel of *Arle* decreeth thus; let euery one offer to God the Tenth and First fruits of all the increase of his labour, as it is written, *Thou shalt not be slow to offer thy Tithes & first fruits vnto God.* The Councell of *Mentz* vnder *Charles* the Great, prescribeth in this sort; [f] We admonish and commaund that no man neglect to pay Tythes vnto God, which God him-selfe appointed to be giuen, because it is to be feared, least as each man shal with-hold from God that which is due vnto him; so God for his sinne should take from him those thinges that are necessary, and which he would otherwise suffer him to enioy. Which agreeth with that of *Augustine* in his book of his 50. *Homilies*, where he saith: [g] Our Auncestors did therfore abound in wealth, and had plenty of all things, because they gaue Tythe to God, and Tribute to *Cæsar*: *Modo autem quia discessit deuotio Dei, accessit indictio fisci, nolumus partiri cum Deo Decimas, modo autem totum tollitur, hoc tollit Fiscus, quod non accipit Christus.* That is; But now because deuotion giueth nothing to God, the Officers of Princes cal for our Treasure, to fill their Coffers; we wil not so part & deuide with God, as to giue him the Tenth, and therfore all is taken from vs by men, the Exchequer seazeth on that, which Christ could haue no part off. The Councel of *Tribur* alleadgeth and alloweth the saying of ỳ Author of the sermons *de tempore* before cyted, & addeth these wordes. [h] If any man aske why Tythes are payed, let him know that they are therefore payed, that God beeing pleased with this deuotion, may giue more largely the thinges wee haue need off. The perswasion of the necessity of paying Tythes, was so deepely imprinted in the mindes

[e] Canone. 9 [f] Cap. 38. [g] Homil. 48. [h] Can. 13.

of

of our forefathers, that when they were ready to die, there was no account concerning things in this world, they more carefully sought to perfit, than this; and therefore, after they had taken order for satisfying all that they could any way find to be behind, in this kinde, they were wont, (lest happily some-thing there might bee that came not to their mind) to appoint that the second best of those moueable things they had, should bee brought after them to the Church when they went to be buried, as a Recompence, if in any thing they had done wrong in paying their Tithes; and this thing thus brought after them, was named a [i] *Mortuarie.*

[i] *Lindwood. Prouincial. li. 1. de Consuetudine.*

Thus we see, the fact of *Abraham*, and Vow of *Iacob* before the giuing of the Law; the prescription of Almightie God in the time of the Law; the Resolution of learned and worthy men, and the practise of the Church since the comming of Christ, prooue strongly, *That Tithes are perpetually and for euer due*; yet the Schoolemen, and such as follow them, are of another opinion. [k] *Bellarmine* goeth about to prooue that Tithes are not due by Gods law, in this sort. They are neither prescribed in the olde Law, nor in the new (saith he) therefore they are not due by Gods Law. That they are not prescribed in the new (he saith) it is cleare, but prooueth it not. But that tithes are to be paid, may be prooued by necessarie consequence out of that which is prescribed in the new Testament. That they are not prescribed in the olde, hee cannot say; all the bookes of the olde Testament beeing full of Mandates, Threats, Promises, and Encouragements to mooue men to pay Tithes. But hee saith, the precepts that are found in the old Testament, requiring and vrging men to pay Tithes, were Iudiciall, not Morall and Perpetuall. That they were not Moral, he endeauoureth to prooue, because there was no Law concerning the paying Tithes before the time of *Moses*. If he speake of a written Law, it is true there was no such before *Moses*, neither touching Tithes, nor any thing else: but if he speake of a Law simplie, wee say there was a Lawe before *Moses*, which mooued *Abraham* to pay Tithe; and that as (presupposing the knowledge of the Creation of the world in sixe dayes, and Gods rest in the seauenth) Reason conuinceth vs, that one day in seauen must bee a day of Rest from our owne workes, affaires, and businesses, that wee may spend it in diuine thoughts, meditations, prayers, and prayses of God: So in like sor, tthe number of Tenne, beeing the vttermost extent, limit, and bound of all numbers, it beeing presupposed, that something is to bee giuen to God, out of that we possesse, the very light of Reason will make vs know, that we ought not to passe the number of Tenne, but that one of ten (at the least) is to be yeelded vnto God out of all that we possesse; and that not the worst, (for wee doe not so deale with mortall Princes) but the best, the first and principall. Which is confirmed vnto vs, in that the *Gentiles* and people that knewe not God, but by the light of Nature,

[k] *De Clericis lib. 1. cap. 25.*

ture, and such Traditions as they had receiued from the Patriarches, did pay tithes as well as the *Iewes* did, and the *Christians* doe. The proofe hereof, the Reader may find at large out of diuers Authors in a [l] Treatise of Tithes, written not long since, and in [m] *Iansenius*.

[l] *M. Carlton of Tythes.*
[m] *Comment. in Concord. Euang. cap. 84*

But some man (perhaps) will say, that this confirmation is too weake; for that many among the *Gentiles* were Circumcised as well as the *Iewes*, and that yet it followeth not from thence, that Circumcision was prescribed and imposed by the Law of Nature; so that the custome, practise, and obseruation of the *Gentiles* paying Tithes, will not proue that it is a naturall dutie to pay Tithes.

But they who bring this Obiection, should know, that there is a great difference betweene these two Obseruations of the *Gentiles*; For the one was but in some certaine parts of the world onely, and among such people as were descended of *Abraham*, or by Leagues, Compacts, and Perswasions, were induced by them to be Circumcised. But the paying, vowing, and offering of Tithes to their supposed gods, was generall amongst all the *Gentiles*, *Romans*, *Grecians*, and *Barbarians*. Wherefore wee may resolue, that the prescription of Tithe, was not meerely Iudiciall, and fitted to the State of the people of the *Iewes* (as *Bellarmine* out of *Aquinas* would haue it) but that it was Naturall, and from the beginning.

And surely it is worth the noting, how strangely hee forgetteth himselfe, and so runneth into grosse contradictions in this point. For first, to make it seeme probable, that this prescription was but meerely Iudiciall, he saith: [n] *The intendement of God*, in prescribing Tithe was, that there should be a certaine equalitie amongst the parts and Tribes of his people; and that therefore he allotted the Tenth to the *Leuites*, who were almost the tenth part of his people; and yet after he saith, [o] *The Leuites were* not the *sixtieth* part of the people: and prooueth the same out of the first and third of *Numbers*. So that it cannot bee immagined that the reason of allowing this proportion to the *Leuites*, was for that they were little lesse than the tenth part of the people, that so they might haue at least as much as the rest, if not a little more: especially seeing it may easily be prooued, that the Cities and Sub-urbs that were allowed vnto them, by God himselfe, besides the First-fruits, and that part of the Sacrifices which they had, was as much as the possessions of any Tribe, though they had had no Tithes at all. So that the possessions of the *Leuites* and *Priestes* beeing more than the thirteenth part of the whole land, (whereas they were not the sixtieth part) and all the Tithes, First-fruits, and a part of the Sacrifices, beeing assigned vnto them besides, it is most cleare and euident, the Intendement of God in allowing Tithes vnto the *Leuites*, was not the equalling of them and the rest.

[n] *De Clericis, lib. 1, c. 25.*
[o] *Eod. capite, Dubio. 4.*

But to conclude this point, if wee had neither the fact of *Abraham*, the vow of *Iacob*, the custome of the *Gentiles* before Christ, nor any other

other reason to perswade vs, that Tithes are due by Gods law; yet this very prescription in the time of *Moses* law, would prooue sufficiently, that *Christians* must yeeld the Tenth (at the least) of all their increase, towards the maintenance of the Ministers.

For seeing the Ministerie of the Gospel is much more glorious, then that of the Lawe, and the Obligation of the people vnto them stronger; there can be no doubt made, but that *Christians* are bound to giue the Tenthe of their increase (at the least) towards the maintenance of them, that attend the seruice of God: and consequently, that God hath not left it to men, to determine, what is a competent allowance for his seruants (as some thinke:) which thing may easily be prooued, if any man shall make any question of it.

For seeing they of *Leuies* Tribe had so large an allowance, whereas yet the most part of them were but ordinarie *Leuites*, and imployed in meane services, the Priests beeing (in comparison) but a fewe, and attending but by courses, once in 24. weekes; there is farre greater reason, that the Ministers of the Church, that attend more holy things, and that continually, (whose Education out of their owne Patrimonie, hath bin chargeable vnto them, and whose Profession of Learning and Knowledge is such, that the very furnishing of them with Bookes, is a matter of great expence) should haue a more plentifull allowance made vnto them, than the *Leuites*. Neither is there any kind of Prouision for Ministers fitter than this by Tithes. For if they haue their allowance in money, the prices of things often rising, it may be too short; neither will they haue so sensible a fellow-feeling of the blessings of God, or his punishments the people tast of, if they haue their allowance certaine, and no way subiect to those different courses of Times that others haue.

And therefore we shall finde, that howsoeuer in the very first Times, *Christians* were forced to supply the necessities of their Ministers by other meanes, before things were setled; yet so soone as there was any quiet establishment of things, they embraced this course of prouiding for Ministers by Tythes, as of all other the best.

These Tythes (before there was that perfect distinction and diuision of Parochiall Churches that now is) they payed to the Bishop and Cleargie ioyntly. Whereupon we shall finde, that at first, as all Lands, so all Money, Tythe, First-fruits, & other Contributions made to the Church, were in the hands of the Bishop and Cleargie ioyntly, but of the Bishop principally, as more eminent, than the rest; and that he was bound to [p] diuide all into foure parts, whereof one serued for his owne maintenance, another for the Cleargie, the third for the Reparations of the buildings and houses belonging to the Church, and a fourth for the Relieue of the poore, and the entertainment of Strangers.

[p] *Gelasius Epist. 9. ad Episc. Lucanie. Vide Gratian. part. 2. decreti cauſ. 12. que. 2*

And

And therefore at first the Cleargy was maintayned out of a common diuidend, and the portion allowed to each man was named * *Sportula*, and they that liued by these allowances, *Sportulantes*. In which sence, *Cyprian* writing of some that hee had designed to bee Presbyters, hath these words: ¶ *Presbyterij honorem designâsse nos illis iam sciatis, et vt sportulis ijsdem cum Presbyteris honorentur, et diuisiones mensurnas æquatis quantitatib° partiantur sessuri nobiscum promeritis et corroboratis annis suis.*

* This word imported no base but an honorable allowance.

¶ *Cyprian Epist.* 66. & 34.

But this course continued but a while; for afterwards, as there was a diuision of Parochiall Churches, with particular assignation of seuerall Presbyters to take care of them: so likewise of the tithes of the increase of the lands and possessions of such, as were within those Limits, the Bishoppe and Cleargy of the Citty, or of the chiefe Church liuing in common of such landes, reuenewes and possessions, as had beene giuen to the Church, and the tithes and offerings of them that receaued Sacraments, and resorted ordinarily to be taught in the Cathedrall Church; till in the end, as the Inhabitants of the country abroad, so they of the Citties like-wise, were put into Parochiall diuisions, and none but the Bishop, Cleargie, and such as partayned to them, resorted ordinarily to the Cathedrall or great Church, but to other diuided from it; and then was there no more tithe paid to the Bishop and Cleargy of the Cathedrall or chiefe Church, but to the inferior Churches onely, the Bishoppe and his Cleargy, of the Mother Church, liuing of such lands as were giuen vnto them; which also in processe of time they diuided. So that the Bishop had his distinct possessions, lands, and reuenewes, proper to himselfe; and likewise they of the Cathedrall Church. So that to conclude this matter, as tithes are payable by the laws of God, & men, for the maintenance of Gods seruice, and them that attend the same; so before there was any particular diuision of Parochiall Churches, and while each city and the places adioining made but one Church, they were due, and of right to be payed, by men liuing within those limits, to the Bishoppe and Cleargy ioyntly, who by a ioynt care, were to gouerne and teach the people of such places. But after Parochiall Churches were deuided, each man was, and is to pay the tithes of the thinges he possesseth, within each parish, to that particular Presbyter that ruleth the same. And therefore it is an error to thinke, as some doe, that before the Councell of *Lateran*, men might pay their tithes to what places & persons they pleased; and that by the Decrees of that Councell, they were first limited to the place of their habitation. For the thing that was ordered in the Councel of *Lateran*, was not the limiting of the duty of paying tithe to one certain & definite place, as if men had bin free before to pay them to whom and where they listed; but wheras men dwelling in one place, & hauing lands, liuings, & possessions in another, thought they might pay the tenth of the encrease of such thinges

thinges as they had in other places, to the Minister of the place where they dwelt, and of whome they receiued the Sacraments; The [r] Councell decreed, that the Tythes of such Landes, as men had lying else-where, should not bee payed by them, in the places of their habitation, but where the land lyeth; and personall Tythes in the place of their abode, where they are partakers of the holy things of God, and not else-where: Then which, nothing could bee more iust or reasonable. Neyther did the Councell of *Lateran* alone, take order for this matter, but the Councell of *Mentz* cited by [r] *Gratian* prouideth likewise, that if any man giue away such places, as hee had proprietie in, or other thinges, the Tythe shall not bee alienated from the Church it did formerly belong vnto.

[r] *In indice in appendicem Concil Lateranens. 3. de Pactionib. 39. & 40.*

[r] *Part. 2. causa. 16. qu. 42. 1. cap.*

But that men were alwayes bounde to pay their Tythes of such things as they possesse, within the place of their habitation, to the Ministers of the same, it may easily bee proued, in that, very Auncient Councels do prouide, that no man shal pay the Tithes of such things as he hath within the limits of any place, but to that Church, to which all they that inhabite, there resort for Baptisme, and Spirituall instruction.

VVee decree (saith) [t] *Anastasius*, Bishoppe of *Rome*, that if any man seeke to with-hold the Oblations, and Tythes, which the people ought to yeeld vnto the Church, or giue them away from that Church, where they of the places, where such Tythes arise, doe vsually receaue the Sacrament of Baptisme, to any other without the Bishoppes consent, lette him bee accursed.

[t] *Citatus part. 2. causa. 16. quæst. 1. cap. 55.*

It hath seemed good, not only to vs, but to our Auncestors, (saith [u] *Leo* the Fourth) that the people shal pay their Tythes, where they and their children are baptized, and no where else. The [x] Councell of *Wormes* prouideth, that if any man with the Bishopps consent builde a new Church within his owne land, the Auncient Church shall not bee preiudiced, but all accustomed Tythes shall bee still payed vnto it. The [y] Councell of *Ticin* saith, there are certaine Lay-men, who hauing Churches or Oratories within the compasse of their owne landes and possessions, pay not the Tythes to those Churches, where they are partakers of the benefit of Baptisme, Preaching, Imposition of handes, and other Sacraments of *CHRISTE*; but giue them to their owne Churches, or their owne Clearkes, as they list; which is contrary to the Law of God, and the sacred Canons.

[u] *Ibid. cap. 45.*

[x] *Canon. 47.*

[y] *Habetur. Tomo. 3. Concil. apud. Binnium. pag. 656.*

And therefore the Councell of [z] *Mentz* in the time of *Arnulphus*, decreed, That [z] Auncient Churches shall not be depriued of their Tithes, or other possessions, and that the thinges that formerly did belong vnto them, shall not bee giuen to newe Chappels, or Oratories.

[z] *Cap. 13.*

The first wrong that was offered vnto Churches, in depriuing them of

of their Tythes, that preuayled, was in fauour of Monkes, who hauing their mansion houses within the precincts of parishes, and landes belonging to the same; which for their prouision they held in their owne handes, and vsed for their owne benefitte, rested not till they obtayned of the Pope and other Bishops to haue them Tithe-free.

The Councell of *Laterane* vnder *Alexander* the Third ordayneth, [a] *That religious men shall pay no Tythe out of such their landes as they tille themselues*. But if they shal rent any, they shall pay Tithe as other do: & likewise if they let any landes out vnto Countrey-men to be tilled, they shall pay Tythes out of them; yea if they shall get new landes, after their foundation and confirmation of their Priuiledges, they shall pay Tythes, though they keepe them in their owne handes. But this exemption of Religious men, (though very preiudiciall to the Church) staid not heere, but preuayled yet further, to the great hurt of the Church: & therfore we read, that some sought to exempt their Farmers also from paying Tythes: which the Bishoppes assembled in the Counsell of [b] *Cabilon* disliked, and commaunded that both Bishoppes and Abbots shoould permitte their Tenants to pay Tythes in the places where they receaued the Sacraments: and that they should keepe the Tythes of such fieldes and Vineyardes, as they held in their owne occupation, to themselues. Thus we shal find that this Monkish generation first robbed the parochiall Churches, within the boundes whereof their houses and possessions were, of a great portion of Tythes due vnto them, by their priuiledges and exemptions: and that after they had tasted the sweetnesse of this robbery, they went forward, till they had subiected those Ministers and their Churches to themselues, to whose Iurisdiction they were formerly subiect: And got the Tythes that others payed to parochiall Churches, to be appropriated to themselues, that at first by priuiledge exempted themselues from paying Tythes; forgetting that of Saint [c] *Hierome*; *Alia Monachorum est causa, alia Clericorum, Clerici pascunt oues, ego pascor, illi de Altari viuunt, mihi quasi infructuosæ arbori securis ponitur ad radicem si munus ad Altare non defero; nec possum obtendere paupertatem, cum in Euangelio annum viduam, duo quæ sola sibi supererant æra, mittentem laudauerit Dominus, mihi ante Presbyterum sedere non licet; illi si peccauero, licet tradere me Satanæ in interitum carnis, vt Spiritus saluus sit.* That is; the condition of Monkes and the condition of Cleargy-men differ very much. Cleargy-men feede the Sheepe of CHRISTE, but I am fedde; they liue by the Altar, but if I bring not my gifte to the Altar, the Axe is laid vnto mee, as to an vnfruitfull Tree; neyther can I pretend Pouerty, seeing the LORD in the Gospell, praised the VVidowe, that cast in two Mites, which was all that shee [illegible] I may not sitt in the presence of

[a] *Indice in appendicem.*

[b] *Cabilonens. 2. Canone. 19.*

[c] *Hier. ad Heliodorum de laude vitæ solitariæ.*

of a Presbyter, but if I offend, he may deliuer me to Satan, for the destruction of the flesh that the spirit may be saued.

But as these idle bellies, and euill beasts, by the fauour of Popes and Prelates, gott into their hands the portion which God appointed for his seruants the Ministers of his Churches; so in the end growing odious to the world, for that professing mortification, and a voluntary penitentiall course of life, they abounded in wealth and surfetted vpon pleasures, more then any secular men in the world, they were deuoured of others, who seazed vpon their houses, tooke from them their reuenewes, and together with their other liuings, led captiue that portion of tithes, they found in their possessions; and hold it (in sort) as the former vsurpers did, euen to this day.

So that wee may truely pronounce, that the Cloisters of Monks are guilty of all that horrible Sacriledge, that hath laied wast so many Churches, spoyled so many Christians of the comfort of Godly Pastors, that other-wise they might haue enioyed; and brought the Cleargy into that meane estate, that now it is come vnto. For it is not to be imagined, that euer any Lay-man would once haue entertayned a thought of receauing tithes, that (as consecrated things to GOD, and holy vnto him) were to bee put into the Store-house of his Temple, if they had not found them, (who by the originall of their order, and institution, were to pay, and not to receaue tithes) possessed of them and spending them in most vilde and shamefull manner. Neither shall wee euer finde (as I thinke) that Lay-men inherited this portion of the Lord, in sort as now they doe, till the suppressing of the houses of these irreligious Monkes; which were become cages of vncleane Birdes, and dens of theeues and robbers.

It is true indeed that [d] *Duarenus* hath, that the right of receauing sacred tithe, *Clientelæ titulo*, was by certaine Princes, with the consent of the whole Cleargy, made ouer to Knights and Marshall men, for defending the Church, and people of CHRIST against the enemies of religion. But this was for the good and benefit of the Cleargy, and in their right; and not as now it is, by absolute title of Inheritance, and Fee-simple or Free-hold.

[d] *De Sacris Eccle. minist. & benef. lib. 7. cap. 1.*

The beginner of this kind of assignation of tithes to Lay-men, for defence of the Church, was *Charles Martell*: as *Duarenus* saith, and the third Councel of *Lateran* reuersed & voided it, more then foure hundred yeres since.

From tithes, (which the Lord God, possessor of heauen and earth, appropriated to him-selfe, as his owne particular portion from the beginning, though all were his) let vs proceed to see what the deuotion of men

men gaue vnto him, since the appearing of *CHRISTE*, his Sonne in the world.

Touching which point, first wee shall finde in the sacred storie of the Euangelistes, that many ministred vnto *CHRIST* out of their substance, and that hee had a Bagge, wherein hee kept the things which the faithfull ministred vnto him; and out of the same supplyed his owne ne-
[e] In Iohn. 13. cessities, and the wantes of others, as Saint *Augustine* obserueth. So that he hee did not liue so, as to haue nothing, or to begge, (as some heere-tofore haue thought) whose error Pope *Iohn* the Two and twentith long since condemned. Here was the first patterne of Church-goods and treasure, as *Augustine* noteth.

After the death, resurrection, and returne of *CHRIST* into Heauen, such was the deuotion of the beleeuers in the beginning, that many of
[f] Acts. 4. 34. 35. them [f] sold their possessions, and brought the price therof, and laid it downe at the Apostles feete. VVhich communication of the goods of the first Christians, though it extended to the benefit of all, yet was there a speciall respect therein had to the Apostles; to whoms they would haue nothing to bee wanting, and to whose disposition all was committed. The reason why they rather sold their possessions, & turned their lands into money, then gaue them to the Apostles, for the relieue & maintenance
[g] *Decreti. part. 2. causa. 12. quæst. 1. cap. 15.* of them-selues and others, was, (as [g] some thinke) for that the Church was soone after to bee remoued from those partes, and to be dispersed amongst the *Gentiles*, which made them little regard to haue lands and possessions in *Iudæa*.

But after these times, when the Christians were dispersed through-out the world, and Churches established amongst the *Gentiles*, they thought it better to giue landes vnto the Churches, for the maintenance of the Ministery, relieue of the Poore, and entertainment of Strangers, then money; as beeing a more sure, certayne, and setled Indowment, and consequently fitter for Churches established. Of which chaunge we may read in
[*] *Ibid. cap. 16.* the Epistle attributed to [*] *Vrbanus* Bishop of *Rome*, about the yeare two hundred twenty sixe. And though ỳ first course of giuing al that men possessed, to the common benefit, soone ceased, and was neuer practised (for ought we read) amongst the *Gentiles*: yet great was the deuotion of Christians, turning from *Gentilisme*, in those first Ages of the Church; while the blood of Christ lately shedde, was yet warme in mens hearts: so that they gaue many goodly and ample Indowments and Possessions to the Church. VVhere-vppon wee shall finde, that the Churche had very aunciently goodes and landes, as well as treasure.

[h] *Canone. 15.* [i] *Canone. 25.* For the Councell of [h] *Ancyra* holden in the yeare three hundred and foureteene, voydeth the sale of such things, as the Church made by Presbyters, when there was no Bishoppe; and leaueth it in the choyce of the Bishoppe

Bishoppe when he is chosen, if he please, to resume the things them-selues againe.

The [i] Councell of *Antioch* in the yeare 340. maketh mention of the Fieldes, lands, and possessions of the Church, and taketh order how they shalbe disposed. *Agri Ecclesiæ* (saith *Ambrose*) *solvunt tributa*; that is, the fields and lands of the Church, pay tribute. [k] *Constantine* the Emperour made a law, that it might be lawfull for such as pleased, to leaue their goods vnto the Church. And [l] *Licinia*, a rich and welthy Matron, gaue her goods by will vnto the Church of *Rome*, when *Marcellus* was Bishoppe. *Hilarie* Bishoppe of *Arle* (as [m] *Prosper* reporteth) not onely possessed such things as the Church had formerly, but greatly increased the possessions of it, receauing the inheritances of many, who gaue that they had to the Church. Thus did the deuout Christians of the Primitiue Church religiously giue, and the Godly Bishoppes take, such temporalties, as were giuen vnto them. And therefore the conceipt of *Wickliffe* (if that bee true that is imputed to him) and some other, cannot well bee excused, who thought, that *Constantine*, and other Christian Emperours sinned in giuing, and *Sylvester* and other Bishoppes in receauing temporall goods and possessions.

[i] *Canon.* 25.

[k] *Duaren. de Sacr. Eccles. minist. & benef. lib. 2. cap. 1.*

[l] *Ibid.*

[m] *De vita contemplatiua. lib. 2. cap. 9.*

It is true, that great was the superfluity of Church-men in latter times, and their state such, as made them forget the things that most concerned them: whence grew that saying, *Religio peperit diuitias, & filia deuorauit Matrem*; That is, religion brought forth riches, and the daughter hath deuoured the mother. [n] *Nauclere* reporteth, that there was a common conceit amongst many, that when *Constantine* first began to endow the Churches, with lands and possessions, a voyce was heard from Heauen saying, *Hodie venenum Ecclesiæ est immissum*, that is, This day is poyson powred into the Church: and in processe of time, temporall Princes (finding that the indiscreet deuotion of men, giuing more then was fit to the Church, preiudiced the state of their Kingdoms, and common wealthes) made Statutes of *Mortmaine*, to stay men from putting any more of their landes and possessions into such dead hands, as would doe them noe seruice.

[n] *Vol. 2. generat. 11. pag. 505.*

But such is the infelicity of the sonnes of men, that commonly they runne out of one extremity into another; and while they seeke to avoyde one euill they fall into an other as bad or worse. The abuse of the riches and wealth the Church had in the time wherein *VVickliffe* liued, made him so farre dislike the present state of things; that hee thought the contrary would right all againe; as the manner of men is, when they goe about to straighten a thing that is crooked, to bow it as much the other way. But [o] *Gerson*, a right good religious and wise man bringeth in an euen and iust moderation, to inter-pose it selfe betweene these extremities, that neither men giue so much to the Church, as

[o] *De potest. Eccles. iast. considerat. 12.*

to

to make her sette her feete on the neckes of Emperours, nor yet bring her to want and contempt; which hath beene the course of some men in our times, the vnhappy sequells of whose proceedings, wee see already in part; and it is to be feared, that Posterity shall feele the smart of it in more grieuous sort then we do.

But to returne to the matter whence we are a little digressed. These Lands, which deuout and good people gaue vnto the Church, were at first possessed ioyntly by the Bishoppe and Cleargy; but in processe of Time, a diuision was made, and eyther knew distinctly their owne, and had power to dispose of it; so that they did nothing preiudiciall to the inheritance of their Churches, or tending to the hurt of them that were to succeed them. For (to restraine them from doing any such thing) the Bishoppe was forbidden by the lawes of the Church, to lette any thing belonging to his See, without the confirmation of his Cleargy, and the Ministers abroad, to alienate, exchaunge, or demise any thing without the consent of the Bishoppe, and Patrons, or Founders of the Churches. Otherwise, both the Bishoppe might dispose of him-selfe alone, of that portion that belonged vnto him, and the Ministers of their Tythes, Oblations, Obuentions, and Glebe-landes, without the Bishoppes intermedling with them: onely three thinges were due to the Bishoppe out of the Liuings of inferior Ministers.

p *De sacris Eccles. minist. & Benef. lib. 2. cap. 1.*

For first, as p *Duarenus* noteth, the Ministers of inferior Churches, were to giue yearely a certayne tribute or pension vnto the Bishoppe: which Tribute or Pension was called *Cathredaticum, quod Cathedræ*, i. *honori Episcopali, debeatur.*

Secondly, when the Bishoppe goeth to visite his Diocesse, and the parishes abroad, the inferior Ministers are to giue him entertainment, and prouide for him; which is called *Procuratio; Quia Ecclesiæ Episcopum procurant*, i. *curant, alunt & tuentur, sicut pueri dicuntur procurari a nutricibus:* That is, Procurations, because the Churches abroad, must take care, prouide, and procure, all thinges necessary for the Bishoppes lodging, diet and entertainment. But because in these visitations some Bishoppes grew too chargeable, therefore the Councell of q *Lateran* limiteth what company a Bishoppe shall haue with him, when hee goeth to visite. Thirdly, in former times, the fourth part of the Tythes due to inferior Churches, and the fourth part of such thinges, as by Will men gaue to them, was by the Ministers of these Churches, to bee paid vnto the Bishoppe, which thing is now growne out of vse. Neyther is there any other thing payable, and due to the Bishope, from inferior Ministers, but Procurations onely.

q *Sub. Alexand. 3. cap. 4.*

Thus were Church landes, and Tythes, (which at first were enioyed by the Bishoppe and Cleargy ioyntly,) in time diuided, and eyther of

of them had an entire power to dispose of the same, as seemed good vnto him, without the intermedling of the other: yet was there a difference made, betweene such things as they had by right of inheritance, or by the gift of their friendes, and those thinges which they gayned and gathered vpon their Ecclesiasticall liuings. For sundry Canons prouided, that Bishoppes and other Cleargy-men might make their last Will and Testament, and giue to whome they pleased, that which came to them by inheritance, the gift of their friendes, or which they gayned vppon the same. But that which they gayned vppon their Church-liuings, they should leaue to their Churches. But the Church of *England*, had a different custome: neyther were these Canons euer of force in our Church: And therfore, her Bishoppes and Ministers might euer at their pleasure bequeath to whome they would, what-soeuer they had gayned, eyther vppon their Church-liuings, or otherwise. And surely there was great reason it should bee so, for seeing, *The labourer is worthy of his hire*, why should not they haue power to giue that which was yeelded vnto them as due recompence and reward of their labours, to whome they please.

And how can it bee excused from iniustice and wrong, that men (spending a great part of their owne Patrimonie, in fitting them-selues for the Ministery of the Church, which conuerted to the best aduantage and benefitte, might greatly haue enriched them) should not haue right and power to dispose of such thinges, as they haue lawfully gayned, out of those Liuings which are assigned to them, as the due reward of their worthy paynes? Yet are there some, that are much more iniurious to the holy Ministery.

For [r] *Waldensis* out of a Monkish humour, thinketh that Cleargy-men are bound to giue away, what-soeuer commeth to them, by inheritance, or by any other meanes; and that they ought not to possesse any thing in priuate, and as their owne. And alleadgeth to this purpose the saying of *Origen*, *Hierome*, and *Bernard*; that the Cleargy-man that hath any part or portion on earth; cannot haue the Lord for his portion, nor any part in heauen.

[r] *Doct. fidei, lib. 4. art. 3. cap. 42.*

But Cardinall [t] *Bellarmine* answereth to these authorities, That these Fathers speake of such as content not them-selues with that which is sufficient, but immoderately seeke the thinges of this world; and proueth, that Cleargy-men may haue, and keepe Lands, and Possessions as their owne. First, because the Apostle prescribeth that such a one should bee chosen a Bishoppe [t] *As gouerneth his owne house well, and hath children in Obedience*; which presupposeth that he hath something in priuate, and that is his owne. Secondly, he confirmeth the same, by the [u] Canons of the Apostles, the Councell of

[t] *De Clericis, lib. 1. cap. 20.*

[t] 1. Tim. 3. 4.

[u] *Can. 40.*

of [z] *Agatha*, *Martinus Bracharensis* in his [y] Decrees, and the first Councel of [z] *Hispalis*; and further addeth, That a man having Lands, Possessions & Inheritance of his owne, may spare his own liuing, and receiue maintenance from the Church; for proofe whereof he alleadgeth the Glosse, & *Iohn de* [a] *Turrecremata*, a Cardinall in his time of greate esteeme; and confirmeth the same by that saying of Christ, [b] *The labourer is worthy of his hyre*: and that of the Apostle Saint Paul, [c] *Who goeth to warfare at any time, at his owne charge?*

[z] *Can.* 48.
[y] *Can.* 15.
[z] *Canon*, 1.

[a] *In Cap. Clerici, 1. qu. 2.*

[b] Math. 10. 10.
[c] 1 Cor. 9. 7.

FINIS,

St Paules Church yard

An

An Appendix contayning a Defenſe of ſuch partes and paſſages of the former foure Bookes, as haue beene eyther excepted againſt, or wreſted to the maintainance of *Romiſh* errors.

Diuided into three parts.

An Appendix contayning a Defense of ſuch partes and paſſages of the former foure Bookes, as haue beene eyther excepted againſt or wrested to the maintainance of Romiſh Errors.

Shropshire George Longhotton

1618

Manchester

An Epistle to the Reader.

SInce the time I presumed (good Christian Reader) to offer to thy view, what I had long before for my priuate satisfaction obserued touching certayne points, concerning the nature, definitiō, notes, visibility, & authority of the church much questioned in our times: first there came forth a Pamphlet; intituled; The first part of Protestant proofes for Catholike Religion and recusancie: After that a larger discourse bearing the name of, A Treatise of the grounds of the old and new religion: and thirdly, The first motiue of one Theophilus Higgons, *lately Minister, to suspect the integrity of his Religion.*

The Author of the first of these worthy works, undertaketh to proue out of the writings of Protestant Diuines, published since the beginning of his Maiesties raigne ouer this Kingdome, that his Romish *faith and profession is Catholike.*

The second endeauoreth to make the world beleeue, that Protestants haue no sure groundes of Religion. And the third, hauing made shipwracke of the faith, and forsaken his calling, laboureth to iustifie, and make good that he hath done.

Euery of these hath beene pleased for the aduantage of the Romish cause, amongst the VVorkes of many worthy men, to make vse of that which I haue written; the first seeking to draw mee into the defense of that hee knoweth I impugne: and the other two taking exceptions to certaine partes and passages scattered here and there.

Such is the insufficiency and weakenesse of the idle and empty discourses of these men, that I almost resolued to take no notice of them: But finding that the last of these good Authors fronteth his booke with an odious title of Detection of falshood in Doctor Humfrey, Doctor Field, and other learned Protestants, and addeth an Appendix, wherein hee vndertaketh to discouer some notable vntruthes of Doctor Field, and D. Morton, pretending that the consideration thereof moued him to become a Papist; I thought it not amisse to take a litle paynes in shewing the folly of these vaine men, who care not what they write so they write something; and are in hope, that no man will trouble him-selfe, so much as once to examine what they say: yet not intending to answere all that euery of these hath said (for who would mispend his time, and weary him-selfe in so fruitlesse a labour?) but that which concerneth my selfe, against whome they bende them-selues in more speciall sort, then against any other; as it seemeth because I haue treatised, as Maister Higgons speaketh, of that subiect, which is the center and circumference in all religious disputes. And because Maister Higgons is pleased to let vs know his name, whereas the other conceale theirs (it being no smal comfort for a man to know his Aduersary) I will do him all the kindnesse I can, and first begin with him, though he shewed him-selfe last, and from him proceed to the rest. What it is that maketh him so much offended with me, I cannot tell; but sure it is, he hath a good will to offend me: for hee chargeth mee with trifeling, egregious falshood, collusion, vnfaithful dealing, abusing the holy Fathers, and I knowe not what else.

But such is the shamelesse, and apparant vntruth of these horrible imputations, that it is altogether needlesse to spend time, & bestow labour in the refutation of them. Yet

because in the ſuſpition of Hæreſie, falſhood, and vnfaithfull dealing in matters of fayth, and religion, no man ought to bee patient; I will briefly take a view of his whole book. And though his beginning bee abrupt, and abſurd, his whole diſcourſe confuſed, and perplexed, and all that he doth, without order, or method; yet to giue ſatiſfaction to all, I will follow him the ſame way hee goeth. I was vnwilling (good Chriſtian Reader) to trouble thee with ſuch diſcourſes; but the reſtleſſe importunity of our Aduerſaries, ſetting euery one a worke to ſay ſomthing againſt vs, forceth me ther-vnto. Read without partiality, and Iudge betweene vs, as God ſhal direct thee.

THE FIRST PART,

Containing a discouery of the vanitie of such silly exceptions, as haue beene taken against the former foure Bookes, by one Theophilus Higgons.

§. 1.

THe first exception Maister *Higgons* is pleased to take against mee, is, that in all my foure bookes I haue not graced any Father with the glorious title of Saint: his words are these. [a] *I am bold to intreat* D. Feildes *leaue, to honour* Augustine *with the name of Saint, how soeuer hee hath not once vouchsafed in his 4. Bookes to grace him, or any Father with this glorious title.* It is strange, that such a nouice as hee is, should dare to begin in so scornefull a manner, with so shameleſse an vntruth, as if he had been an old practitioner in the faculty of lying: but his desire (it seemeth) was to giue, as good proofe at first, as possibly hee might, of the good seruice hee is like to doe, if his newe Maisters will bee pleased to make vse of him, and imploy him as they doe others. For otherwise hee could not but knowe, hee might easily bee conuinced, of a lye; for [b] I haue giuen the title of Saint to *Augustine*, that worthy and renowned Father, more then once, twice, or thrice; and I call [c] *Leo*, blessed *Leo*, and so giue him a title æquiualent to that of Saint, and more often found, in the writings of the Auncient. If happily it offend him, that euery time I name any Father, I giue him not the title of Saint, let him take the paines to peruse the writings of *Alexander* of *Hales*, *Thomas Aquinas*, *Scotus*, *Durandus*, *Waldensis*, *Sixtus Senensis*, and other of that sort, and I doubt not, but hee will soone perceiue his folly, and cease to bee angry with mee any longer, vnlesse hee bee resolued

[a] *Pag.* 4.

[b] *Pag.* 26. 202. 214. 216.

[c] *Pag.* 113.

to

inpresently a separation made between the soules of the iust, & the vniust and that they are carryed into places worthy of them, and fitte for them: that is to say, the soules of the iust into Paradise, where they enioy the company of Angels and Archangels, as also the sight of our Sauiour Iesus Christ. but those of the vniust and wicked, into infernall places.

g *Tertullian* saith, There is a place whether the soules of good and euill men are carryed, and where they haue a kinde of foreiudging and discerning of that which shall bee adiudged to them in the last iudgement. And h againe hee saith, That euery soule immediatlye vppon the departure hence, is in this appointed inuisible place, hauing there eyther paine, or ease, and refreshing; that there the riche man is in paine, and the poore in a comfortable estate; for, saith hee, why should wee not thinke, that the soules are tormented, or refreshed in this inuisible place appointed for them in expectation of the future Iudgment? *In quadam vsurpatione & candida eius.* The Iudgment doubtlesse is begunne there: So that neither is good altogether wanting to the innocent, nor the sence and feeling of euill to the nocent.

g *De Trinit. in initio.*

h *Lib. de animâ cap. 33. & 34.*

Heere wee see *Tertullian* maketh but two sorts of men departing hence: and that hee thinketh, that presently after their departure hence, the good are in a kinde of imperfect possession or enioying of that good they looke for heere-after: and the euill and wicked in a kinde of state wherein they already beginne to taste of those euer-lasting miseries that shall swallowe them vppe, in the daye of iudgment: So that according to his opinion, there is no Purgatorie nor state of temporall paine and affliction after this life, out of which there is hope of escape or deliuerance.

Gregory Nazianzen in his Oration made in the praise of *Caesarius*, after many comforts against the sorrowes conceiued for the losse of so worthy a man: addeth this as the chiefest of all other. *Verbis sapientum adducor vt credam generosam omnem, deoque charam animam, posteaquam corporis vinculis soluta hinc excesserit, protinus, bonum quod eam manet, persentientem, et contemplantem, (vtpote eo quod mentem caligine obducebat, vel purgato, vel abiecto, vel quo verbo ea res appelanda sit nescio) mirabili quadam voluptate affici, & exultare, atque hac vita veluti, grauissimo quodam ergastulo relicta, excussisque compedibus, quibus animi penna deprimi solebat, hilarem ad dominum suum conuolare, beatitudinem recondita imaginatione quadam iam percipere.*

That is; I am induced and mooued by the sayings of the wise to beleeue, that euery generous soule, and such as is beloued of God, presently after the loosing from the bonds of the body, and departure hence, (that which darkened the minde, being either purged out, or cast from it,

or done away in what sort I cannot well expresse) beginneth sensibly to discearne and behold that good, which remayneth for it, to be filled with wonderfull delights, and to leape for ioy: and that leauing this life as a most greeuous prison, and hauing cast of those fetters, that depressed and held her downe, desiring to mount vp on high with her siluer winges, she flieth ioyfully to her Lord, and presently in a certaine apprehension, beginneth to tast of that hidden happinesse, that shalbe reuealed. [1] *Epiphanius* speaking of the Godly departed, remembred in the praiers of the Church, saith: *they are and liue with God.* [k] *Ambrose* is more full to this purpose then any of the former, for in his booke *de bono mortis*, first hee saith, *all soules remaine in certaine habitations till the day of Iudgement, whence they shalbe called forth in that great day of resurrection. Secondly, that till the fullnesse of Time appointed, they al are holden in an expectation of the reward due vnto them, and are not in full possession of it. Thirdly, that in the meane time neither the soules of the wicked are without some present sence of euill, nor the other without some inioying of good.*

[1] Heref. 75.

[k] De bono mortis cap. 10. 11.

The ioy of the good & righteous he sheweth to be in respect of the victory which they haue obtained ouer the flesh, the deuine testimony which they haue in their consciences of their former walking in the waies of God, making them not to feare the future iudgement; their escape out of the prison of the body of death, the liberty they are come to, and the possessing of the promised inheritance &c. Heare we see plainely, that *Ambrose* maketh but two sorts of men, two sorts of soules seperated from the body, and two estates; assuring vs that al good faithfull-ones ordained to eternall life are presently after their seperation in a state of happinesse, boldly hastening to the view and sight of that God, whome they haue so carefully serued: to which purpose hee alledgeth that of the Prophet to the Angell: *shall their be giuen a time to soules after they are seperated, that they may see the thing thou hast spoken of?* and the Angells answer. *Seauen daies shall their liberty endure, that in those seauen daies they may see the things, that haue beene spoken, and after they shalbe gathered into their dwelling places*: out of which (as I noted before) he thinketh they shall not bee called till the resurrection, so that according to the opinion of Saint *Ambrose* there is no place of temporall paine and punishment after this life appointed for the soules of men dying in state of grace. Neither was this the opinion of *Dionysius, Ireneus, Iustin Martyr, Tertullian, Nazianzen, Epiphanius* and *Ambrose* only, but all the auncient weare of the same iudgement, touching the state of the faithfull departed: and therefore neuer any of them made any praiers for the deliuering of them out of temporall paine and punishment; but as it hath beene before obserued, they made prayers for them respectiuely to their passage out of this world, and the entrance into the other; as also for their resurrection, publique acquitall in the the day of Iudgement, and perfit consummation. This the

II Esdr. 4.

Masse-

Masse-booke and all the prayers that are found in any auncient bookes of Ecclesiasticall prayers, doe cleerely shew. *George Cassander* hath published a booke of Ecclesiasticall prayers, gathered out of the old Liturgies and Bookes of diuine seruice that hee could meete with: amongst which there are many, *pro commendatione animæ:* some few of them I will produce for example.

The first, wee beesech thy clemency, O God, mercifully to receiue the « soule of thy seruant, returning vnto thee; Let *Michaell* the Angell of thy « couenant be present with it, and vouchsafe to place it amongst thy Saints « and holy ones in the bosome of *Abraham, Isaack*, and *Iacob*, that beeing « freed and deliuered from the Princes of darkenesse, and the places of pu- « nishment, hee may bee confounded with no errors of his first birth, of « ignorance, or of his owne iniquity, and frailty, but that rather he may be « acknowledged of thine, and enioy the rest of holy blessednesse, and that « when the day of the great Iudgement shall come, beeing raised vp a- « mongst thy Saints and chosen ones, hee may bee satisfied with the glory « of the cleere beholding of thee. «

The second: Vouchsafe O Lord to giue to thy seruant a lightsome « place, a place of refreshing, and quiet; Let him passe by the gates of hell, « and the punishments of darkenesse; let him remaine in the mansions of « the Saints, and in holy light, which of old thou promisedst to *Abraham*, « and to his seede: Let his spirit sustaine no hurt; but when the great day « of resurrection and rewarde shall come; vouchsafe to raise him, together « with thy Saints, and chosen ones; blot out and doe away his sinnes euen « to the vttermost farthing, and let him attaine the life of immortallity « with thee. «

The third: Receiue the soule of thy seruant, which thou leadest out of « the dirty and mirie gulfe of this world, to the heauenly country: receiue « it into the bosome of *Abraham*: be-dew it with the dew of refreshing: « and let it bee kept apart from the cruell burning of the firie and fla- « ming hell. «

The fourth: Graunt that thy seruant may escape the place of punish- « ment, the fire of hell, and the flames of the lowest gulfe. «

The like may bee shewed in the rest: for they are all framed to the same purpose, for the escaping of hell, the power of the Prince of darknesse, and the deuouring gulfe of eternall condemnation: all which things, in the iudgment of our Aduersaries them-selues, are granted vnto men dying in the faith of Christ, and state of grace, in the very entrance into the other world, and the first instant of the next life: so that all the prayers that wee finde in the ancient, were made respectiuely to the passing hence and entrance into the other world, with desire of the Resurrection, and perfect consummation which we expect in the last day: and because this passage is often past, and they that are departed, already

entred

entred into their rest, before their friends whome they leaue behinde them, can send so many good wishes after them as they desire, it was an ordinary thing with the Ancient, in their prayers to acknowledge and professe they were perswaded the thing was alreadye granted and performed, which they desired: and to beseech GOD notwith-standing, to accept their voluntarye deuotions, and good affections. In this sort [l] *Augustine* prayeth for *Monica*, his Mother, *That GOD will keepe her from the powers and Princes of darkenesse, and remitte her sinnes*: And yet saith, *Hee beleeueth it is already done that hee asketh.*

[l] *Confess. lib. 9. cap. 13.*

So [m] *Nazianzen* professeth his assured perswasion, that *Cæsarius* is with God, and yet commendeth him to God. And the like wee finde in [n] *Ambrose* touching *Valentinian*. By all which it is euident, that the Auncient prayed not to deliuer the departed out of Purgatorie, or any estate of temporall affliction; but on their obite dayes, acknowledged the goodnesse of God towards them, preuenting all desires of men, declared their readinesse to entreate for them, if they were in need or danger, and not past before they could send their good wishes after them, and expressed their desires of the perfecting and accomplishing of all that which is yet wanting to them.

[m] *Vbi supra.*

[n] *Tomo 3. in orat. de obitu Valentiniani.*

And as the Ancient were wont to pray for their brethren and friends on the dayes of their obites, and the deposition of their bodyes, respectiuely to their passage hence, and the escaping of the dangers of hell, and eternall death in the same: so in like sort [o] in processe of time, in those dayes wherein their obites were remembred and by returne of times represented to them, they vsed the same forme of prayer againe, as if they had beene but euen then in the passage hence, and in danger of hell, and the powers of darkenesse. But as on the dayes of the birth, circumcision, apparition, passion, resurrection, and ascension of Christ, (for so we call the daies answering to these, & representing them to vs, signes and remembrances, carrying the names of the things themselues,) men so speake, as if GOD did then send his Sonne into the world to bee borne of a woman, to bee made vnder the Lawe, to suffer, ouer-come, and triumph ouer death, and by ascending into Heauen, to take possession thereof for vs: and yet meane not (as the wordes may seeme to importe) that CHRIST doth newly take flesh, and is borne of the Virgin, &c. But that hee is borne vnto vs, and wee made partakers of the benefits of his birth, circumcision, passion, &c. So in the dayes wherein they remembered the obites of their brethren & friends as then present and praied for them as then in passage hence, and in danger to be swallowed vp of hell and destruction; they desired not that which the words may seeme to import, (for that was granted to them on

[o] *Bellarm. de Purgatorio. lib. 2. cap. 5.*

their

their dying dayes, or else they are vncapable of it for euer:) but that which is yet wanting to them. In which sense the words of that prayer in the Masse-booke must be vnderstood: p Lord Iesus, King of glorie, deliuer the soules of all faithfull ones departed, from the hand of hell, and from the deepe lake: deliuer them from the mouth of the Lyon, that the lowest hell swallowe them not vp, and that they fall not into the dungeons of vtter darkenesse: but let thy Standard-bearer, holy *Michael*, present them into the place of holy Light, which of old thou diddest promise to *Abraham* and to his seed.

p *Offic. pro defunctis in Anniuersarijs*

For these dangers of falling into the deepe lake, the mouth of the Lyon, the dungeons of vtter darkenesse, and beeing swallowed vp of the lowest Hell, the dead in Christ escaped in the day and time of their dissolution: neither is there any thing to bee wished farther vnto them in this behalfe, but that publique acquitall, and full and perfect escape in the day of Iudgement, according to that other prayer found in the Missall: q O gratious God, which calledst backe the first man to eternall glory; O good shepheard, which broughtest backe the lost sheepe vpon thy shoulder to the folde; Righteous Iudge, when thou shalt come to Iudge, deliuer from death the soules of them, whom thou hast redeemed: Deliuer not the soules which confesse vnto thee, vnto the beasts: forsake them not for euer.

q *Vbi suprà.*

In all these prayers there is no word of petition for the deliuerance of the dead out of any paines or punishments, but for their escaping, auoyding, declining, and not falling into hell, eternall condemnation, the power of Satan, and the mouth of the Lyon.

It is true, that some long since, beganne to pray to deliuer men out of paines and punishments; or to suspend, mitigate, and ease their paines: but in such sort, as the *Romanists* dare not pray. It was an opinion of many, who otherwise were right beleeuers, that all *Christians* professing the truth in Christ, how ill soeuer they liue, shall bee saued in the end. r *Frustrà nonnulli* (saith Saint *Augustine*) *immò quam plurimi, æternam damnatorum pœnam, & cruciatus sine intermissione perpetuos, humano miserantur affectu: atque ita futurum esse non credunt*: that is, there are some, nay there are exceeding many, who out of an humane affection commiserate the eternall punishments of the damned, and their torments that are without ceasing: these men thought the sayings of Christ and his Apostles concerning the eternall punishments of the wicked, were vttered rather *minaciter*, then *veracitèr*: and that they rather shewe, what men according to their deseruing should suffer, then what indeed they shall suffer.

r *August. in Enchirid. ad Laurent. cap. 111.*

Hence it came, that many did pray for the deliuerance of men out of hell, that died in mortall sinne. This opinion s *Damascene* followed, and

s *De dormientibus.*

and whereas the Prophet asketh, *Who shall confesse vnto thee O Lord in hell?* he answereth, that *the threats of the Iudge are terrible, but his vnspeakable mercy exceedeth all:* and is of opinion, that Christ, when he went downe to hell, deliuered such as had liued honestly, though without the knowledge of God, preaching vnto them, and perswading them to beleeue in him: which he saith, is not to contradict the Prophet, but to shewe that God is ouercome of his mercie, as he was in the case of the inhabitants of *Ninive*, *Ezechias*, and *Achab*, to whom that was threatened, which yet mercy staid, that it should not be executed. This mercy he thinketh shall preuayle, and ouercome, till the time of retribution come, and the time of negotiation be past; so that till the day of Iudgement, we may helpe them that are in hell, but that afterwards there shall be no place left for the relieuing of any there, or the deliuering of any thence. The same [t] *Damascene* teacheth, that all men, when they depart hence, are waighed in the ballance, and that if there wel-doings, and vertues in the right skale, waigh downe the other, they shall be brought into a place of refreshing: that, if the skales be equall, mercie carrieth it; if the euill doings in the left skale be too heauie, mercy supplieth that which is wanting to the waight of the right skale: yea that though their euill doings doe much exceed their vertues, when they are waighed, yet the exceeding goodnesse and mercie of God shall sway the matter for their good: and pronounceth, that in whomsoeuer any conscience of good at any time appeared, God will stirre vp the hearts of men to pray for them, that they may bee deliuered, and that none shall perish euerlastingly, but such as liued so vilely, that no man sendeth a good wish after them when they are gone. Hereupon hee bringeth forth sundry examples of men deliuered out of the hell of the damned, by the prayers of the liuing; for first, hee saith, all the East and West knowe, that *Gregory* the Great, prayed for *Traian*, an Infidel, and a persecutor of *Christians* in the time wherein he liued, almost fiue hundred yeeres after his death; mooued so to doe, by the consideration of some vertues that were in him: and receiued this comfortable answere from God, *I haue heard thy prayer, and doe pardon* Traian, *but see that hereafter thou offer no more sacrifice vnto mee for any godlesse, vnbeleeuing, and prophane person.* Secondly, hee reporteth that *Tecla* the Protomartyr, by the prayers which shee powred forth to God while shee liued, deliuered *Falconilla* out of hell, who was a worshipper of Idols, and auerse from Christian religion, as long as shee liued.

[t] *Vbi supra.*

Another Tale he telleth of a dissolute man, continuing in a wicked course of life, euen till his end: who appeared to a good Father after his death, in flaming fire, first vp to the necke, afterwards vpon the prayers that were made for him, vp to the girdle onely: so finding ease and deliuerance out of his torments.

This opinion was very preuayling in *Augustines* time, and therefore with

with all modestie hee opposeth himselfe against it, and sheweth himselfe willing to yeeld as much to them that were so minded, as possibly hee might; and saith, [u] if they would onely haue the paines of the damned to be mitigated, or wholly suspended till the day of iudgement, and acknowledge them to be eternall, he would not greatly striue with them. Vpon this conceipt of the mitigation or suspension of the paines of such as are in hell, many in former times made prayers for the damned in hell. [x] *Damascene* reporteth, out of the sacred historie of *Palladius* to *Lausus*, that *Macharius* the Great, praying oftentimes for the dead, and carefully seeking to know, whether his prayers did helpe or profit them any thing or not; a certaine drie skull of a dead man, who had beene an Idolater, which by chance lay in the way, by the commandement of God, brake forth into the liuely voyce of a man, saying: *O* Macharius, *when thou offerest vp thy prayers for the dead, we for the time finde some ease.* [y] *Prapositiuus* Presbyter of the Church of *Leoden*, was of opinion, that prayers for the damned may bee multiplied in such sort, that in processe of time they may be freed from all paine and punishment, though not perpetually, as *Origen* thought; yet till the time of the generall resurrection, at what time (their bodies resumed) they shall bee cast into euerlasting punishments, without all hope of any refreshing or comfort. [z] *Gilbertus Pictauiensis* supposed, that there is so ne-thing continually taken away from the paines of the damned, by the prayers and oblations of the faithfull, without any consumption of them, or vtter taking of them away; as infinite proportionable parts may be taken from a Line, without consuming of it, though it selfe be finite. [a] *Gulielmus Antisiodorensis* thinketh, that prayers be availeable and helpfull to the damned, not to diminish or interrupt their torments, but to strengthen the sufferers, that so the burden, that lieth on them, may be borne by them with the lesse paine: as, if a man giue meate to him that is ready to faint vnder his burden, or wine that cheereth his heart, he maketh him the better able to beare it, though hee no whit diminish the waight of it.

[u] *Enchirid. ad Laurent. c. 67.*

[x] *Vbi supra.*

[y] *Sixtus Senensis Biblioth. Sanctæ. lib. 6. annotat. 47.*

[z] *Ibid.*

[a] *Ibid.*

Thus we see, there is no such [b] mutuall dependance and connexion of Purgatorie, and Prayer for the dead, as *Theophilus Higgons* childishly imagineth; and that many prayed for the dead, that neuer dreamed of Purgatorie, some praying onely for the resurrection, publike acquitall, and perfect consummation of the dead, and respectiuely to their passage hence, and entrance into the other world, for the remission of their sinnes, and their escaping of hell, and euerlasting destruction: other, out of an erroneous conceipt, for the deliuerance of men dead in mortall sinne, out of the hell of the damned, or for mitigation of their paines, or at least, the suspension of them for a time, as *Damascene* and sundry others before mentioned: and therefore the poore nouice is to bee put in minde, that hee grossely abuseth himselfe, and others, when so sadly hee citeth

[b] Booke 1. part. 1. Chap. 4 Sect. 3.

Saint *Iohn* [c] *Damascen*, for proofe of the deliuerance of men out of purgatory, that speaketh no word of any such thing, but of the deliuerance out of hell, or the mitigation of the paines of them that be there, which he should not doe that talketh of nothing but falshood, notable vntruths and collusion in our writers, especially seeing [d] *Bellarmines* grace telleth him, that the author of the booke vnder the name of *Damascen*, writeth so absurdly, that wee may assure our selues *Damascen* was not the author of it. Hauing thus out of the writings of the Fathers deliuered the sense and purpose of the auncient Church in praying for the dead, it is strange that this shameless companion should charge me [e] with *collusion*, there being no part of that I haue said, that he or any other can except against, nor any thing concealed by mee that is found in the Auncient, touching this point. I would desire him therefore to tell me if hee can, wherein I informed him amisse, as he saith I did? for first I shewed that there was an auncient custome of commemorating the departed, of rehearsing their names, and offering the sacrifice of praise for them, to expresse the assurance Christian men haue of the immortality of the soule, and there hope of the resurrection. Secondly, that this sacrifice of the Eucharist, that is of prayse and thankesgiuing, was offered for the Patriarches, Prophets, Apostles, Martyres, and the blessed Mother of Christ, and euery soule at rest in the faith of Christ; for proofe whereof I produce the Liturgy that goeth vnder the name of *Chrysostome*. Thirdly, that the Auncients praied for the soules of men in their passage hence, and entrance into the other world. Fourthly, that they praied for the resurrection, publique acquit all in the day of Iudgement, and perfit consummation of the departed; all which customes and obseruations I allow and approue. Fiftly, that some praied for the remission, or mitigation of the paines of men in Hell. Sixtly, that some other out of a conceipt that there is no iudgement yet passed, and that none of the iust enter into heauen till the resurrection, praied for their admittance into those Heauenly Palaces, and into the presence of God: but that none of the Ancient euer praied to deliuer men out of Purgatory: what collusion or what vnfaithfull dealing doth Maister *Higgons* finde in any of these passages? yet the faithlesse and perfidious Apostata hauing [f] as he saith, *experience of my vnfaithful dealing, directed himselfe to foure considerations*; wherof the *first* is, that it is vanity in vs Protestants to accept and refuse the Liturgy of *Chrysostome* at our pleasure; the *second*, that *Chrysostome* did pray for the dead; the *third*, that it was by way of thankesgiuing and not of petition, that the Church offered sacrifice to God for the Patriarches, Prophets, Apostles &c. the *fourth*, that in the Liturgy of *Chrysostome* there is prayer for the dead. To the first of these wise considerations I answere, that wee doe not accept and refuse the Liturgy of *Chrysostome* at our pleasures, but that wee admit it so farre forth onely, as wee finde the things it hath

[c] Pag. 19.

[d] De Purgatorio lib. 2. cap. 8.

[e] Pag. 31.

[f] Pag. 32.

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in it, confirmed out of the indubitate writings of the Ancient, and in other things relie not much vpon the credit of it. Now that which I alleadge it for, hath proofe out of *Epiphanius*, and others; and therefore I might rightly alleadge it as I did, and doubt of the credit and authoritie of it in some other things. To the second we say, *Chrysostome* did pray for the dead, not to deliuer them out of Purgatorie, whereof hee neuer dreamed, nor any Greeke Father that euer liued, but in such a sort as Master *Higgons* dareth not pray; namely, for the ease of men in hell. *Chrysostome*, saith *Sixtus Senensis* in his three and thirtieth Homilie vpon *Mathewe*, interpreting these words, *The damsell is not dead, but sleepeth*, treating of the care that is to be taken for the dead, fell in a sort, into the opinion of them, who thinke that the suffrages and prayers that are made here in the Church, doe profit as well those that are damned in hell, as those that enioy eternall glorie. For there he hath these words: If many barbarous nations doe vse to consume in fire, together with the dead, the things that pertaine to them; how much more oughtest thou to deliuer to thy sonne departed, such things as he possessed, not to bee burnt to ashes, but that they may make him more glorious! Supposest thou that he went hence defiled with spottes and staines? giue vnto him the things hee had when he liued, that he may wash away those spots. Supposest thou that he departed in righteousnesse? giue them to him for the increase of his reward. And againe, that prayers and oblations doe bring some refreshing to them that departed hence without repentance, the same *Chrysostome* seemeth to shewe in his third Homilie vpon the Epistle to the *Philippians*; where he speaketh to them that bewaile the dead, more then is seemely, in this sort: Bewayle them that died in the midst of great riches, and procured with their riches, no consolation to their soules, who when they had power to wash away their sinnes, would not so doe: let vs weepe for those, but with seemely modestie; let vs helpe them what we can; let vs procure vnto them some helpe, though small: yet let vs helpe them: but how, or in what sort? let vs pray, and exhort others to pray for them: let vs without ceasing giue almes to the poore for them: this thing hath some comfort doubtlesse, &c.

g Biblioth. Sanct. lib. 6. annot. 47.

h pag. 33.

To the third consideration, I say, that the Ancients offered for the Patriarches, Prophets, Apostles, &c. by way of thanks-giuing principally, but in a sort also by way of petition: which this good man also[h] confesseth, and bringeth *Gersons* authoritie to proue they might doe soe: who[i] saith, that as it is not absurdly deliuered by the learned Diuines, that there is an addition or increase of accidentall felicitie in the Saints; so it is not inconuenient, if in this respect also wee recommend them to God in our Deuotions. To which purpose it seemeth to be, that[k] *Gregorie* ordaineth, that men shall pray in this sort; in the sacred mysteries of the Eucharist: *Wee haue receiued, O Lord, the diuine mysteries,*

h *Pag. 33.*

i *Part. 1. lect. 2. super Marcum.*

k *In lib. Sacrament. citato à Sixto Senens. l. 6. Biblioth. Sanctæ. annotat. 47.*

which as they profit thy Saints for their glory, so we beseech thee that they may profit vs for our health.

And *Chrysostome* willeth the liuing parents to giue something out of their substance to their children departed, though they suppose they are departed in the state of righteousnesse, for the increase of their reward. Touching the fourth and last consideration of this considerate and aduised young man, we confesse that *Chrysostome*, or the Author of the Liturgie, that goeth vnder his name, who-soeuer he was, teacheth men to pray vnto God, to remember all them that are falne asleepe in the hope of the resurrection of eternall life, and to make them to bee at rest, where the light of his countenance is seene: But that this forme of prayer must bee vnderstood in the same sence that ỹ other in the Missal is, wherein men are taught to pray to God, to deliuer the soules of all faithfull ones departed from the hand of hel, from the deepe lake, and from the mouth of the Lyon, that the lowest hell swallow them not vp, and that they fall not into the dungeons of vtter darkenesse: or else as proceeding from that opinion that [1] *Sixtus Senensis* speaketh off, that the soules of the Iust are not in heauen-happinesse, till the resurrection: and not of any deliuerance out of purgatory. For there is not any the least signification of the desire of easing men temporally afflicted in another world, expressed in any prayer found in *Chrysostomes* Liturgie. Neyther doth it any way contrary any thing that wee professe that he teacheth men to pray to God, to graunt, what is yet wanting to the faithful departed, or to such as are aliue, at the suit & supplication of ỹ holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, &c. For seeing it is confessed by vs, that ỹ Saints in heauen do pray for vs in a generality, we may desire of God the graunting of such things as we or others need, not onely vppon our owne suite, but much more for that there are so many supplyants to him for vs, not in earth alone, but in heauen also, though without sence or knowledge of our particular wants. So that there is nothing found in *Chrysostome*, eyther touching prayer for the dead, or inuocation of Saints, that maketh any thing for the confirmation of popish errors. For neyther doth *Chrysostome* in that Liturgie, pray for the ease of men in Purgatory; neyther doth he inuocate any Saint, but calleth vpon God only, though not without hope of being heard the rather, for that not onely the faithful on earth, but the Saints in heauen also make petition for him. But Mr. *Higgons* asketh [2] *why I concealed these things?* To whom I answer that I did not conceale any of them: For, how-soeuer citing some other parts of *Chrysostoms* Liturgie, to another purpose, I had no reason to bring in these passages, being altogether impertinent to my purpose, & the matter in hand; yet in other places, I haue shewed at large the ancient practise in al these things: and therefore this seduced runnagate whom Satan the tempter hath beguiled, had no reason to compare me to ỹ Tempter, leauing out certaine wordes in the text he alleadged vnto Christ.

[1] *Bibliothec. sanctæ. li. 6. annot. 345.*

[2] *Pag. 33.*

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§. 5.

IN the next place he [a] obiecteth to vs the *hereſie of Aërius*, condemned by *Auguſtine*, amongſt many other impious hereſies; and *Auguſtines* concluſion, that *whoſoeuer maintaineth any of the heretical opinions condemned by him, is no Catholike Chriſtian:* and telleth vs, that this cenſure toucheth vs very neere: but that I demeane my ſelfe plauſibly, & artificially, to auoyd the preſſure of that difficultie which is too heauie for me to beare. Whereunto I briefly anſwer, that I demeane not my ſelfe artificially, to auoyd the force of any truth, which I eſteeme and value aboue all treaſures in the world, but in all ſincerity vnfold thoſe things which Papiſts ſeeke to wrap vp in perplexed and intricate diſputes, to the entangling of the Readers: for I ſhew that the naming of the names of the departed, the offering of the ſacrifice of praiſe for them, the praying for their reſurrection, publike acquitall, & perfect conſummation and bliſſe in the day of Chriſt; yea the praying for their deliuerance from the hand of hell, and the mouth of the Lyon, and the vtter deletion, and remiſſion of their ſinnes, reſpectiuely to their paſſage hence, and firſt entrance into the other world, are not diſliked by vs: and that thus farre the generall intention of the Church extended: but that, to pray for the deliuerance of men out of hell, or for the mitigation or ſuſpenſion of the puniſhments, that are in hell, was but the priuate deuotion of ſome particular men, doubtfully and erroneouſly extending the publike prayers of the Church, farther then they were meant & intended by her; and that in this particular they fel from the truth: which, if M. *Theophilus Higgons* ſhal denie, & iuſtifie ſuch kind of prayers for the dead, we will be bold to call him by his new name *Theomiſus*. But he is deſirous [b] to knowe of me, or any other, without lies, obſcurities, and circuitions, whether *Cyril* of *Hieruſalem*, concurring abſolutely with the Papiſts in this point of prayer for the dead, and *Auguſtine* agreeing with him, fell away from the truth or not? That he profeſſeth himſelfe an enemie to lies, obſcurities, and circuitions, the beſt ſanctuaries of their euill cauſe, I greatly maruel, and feare, that if he giue ouer the aduantage, which hee and his companions are wont to make thereof, this his firſt booke will be his laſt. But in that he ſaith, *Cyril* of *Hieruſalem* concurreth abſolutely with the Papiſts, in the matter of prayer for the dead, and *Auguſtine* with him, hee doth as beſeemeth him: for he vttereth lies, and vntruthes, which before vnaduiſedly he condemned. For firſt, it is moſt certaine, that [c] *Cyril* maketh but two ſorts of men departing out of this life: ſinners, and righteous: and that he thinketh, as *Chryſoſtome* alſo doth, and after them *Damaſcene*, and many other; that wicked and ſinfull men in hell, may find ſome eaſe, and bereleeued, by the prayers of the liuing; but of Purgatory hee ſpeaketh not. Touching *Auguſtine*, he diſſenteth altogether from this opinion of *Chryſoſtom*, *Cyril*, & *Damaſcen*, and [d] thinketh, that the prayers of the Church, for ſuch as excelled in goodneſſe, are thankſgiuings to God: for

[a] pag. 34.

[b] pag. 35.

[c] Catechiſ. 5.

[d] Auguſt. Enchir. ad Laur. cap. 110.

for such as died impenitently in grieuous sinnes, comforts of the liuing, but no helpes of the dead: for those that were neither exceeding good, nor exceeding euill, propitiations and meanes to obtaine fauour and remission. But whether they of this middle sort be in any penall estate after death, or whether by the mercie of God, and working of his grace, the prayers of the liuing accompanying them, they be freed from sinne, and the punishment of it, in the first entrance into the other world, he resolueth nothing: and therefore there was no cause, why this good man, [e] *reflecting*, as hee saith, *vpon my assertion, should be amazed to behold such a repugnancie betweene these things*; to wit, *Augustine ranne doubtingly into the opinion of Purgatorie:* and yet he affirmeth, *there is no doubt but that some sinnes are remitted in the other world, and that some soules may be relieued by prayer.* For in the iudgement of wiser men then Master *Higgons*, these things implie no contradiction; and therfore the Grecians admit the latter of them, and yet denie Purgatorie. Yea, in their Apologie touching Purgatorie, they say, if there be remission of sinnes after this life, there is no enduring of the punishments due to sinne, it beeing one thing to haue remission of a sinne, or fault, and another to suffer the extremitie of punishment it deserueth. That there is therefore remission of sinnes of a middle sort of men, after this life, in the entrance into the other world, *Augustine* made no doubt; and to that purpose he alleadged the saying of *Christ*, concerning the sinne that is neither remitted in this world, nor the other: from thence to inferre, that some sinnes are remitted after this life.

[e] pag. 113.

But whether there be any Purgatory-punishments after this life, or not, he was euer doubtfull: as appeareth by sundry places in his workes, where he saith, [f] *Perhaps there is some such thing: it is not incredible that there is some such thing*: and *whether there be or not, it may be found out, or it may be hid*: neither will it follow, that because he maketh three estates of men dying, whereof some are so good, that wee haue rather cause to giue God thankes for them, then to pray: others so ill, that they cannot be relieued: and a third sort, that need our prayers, and may be releeued by them; that therefore there is a third place, wherein they are to be temporally afflicted. For all this may be in the passage hence, and entrance into the other world; the prayers of the liuing accompanying them, and God purging out that which is impure, and remitting that which offendeth him, in this middle sort of men, euen in that first entrance into the state of the other world. And surely *Augustine* himselfe, in his owne [g] prayer for *Monicha*, his mother, neuer speaketh one word of releasing her out of paine or punishment; but prayeth God not to enter into iudgement with her, to suffer none to diuide her from him, and take her out of his protection, to keepe her, that neither the lyon, nor dragon, by force, or subtiltie, interpose himselfe, for that shee will not plead that shee hath not trespassed, lest shee should be conuinced, and the accuser should preuaile against her, and

[f] Enchird. ad Laurent. c. 69.

[g] Confess. lib. 9. cap. 13.

and gette her to him-selfe: but that her trespasses are remitted to her by Christe; so shewing that he made his prayer for her respectiuely to the state shee was in, in her passage and while shee stood to bee iudged: and because this might seeme to bee already past, and the thinges he asked performed, when hee prayed, he saith, he thinketh God hath already done that he prayeth for, but beseecheth him to accept his voluntary deuotions. Secōdly, places there are found in *Augustins* works, where he seemeth peremptorily to affirme, that there is a penall state, and purging fire after this life: the first is in his [h] one and twentith booke *De ciuitate Dei*: where he saith: *When the dead shall rise againe, there shall some bee found to whome after they haue suffered punishments, mercy shall be shewed, that they bee not cast into eternall fire.* But the wordes (as *Vines* noteth vppon the same place) are not found in some ancient manuscripts, nor in that printed at *Friburge*. The other place is in his [i] second booke *De Genesi*, against the *Manichees*. The wordes are these: *He who happily shall not till his field, but shall suffer it to be ouer-growne with thornes and briars, hath in this life the curse of his life in all his workes: and, after this life, hee shall haue eyther the fire of Purgation or eternall punishment*: which wordes beeing spoken of them that till not their fielde, that suffer it to bee ouer-growne with thornes and bryars, whose whole life is accursed in al they do, and not of such good men to whome some imperfection cleaueth, are vttered according to that opinion then preuayling of deliuerance out of hell; which *August.* in that place would not stand to discusse, but else-where refuteth at large. So that the thinges that are found in *August.* clearely resolued on, are onely these. First, that some sinnes are remitted after this life; which wee graunt, vnderstanding that remission to bee in the first enterance into the other world. Secondly, that they are onely the lesser sins that are thus remitted after this life, and not those more greeuous wherein men die without repentance, for these exclude from the Kingdome of Heauen. Thirdly, that prayers do helpe men dying in those lesser sinnes. VVhich likewise we acknowledge to bee true, if such prayers be conceaued, and vnderstood as made respectiuely to the enterance into the other world. Fourthly, that there is no deliuerance of men dying in the state of mortall sinne out of hell, and that no prayers can benefit them in this behalfe. In all these pointes his resolution is full and cleere: but whether the paines of men damned in hell may bee eased, mitigated or suspended for a time by the prayers of the liuing, hee [k] professeth hee will not striue, so that the wrath of GOD bee acknowledged to remayne eternally vppon them. Neyther is this contradictory to that which he hath [l] else-where, that the prayers of the liuing are no helps of such are damned, but onely comfortes of the liuing: For hee meaneth that they are no helpes able to free and deliuer them out of that state of punishment, wherein they are: but whether they may some way ease them, or not, hee will not much contend: and therefore

h *Chap. 24.*

i *Chap. 20.*

k *Enchrid. ad Laurentium. cap. 112.*

l *Ibid. cap. 110.*

he saith, that whom prayers profit, either they profit them for ful remission, as they doe men dying in the lesser sinnes: or that their damnation may be the more tolerable, and easie. The Papists [m] applying these latter words of more tolerable damnation, to the state of soules in their supposed Purgatorie, is absurd: for they cannot in any proper sense be said to be damned. These things beeing thus distinguished, wee see there is nothing found in *Augustine* for confirmation of the Popish error, touching Purgatory: that no testimonies of *Augustine* could seale vp M. *Higgons* his heart in this idle conceit of Purgatorie, as vntruly he [n] saith they did: that wee no way oppose our selues against the vniuersall resolution and practise of the whole Church, which to doe, *Augustine* pronounceth insolent madnesse: that we no way contradict this worthy Father, reporting to vs the doctrine and tradition of the Church: and consequently, that *Higgons* ridiculously, and idlely, [o] asketh whether *Augustine*, or I, know better the sense and iudgement of Antiquitie? thereupon childishly [p] making a comparison betweene him and me: for I make no question, but he knewe the sense of Antiquitie right well; neither doe I dissent from him in any thing that he constantly deliuereth; and for the comparison, confesse my selfe vnworthy to be named the same day: but wheras he [q] saith, he found sinceritie in him, and vnfaithfulnesse in me, I defie the faithlesse Apostata, and challenge him, or any of the proudest of his consorts, to tell me truely, wherein I haue shewed the least vnfaithfulnesse? It seemeth he measureth other men by himselfe, and his companions; but wee are not like them, making marchandize of the word of God.

[m] *Higgons, paz.29.*

[n] *pag.30.*

[o] *pag.36.*

[p] *pag.37.*

[q] *ibid.*

After these idle discourses, hee [r] passeth from me to that reuerend, renowned, & worthy Diuine, Doctor *Humfrey*, in his time, the light & ornament of the Vniuersitie that bred him: whom such a silly nouice as M. *Theophilus*, durst not haue looked in the face, while he liued. But it is easier, to insult vpon a dead lyon, then a liuing dog: & that maketh him barke against him; but such was his great reading, variety of learning in all kinds, profound science, and mature iudgement, as made him so highly esteemed at home and abroad by all that knew how to iudge of things aright; that the scornefull speeches of this Renegado, concerning his Rhetoricall flourishes, will neuer be able to diminish or lessen the good opinion, that most deseruedly all wise and good men hold of him.

[r] *pag.38.*

Yet let vs see what it is that this graue censurer reprehendeth in D. *Humfrey*: surely he knoweth not what himselfe. D. *Humfrey* speaking of the ancient commemoration or commendation of the dead, saith, *We retaine it in our Colledges*; which is most true: but he hath spied, as he supposeth, 3. differences: for first, as he saith, the commendation & commemoration then vsed, was at the altar: but we haue no altar: 2. in the holy sacrifice, but we admit no sacrifice: 3. with intention to relieue the dead, but we haue no such intention. For answer whereunto, I say briefly, (for he deserueth no large answere) that wee haue altars in the same sort the Fathers had, though

though wee haue throwne downe popish Altars: that wee admitte the Eucharist to be rightly named a sacrifice, though wee detest the blasphemous construction the Papistes make of it: and lastly, that the Fathers did not intend to relieue all them they remembred at the Altar, no more doe wee: that they accompanyed their friendes soules going out of their bodies, to stand before God with their prayers and good wishes; that they prayed for their resurrection, publique acquitall in the day of Christ, and perfitte consummation, and so do wee: that they neuer knew any thing of Purgatory, nor neuer prayed to deliuer any one from thence, no more do wee: and that therefore D. *Humphrey* might well impute phrensie to the *Romanists*, as challenging the Fathers in this and other points, whereas they are destitute of all defense from them.

That which he [f] interlaceth of froathy volumes in which we silly men, for lacke of his direction, spend our time, is lesse to bee esteemed then any bubble or froath vppon the water: for all men know that this Church neuer wanted worthy men, match-able with the proudest of the Aduerse faction in the study of the Fathers, Councells, Histories, and Schoole-men: neyther is there any decay of these kindes of study now, thanks be giuen to God, as both our friends and enemies (I thinke) will beare vs witnesse. Thus doth this Champion end the first part of his first booke, hauing plaid his prizes very handsomly as ye see.

[f] P. 39.

§. 1

IN the second part, first he indeauoureth to proue the perpetuall visibility of the Church, which hee saith [a] I teach sincerely and effectually: though with some mixture of corruption in my Discourse concerning the same: but telleth vs not, what those corruptions be: and therefore I know not what to say to him till I heare farther from him. Secondly, hee laboureth to shew that the visible Church is free from damnable error, which we willingly yeeld vnto; but that which hee addeth [b] touching the not erring of Generall Councels, is not so cleere: as it appeareth by that which I haue [c] else-where noted out of *Picus Mirandula*, and *Waldensis*.

[a] Pag. 44.

[b] Pag. 45.

[c] In the fifth booke of the Church, chap. 51.

There is extant an excellent conference by writing betweene *Nicholas Clemangis* and a certayne *Parisian* Schoole-man, touching this point, wherein hee willeth him considerately to thinke vpon it, least as hee thinketh it to be a matter of rashnesse to affirme that Generall Councells may erre, so likewise it be not altogether free from temeritie and rashnesse, pertinaciously to defend, that Generall Councells cannot erre, vnlesse it were proued by most stronge authorities, or certaine reasons: and farther addeth, that though it were most certainly proued, that Councells cannot erre; yet it were not fitte for them that meete in Councels to relye vpon this perswasion, least vnder the shadow, and vpon the occasion of this confidence, they might proceed with lesse consideration, and more

lightly

lightly then they ſhould : but to make vs doubt that Councells may erre ſome-times in their determinations hee bringeth ſundry reaſons; whereof one is, that the moſt part of men that are in the Church (Hee ſpeaketh of the Church in his time) are meerely carnall, ſeeking the things of the world, and no way ſauoring the thinges of God, or regarding the good of the Church : that theſe men are reputed the wiſeſt, and moſt ſufficient to manage the affayres of the Church : that when Councelles are to bee holden, eyther they are choſen, or putte themſelues into ſuch imployments. And conſequently, that thinges beeing carryed in Councells by voyces, there is little reaſon to expect any great good, eyther for the due ſetling of the perſwaſion of men in matters of fayth, or the reformation of ſuch thinges as are amiſſe in matters of Diſcipline and manners. Where-vpon he telleth of the ill ſucceſſe of the Councel of *Piſa*, and of another called at *Rome* by *Balthazar* then Pope: Into the midſt whereof an owle came flying, making an horrible noiſe, and ſatte vppon a beame in the midſt of the roome where the Synode was holden as ſhee had beene Preſident of the aſſemblie; and could not bee made to giue place, till ſhee was beaten downe dead: yea concerning the Councell of *Conſtance*, wherein the long-continued Schiſme, by reaſon of the Anti-popes was ended, and the peace of the Church reſtored: he ſaith that many thinges fell out in it, which were not fruites of the ſpirit, but workes of the fleſh, as contentions, æmulations, diſſentions, ſectes, clamours, out-cryes, mockings, and the like. But of the erring of Councells, I haue elſe-where treated at large, and therefore will not inſiſt vpon the repitition of the ſame thinges in this place. Onely, lette vs heare what maiſter *Higgons* can ſay for their not erring. He thinketh to ſtrike the matter dead with the reſolution of *Gerſon*, a man as hee ſaith highly aduanced by mee. It is true that I eſteeme of *Gerſon* as of a moſt learned, iuditious & godly man, that mourned for the confuſions hee ſawe in the Church in his time, that reproued many abuſes, gaue teſtimony to many parts of heauenly truth, then contradicted by thoſe carnall men of whome *Clemangis* ſpeaketh, who counted gaine to bee godlyneſſe, and ſcorned all that liued as beſeemeth Chriſtians, traducing them as hypocrytes, and I know not what elſe. Yet I thinke no man will inferre, vpon any commendation that I haue giuen him, that I muſt of neceſſity imbrace as true what-ſoeuer hee ſaith. *VValdenſis* is a man highly eſteemed by our *Romaniſtes*, yet will they not allow his opinion, that Councells may erre.

Alphonſus à Caſtro, *Adrian* the Pope, and other, who teach that the Pope may papally erre, are highly prized by them: yet will they not grant that the Pope may erre as they teach, but what is it that *Gerſon* ſaith? ſurely, that [d] *What-ſoeuer the Pope and a Generall Councell of the whole Church determine, muſt bee receiued as true. It*

[d] *Part. 4. de Vnitate Græcorũ Conſidera. 6.*

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is true indeed that hee sayth so, but it appeareth by the wordes immediately following, that he speaketh not of a General Councell consisting of the Bishoppes of the West onely, such as was the Councell of *Trent* in our time; But of a Generall Councell consisting both of *Greekes* and *Latins*; and therefore he saith, if the *Gracians* dissenting from the *Latins* in the article of the proceeding of the holy Ghost, and not admitting the determination of the West Church, shall say, that the Councel that defined, that the holy Ghost proceedeth from the Father & the Son, was not truly Generall; that they were not duly called to the same, and consequently, that not-withstanding their dissenting they are not to bee iudged pertinacious, obstinate and subiect to the curse; it were diligently to bee considered what they would say; or some fitting meanes were to bee found out, that all thinges might bee brought to an agreement, without persisting in a peremptory proose of the same article against them: for that, men disposed to resist, would hardly euer bee conuinced in this point. And further hee wisheth men to thinke vpon it, whether, as some determinations of doubtes and questions passed and agreed on in *Paris* are said to binde none but those that are within the Dioceese of *Paris*, so it may not bee said in like sort that the determinations of the *Latin* Church binde the *Latins* onely: and secondly, whether that which is defined and holden as an article of faith, may not be made to bee no article, by bringing thinges to the same state they were in before any determination passed. Which thing he exemplyfieth in a Decree of *Bonifacius*, voyded by one of his successors.

To what purpose maister *Higgons* alleadgeth the opinion of *Gerson* touching the not-erring of Generall Councells, I cannot tell: for I am well assured neuer any such Councell as yet approued Purgatory and Prayer to deliuer men out of it, nor I thinke euer will. But what-soeuer wee thinke of Councells, there is no question to bee made but that the Church is free from damnable error, as maister *Higgons* in the title of his chapter vndertaketh to proue. But whether it bee free from all Ignorance and error as hee seemeth in the discourse following to inforce, it is not so cleere: neyther doth that text of Saint *Paul* touching the *House of God*, [c] which is *the Church of the liuing GOD*, *the pillar and ground of truth*, nor any other authority or reason brought to that purpose, proue the same; and particularly, touching that place of Saint *Paul* to *Timothie*, it is euident the Apostles words are to be originally vnderstood of the Church of *Ephesus*, and that hee maketh the glorious title, *of pillar and ground of truth*, common to that particular Church, with that which as vniuersall; and consequently, that this title proueth not euery Church or society of Christians to which it agreeth, to bee free from error: vnlesse wee will priuiledge all particular Churches from danger of erring.

[c] 1. Tim. 3. 15.

If

If any man doubt whether the Apostle giue the title of *pillar and ground of truth* to the Church of *Ephesus*, it is easily proued by vnanswerable reasons. For (as *Lyra* writing vppon the wordes of the Apostle rightly noteth) The Apostle writeth to *Timothy*, and giueth him directions, that hee may know how to behaue him-selfe in the Church of God: that is, how to order and gouerne it. Now the Church which *Timothy* was to order and gouerne, was not the vniuersall Church, but the Church of *Ephesus*: therefore the Church, wherein hee was wisely to behaue him-selfe, was but a particular Church; and the same Church in which the Apostle directeth him how to behaue him-selfe, he calleth *the Church of the liuing God, the piller, and ground of truth*, therefore he giueth this title to a particular Church: though he restrayne it not to it, as maister *Higgons* vntruly [f] saith I do: so that I haue not eluded the grauity of this testimony, as hee is pleased vniustly to charge me, but I giue the right sence of it: whence it followeth, that seeing particular Churches may bee said to bee pillars of truth, this title doth not proue that society of Christian men to which it agreeth, to be free from all error.

[f] P. 46.

From the reprehension of our opinion, in that wee thinke the Church subiect to some kinde of error, hee falleth into a discourse touching [g] *the confusions of Protestants, admitting innumerable sectaries into one vast and incongruous Church; which he saith is a meere Chymera, thrust together and fashioned in specificall disproportions*; and hence, he saith, it is, [h] that *I laying the foundation of my Babell*, feare not to say, that the Churches of *Russia, Armenia, Syria, Æthiopia* and *Greece*, are and continue partes of the true Catholique Church: For answere where-vnto I say, that wee doe not admitte any Sectaries into the Communion of the true Catholique Church, much lesse innumerable Sectaries: for wee admitte none into the Communion of our Churches, but such as receaue all the lawfull Generall Councells, that euer were holden touching any question of faith, the three Creedes, of the Apostles, of *Nice*, and *Athanasius*; and, what-soeuer is found to haue bene beleeued and practised by all not noted for singularity and nouelty at all times and in all places. So reiecting Arrians, Zuenchfeldians, Anabaptistes, Familistes, and all other like monsters.

[g] Pag. 47.

[h] Pag. 41.

Touching the differences between the Churches of *England, Denmarke, Zueden, Germany, France, &c.* They are not specifical, as this bad Logician fancieth, but imaginary, or meerely accidentall. And for the Churches of *Greece, Russia, Armenia, Syria* & *Æthiopia*, agreeing in all ỹ things before mentioned, it is most strange that this Schismaticall fugitiue should dare vtterly to reiect them from the vnity of the Catholike Church, and to cast into hell so many millions of soules of poore distressed Christians, for so many hundred yeares, enduring so many bitter thinges for Christs sake in the midst of the proudest enemies that euer the name of Christ had. That

all

all these admit the Doctrine of faith agreed on in all the lawfull generall councells, that euer weare holden, the three Creeds, and the whole forme of Christian doctrine catholiquely consented on, and that they reiect and condemne all the heresies condemned by *Augustine* and *Epiphanius*, it shalbe proued if *Higgons* or any other smatterer of that side, shall goe about to improue it. It is true indeed, that the *Armenians* refused to admit the councell of Chalcedon; but it was vpon a false suggestion, as I haue [i] elsewhere shewed: And it is most certaine that they condemne the heresie of *Eutiches*, as like-wise those other, that weare condemned in the Fift and Sixt councells, and though the Græcians seeke to avoide the euidence of that part of *Athanasius Creed*, touching the proceeding of the holy Ghost, yet doe they not deny the Creed it selfe; and my [k] *Gerson* (as Maister *Higgons* is pleased to call him) thinketh it were better to desiste from the strict vrging of the allowance of that determination of the Latines, touching the proceeding of the holy Ghost, that both the Churches might bee reduced to vnity, then peremptorily to insist vpon the proofe of it, seeing men disposed to resist, will very hardly euer be convinced; so that he doth not thinke as Maister *Higgons* doth, that the not admitting of this Article as defined and determined by *Athanasius*, casteth men into hell; for then Saint *Iohn Damascen* should be damned, [l] who denieth the proceeding of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Sonne after the publishing of *Athanasius* Creed.

[i] 3. Booke of the Church cap. 1.

[k] *Part. 4. de vnitate Græcorum.*

[l] *De fide Orthodox. lib. 1. cap. 11.*

Thus doe wee moderate our censures, not daring to cast all into hell that dissent from vs in some particular points, not fundamentall, as the *Romanists* doe: yet doe wee not thinke that euery one may bee saued in his owne sect and error, whatsoeuer it bee: for wee exclude all such out of the communion of the true Catholique Church as admit not all the things before specified: so that *I lay no foundation of Babell*, as this Babylonian is pleased to say I doe, but pitying the breaches of Sion, endeuor as much as in me lieth, to make them vp, that *Hierusalem may be as a citty at vnity with in it selfe.* But the *Romanistes* indeed build Babell and their toungs are confounded, euery one, almost, dissenting from other, and that in most materiall and essentiall points. [m] *Pighius* and [n] *Catharinus* haue a strange fancy touching originall sinne, contrary to the Doctrine of other Papists: [o] *Pighius* is of *Caluins* opinion touching iustification. [p] *Catharinus* defendeth against the common Tenent that men in ordinary course (without speciall reuelation) may be certaine by the certainty of faith that they are in state of grace: yea Maister *Higgons* himselfe saith [q] *Our faith in Christ must be trustfull, liuely, and actiue by a speciall application of his merits vnto our selues*, as hee was wont to preach in Saint *Dunstons* Church.

[m] *De peccato originis Controuers. 1*

[n] *In lib. de Originali peccato.*

[o] *De fide & iustificatione. Controu. 2.*

[p] *Apolog. contra Dominicum à Soto.*

[q] *Pag. 48.*

So vrging a necessity of speciall faith: which the *Romanists* condemne as hereti-

hereticall in the Doctrine of our Church; and innumerable like differences they haue: yet all these are of one Church, Faith, and Communion; nothing, it seemeth, beeing necessary to the vnity of their Church, but the acknowledging of the Supremacie of the Pope. And yet, which is most strange, they that thinke he may erre, and they that thinke hee cannot erre; they that make him to bee but Prime Bishoppe, and they that make him vniuersall Bishoppe; they that attribute to him power to depose Princes and dispose of their states, and they that deny that hee hath any such power, are of one and the same Church: But it is a Babylonicall Church.

§ 2.

FRom the perpetuall visibilitie and vndoubted assurance the Church hath of holding the true Faith, hee proceedeth [r] to shewe our zeale in impugning and condemning the opinion of Purgatory: and that yet not-withstanding [s] the whole vniuersal Church receaued it. And thereupon sayth [t] he was mis-informed by me and others, that the *Greeks* neuer intertayned this Doctrine, and that now hee findeth that wee erre, not knowing or dissembling the truth: assuring him-selfe that how-soeuer some *Greekes* did not, or do not admitte the Doctrine of Purgatory precisely vnder this name, & with some other circumstances, yet the Church of *Greece* generally doth retayne the thing it selfe. But, what-soeuer this good-fellow say to the contrary, wee know the *Greeke* Church neuer admitted eyther the name or thing. There is extant a most excellent and learned Apology of the *Græcians* exhibited to the Councell of *Florence*, or *Basill*, as it is thought. In this Apology, first, they clearly resolue that there is no purging after this life by fire, especially materiall and corporall, such as the Papistes imagine. Secondly, they insinuate that some amongst them are of opinion, that such as are of a middle condition, and so depart hence, are after death in a certaine obscurity, without enioying the light of Gods countenance, or holden as it were in a prison or in a state of sorrow, till by the goodnesse of God and the prayers of the Church they bee deliuered: and thus much some professed in the Councell of *Florence*; for there was a diuision amongst them. Thirdly, they incline to an opinion that the lesser sinnes of men dying in the state of grace, are remitted after death, without any punishment at all, eyther by fire or in any other kinde, by the meere mercy and goodnesse of God. And whereas some bring proofes of remission of sinnes after this life, thereby to confirme their conceit of Purgatory, they say there is no agreement betweene remission and purging by fire and punishment: for that eyther punishment or remission is needful, and not both: and againe they confidently pronounce, that neither Scripture, nor ỳ Fifth Generall Councel deliuered vnto vs a double punishment or a double fire after this life.

[r] Pag. 50.
[s] Pag. 54.
[t] Pag. 54.

This

This iudgement and reſolution they confirme, and proue, by very excellent reaſons and authorities: for firſt, thus they argue. It more beſeemeth the goodneſſe of God to ſuffer no good, though neuer ſo little to paſſe away vnreſpected and vnrewarded, then to puniſh ſmall ſinnes and offences: but ſome little good in them that haue great ſinnes hath no reward, becauſe of the preuayling of the euill that is found in them, therfore ſmall euills in them that haue great workes of vertue, are not to bee puniſhed, the better things ouer-comming. Secondly, as is a little good in thoſe that are mainely euill, ſo is a little euill in thoſe that are otherwiſe mainely good. But a little good in thoſe that are otherwiſe euill, can procure no reward, but onely cauſeth a difference in the degree of puniſhment, making it the leſſe; therefore a little euill cauſeth no puniſhment but a difference in the degree of glory and happyneſſe, which it maketh to be leſſe then otherwiſe it would bee; whence it followeth that there is no Purgatory. Thirdly, eyther the wills of men departed hence are mutable, or immutable: if they bee mutable, then they that are good may become euill; and they that are euill, may become good: whence it will follow (according to *Origens* opinion) that neyther the good are vnchangeably happy, nor the euill vnchangeably miſerable; but that men may fall from happyneſſe to miſery, and riſe from miſery to the heighth of all happyneſſe. And ſo wee ſhall make the puniſhments of all caſtawayes, euen of the diuells them-ſelues, to be temporary; as indeed, ſuppoſing the mutability of the VVill to continue after death iuſtly they may: for the reaſon why in Iuſtice the puniſhment of ſinne in the damned is to bee eternall, is, becauſe they are immutably, vnchangeably, and eternally euill; if they bee immutable, then are they not capable of any correction; for hee, who is corrected, is ſette right, by beeing brought to iuſt diſlike, and forſaking of that he formerly affected ill; which chaunge from loue to hate, from liking to diſliking, from purſuing and following to forſaking and flying from, cannot bee found in a VVill that is immutable. [u] *Bonauentura* diſputeth the matter, how afflicting fire purgeth the ſoule; and anſwereth that ſome thinke, that this fire, beſides the puniſhing vertue, and power it hath, hath alſo a ſpiritual purging vertue, ſuch as ſacraments haue, which he thinketh to be abſurd: eſpecially ſeeing *Gregory* out of viſions and apparitions of the dead, ſheweth, that ſoules are purged in diuers places and by diuers other meanes, as well as by fire: and therefore there are other, who thinke, that what this purging-fire worketh, it worketh by puniſhing and afflicting, which helpeth and ſtrengthneth grace, that it may bee able to purge out ſinne. Now puniſhment and affliction can no way helpe grace or ſtrengthen it, to the expulſion of ſinne, but in that by the bitterneſſe of it, it maketh vs know, how much it offendeth God, and hurteth vs: & therby cauſeth

[u] *In 4. Senten. diſt. 21. quæſt. 2.*

cauſeth a diſlike of it, or at leaſt an increaſe of the diſlike of it: which diſlike the Will cannot newly grow vnto, if it bee immutable. For, to diſlike that which before we did not diſlike, or to diſlike a thing more then formerly wee did, vpon farther and better conſideration, argueth a mutability in the Will: ſo that if the Will be immutable in thoſe that are departed hence, immediately vpon their diſſolution, as our Aduerſaries thinke it is, the fire of Purgatory can no way helpe to the purging out of ſin. To theſe reaſons they adde another, taken from the ſtorie or parable of the Rich man, and *Lazarus* in the Ghoſpel: where Chriſt ſheweth, that the poore man *Lazarus*, as ſoone as he was dead, was carryed by the Angells into *Abrahams* boſome, and that the rich mans ſoule as ſoone as he was dead, was found in the torments of hell. By the boſome of *Abraham* expreſſing a moſt excellent eſtate in the bleſſed reſt of ſuch as are beloued of God: and by hell, and the torments thereof, the vttermoſt condemnation, and the euerlaſting puniſhment of ſinners: and no way leauing any other place between theſe, hauing temporal affliction & paine; but making betweene them a great and vnpaſſe-able gulfe, ſeperating the one from the other, & eſtabliſhing an extreme and immediate oppoſition between them; then which, what could be more cleerly ſpoken againſt Purgatory and for our opinion? For if there be no middle place of temporal torment, as the Authors of this Apology ſay there is not; if there be but two ſorts of men, the one expreſſed by the condition of the Rich man, the other of *Lazarus*: and if the one of theſe go immediately, vpon death, into a place of torment euerlaſting, the other into a place of reſt, and into the boſome of *Abraham*: where is the Purgatory of Papiſts eyther in the name, or in the thing, in ſubſtance, or in circumſtance? To theſe reaſons for farther confirmation, they adde two moſt excellent teſtimonies out of [x] *Gregory Nazianzen*, who vppon theſe wordes touching the Paſſe-ouer, *We ſhall carry out nothing nor leaue nothing till the morning*: ſaith expreſly & clearly, that beyond or after this Night, there is no purging; calling the life of each man heere, the Night: and yeelding no purging to bee after it: and elſe-where hath theſe wordes, [y] *I omitte to ſpeake of the torments, to which impunity doth deliuer men in the other world: for they are ſuch, that it were better for a man to bee chaſtiſed, and purged heere, then to be reſerued and deliuered ouer to that puniſhment that is after this life, when as there is a time of puniſhment but not of purgation*: ſo expreſly defining, that there is no purging after the departure out of this life, and that there remayneth nothing but æternall puniſhment, for ſuch as muſt there be puniſhed.

[x] *In orat de Paſchate.*

[y] *Serm. de plaga grandin.*

Elias Cretenſis, a learned *Gracian*, writing vpon that place of *Nazianzen*, where he ſaith, [z] *Hee is a poore and a meane Paſtor*, and not liked of other Paſtors, whether becauſe he defendeth the truth, or for what other cauſe he knoweth not, but God knoweth, and (as the Apoſtle ſaith) that day

[z] *Orat. 7. de compoſitâ diſſerendi ratione. pag. 210.*

day of reuelation and last fire shall cleerely manifest it, whereby all our workes are eyther iudged or purged, hath these wordes: the word iudged, *Gregory Nazianzen* putte for tryed; and purged, for reuealed or manifested: for that fyre doth make the workes of iust men to shine, and burneth vppe the workes of sinners, and, that I may speake plainly and simply, manifesteth of what sort each mans workes are, those things being taken away, that in this world did hide them, and suffered them not to appeare to bee such as indeed they are. For heere often-times as well the workes of a vertuous man, as of an euill man are hidde: but there they are reuealed, and made manifest: therefore there iudgement is passed vppon all; that is, all are tryed: and againe, all thinges are purged, that is, manifested: and not by any meanes, according to the fooleries of those men, who thinke that there shall bee an end of punishment, after a thousand yeares, and that, after they are purged, men shall cease to bee punished. Thus doth this worthy Bishoppe of *Candie* contradict the Papistes in their fancy of Purgatory, and agree with the Authors of the Apology.

In the writings of [a] *Armachanus* I finde, that one *Athanasius*, a *Gracian*, proposed sundry excellent reasons against the imagined Purgatory of the *Latins*, which *Armachanus* goeth about to answere, but indeed cannot answere: the first is this: It is no way iust that the Soule alone should bee punished for the sinnes of the whole man; or that the body should haue part and fellowship in Sinne, and glory after remission of sinne; and not in the punishment, that purgeth out sinne. The second is this; It is more proper to God to reward good thinges then to punish euill: So that, if it were necessary, that the soules of such as are truly penitent, should after death go into Purgatory punishmentes, it were much more necessary, that the soules of such as haue kept the Commaundementes of GOD all their life long, and at last falling into sinne, dye in such an estate, without repentance, should goe first into a place of refreshing, to receaue the rewardes of their well doinges, before they should be cast out into eternall punishmentes: but this is not to bee graunted by any meanes; therefore much lesse the other.

[a] *Quæst. Armenior. lib. 13. cap. 1.*

Thirdly, whereas some goe about to proue Purgatory by the custome of praying for the dead, hee sheweth by an vnanswerable reason, that if wee admitte Purgatory, wee may not pray for the dead; his reason is this. Who-soeuer causeth another to bee afflicted, doth it in one of these three sortes: eyther onely out of vnreasonable passion and desire of tormenting and afflicting; or for the vpholding of the course of iustice, and the example and good of others, as when murderers are putte to death: or thirdly in mercy, for the good and benefitte

of him that is punished, as the Physician afflicteth the sicke patient. And in this third sort it is, that God is supposed to afflict soules in Purgatory. As therefore the Physician and Surgeon delight not in afflicting their sicke patients, but deale as tenderly with them as possibly they may, due respect had to the recouering of their health and former estate: so God will afflict no more then is precisely necessary for the purging out of sinne: so that as it were vaine, if not hurtfull, to intreat the good and skilfull Physician, tendering his patient, and no way inflicting him more then is precisely necessary for the recouering of his health: eyther wholy to with-draw his hand, or to remitte any thing of that he intends to doe; for that, if so hee should doe, the patient could not recouer; so in like sort, it were not onely vayne, but hurtfull, for the soules of men departed, to intreat GOD any way to lessen their afflictions, which otherwise hee would lay vppon them: seeing hee intendeth to afflict them no more, then is precisely necessary for the purging out of the impurity that is found in them: and if hee remitte any thing of it, hee must leaue it in them still.

In this life God may worke men to a iudging of them-selues, so that they shall not need to bee so chastised and iudged of him, as otherwise they should bee, and so wee may pray God to ease their afflictions: but after this life, when there is no more time, nor place left for repentance, or conuersion to God, it is not so. If it be sayd that the punishments of them that are in Purgatory, in that they are medicinall, and for the purging out of sinne, are not to bee diminished, but that some-thing may bee remitted of the extremity of them, in that they are satisfactory, he answereth as wee also doe; that after the remission of sinne repented off, there is no satisfaction needfull for the pacifying of Gods wrath, and that all punishments that are inflicted, are but to make vs knowe thoroughly what it is to offend God, to plucke vppe the roote, take away the remainders, preuent the occasions, and to stoppe the re-enterance of it againe.

By this which hath beene said, wee may see how aduisedly and truly Maister *Higgons* saith, that * the *Greeke* Church generally doth beleeue Purgatory: but hee will proue it doth, by the censure of the Orientall Church, vpon the *Augustane* confession.

* Pag. 55.

Concerning this censure, the Author of it was, *Hieremias* Patriarche of *Constantinople*, who hath written many thinges very preiudiciall to the state of the *Romish* Religion: for hee denyeth the supremacy of the Bishoppe of *Rome*, and † maketh the Church of *Constantinople* the cheefe of all Churches: hee ‡ defendeth the lawfulnesse of Ministers mariage, hee § condemneth the communicating in one kinde alone, and the ‖ consecration of vnleauened bread; Hee ¶ denyeth that the Saintes heare our prayers

† Cap 13.
‡ Cap. 21. in Epilogo de abusibus.
§ Ibid.
‖ Ibid.
¶ Cap. 21.

prayers; besides some other things of like nature: But touching Purgatory, hee hath no word.

It is true indeed that hee alloweth prayer for the dead, but to another purpose, and not to deliuer men out of Purgatory, as this seduced Nouice hath beene mis-informed. For hee seemeth in part to be of the same mind that [g] *Theophylacte* is off; who thinketh that they who die sinners, are not alwayes cast into hell, but that they are in the power of God, that he may cast them into hell or keepe them from it, and deliuer them if he please. VVhere-vppon hee noteth that Christ doth not say, *feare him who after he hath killed the body doth cast into hell*: but, *can cast into hell*: and this hee sayth, as hee professeth, because of the oblations and almes giuen for the dead; which greatly profit euen them also that dye in greeuous sinnes: For though this *Hieremias* [h] deny that the Saints in heauen pray for men dying in mortall sinne, God hauing excluded them from his mercy, and in a sort pronounced that though *Noah*, *Iob*, or *Daniell* should entreat for them, they should not deliuer them, yet hee [i] sayth, such as dye in the middle course of penitency, and not hauing fully purged out their sinnes, may bee releeued by prayer and mediation; if such praiers, & entreaty be made for them, while the iudgement yet continueth, and before the sentence bee pronounced: for so soone as the solemne sitting shall bee dissolued, and euery one carryed into the place of punishment, designed and appointed for him, there neyther is, nor neuer shall bee, any mediation for him. VVhereby it appeareth, hee extendeth the benefitte of these prayers, onely to the keeping of men out of hell, that might bee cast into it, and no way to the releeuing of soules afflicted with temporall paines, as Maister *Higgons* vntruly reporteth. So that he agreeth with *Theophylacte*, in that he thinketh men, who otherwise might iustly bee cast into hell, may be staid from comming thether, if request bee made for them in time, and seemeth to dissent from him, in that hee will not extend this mercy of God to any dying, without some beginnings of repentance, whereof the other maketh no mention; in which restraynt, yet hee dissenteth from him-selfe, who [k] produceth and alloweth the testimony of *Damascene*, reporting *Gregories* deliuering *Traian*, who dyed in infidelity, out of hell: *Teclaes* deliuering of *Falconilla*, who dyed an Idolatresse: and sundry other things of the same kinde.

Thus wee see, the *Graecians*, beeing a great and principall parte of the Church of GOD, deny Purgatory, not in respect of the name, or some circumstance alone, but euen in respect of the thing it selfe, not-withstanding any thing Maister *Higgons* can say to the contrary: and therefore it was more then ordinary impudency in him to say that [l] none but *Aërians*, *Henricians*, and *Waldensians*, did euer simply

[g] In 12. Luce.

[h] Cap. 21.

[i] Ibid.

[k] Cap. 12.

[l] Pag. 56.

and absolutely deny Purgatory: and all his discourse grounded vpon this false surmise is vayne and idle. For let the *Aërians*, *Henricians* and *Waldensians* bee what they will, it little concerneth vs, for wee deriue not our denyall of Purgatorie from them, but from the Fathers, and the principall partes of GODS Church in all ages.

[m] Pag. 65. That which hee hath [m] against *Luthers* marrying a professed Nunne, and Saint *Augustins* dislike of such mariages, doth but argue the distemper of his idle braine. For first, it is besides the purpose, and maketh nothing to the matter in hand. Secondly, it clearely confuteth the error of the *Romanists* who thinke mariages after vowes made to the contrary to bee voyd, which false conceipt [n] *Augustine* largely refuteth. Thirdly, hee belyeth *Augustine*, for hee doth not say, that the mariage of such as haue vowed the contrary is euill, much lesse that it is worse then Adultery; but that the falling from the good purpose and resolution they were entered into, is worse then adultery: which falling is found amongst the *Romish* Votaries, more then any where else in the world, their houses of Nunnes (as [o] *Clemangis*, who knewe the state of those Cages well enough, testifieth) beeing for the most part nothing else but stewes of filthy harlots.

[n] *De bono viduitatis. cap.* 11.

[o] *De corrupto Eccles. Statu.*

Now, though it be worse then simple adultery to breake a vowe, and burning in lust to wallow in all impurity, yet is it no way ill for men or women thus surprised to betake themselues to the remedy of lawful mariage. And therefore I [p] mince not the matter, as this mincing Fugitiue is pleased to say I doe, but truly report the iudgement of *Augustine*, who indeed misliketh and reproueth rashe vowing, without full purpose and due care of performing the same afterwardes, as a greeuous euill: and yet alloweth ensuing mariage, as lawful, honourable, and good, contrary to the impious conceipt of the *Romanists*, condemning the same. VVhat is to bee thought of *Luther* and such other as maried after vowes of single life, I haue [q] elsewhere shewed; whether I referre the Reader. I haue [r] likewise proued at large the lawfulnesse of *Luthers* ministerie, not-withstanding all the corruption that was in the Church, wherein hee receaued it, and the tyranny of *Antichrist* endeuoring to lay all waste; and therefore the idle glaunces of this silly fellowe are to be contemned as wordes of vanity, especially seeing such as are ordayned by Heretikes, are truly ordayned in the iudgement of our [r] Aduersaries themselues; but if all fayle, hee will go backe to prayer for the dead, which hath made him dead, while hee is aliue, and will proue, that [s] *Bernard* confuted *Henricus* impugning prayer for the dead, with a miracle, and that therfore the impugning of prayer for the dead is pronounced impious by Gods owne voyce from heauen: surely

[p] Pag. 62.

[q] Fift book of the Church. chap. 57.

[r] Booke 3. cap. 39.

[s] *Bonauent. in 4. Sentent. dist. 25. quæst. 2.*

[t] Pag. 70.

surely if it could be proued, that God gaue testimony by a miracle against *Henricus* his impugning of prayer for the dead, to deliuer them out of Purgatory, it were something: but neither hee, nor all the rabble of *Romanistes* shall euer proue that.

Henricus is reported to haue holden many damnable opinions, in confutation whereof *Bernard* might worke a miracle without any respect to his denying prayers for the dead: for he contemned the Sacraments, denyed reconciliation to penitents, and the comfort of the holy Eucharist to such as in their greatest distresses desired the same. And feared not to exclude infants from the benefit of the Sacrament of regeneration. [u] *Bernard* him-selfe describing him, and the good effects that followed his preaching, sheweth, that hauing beene a Monke, he became an Apostata, that he gaue himselfe to all impurity, and that what he got by his preaching, he played away at dice, or spent it amongst harlots: that his preaching wrought so good effectes, that Churches were forsaken, and left without People, People without Priests, Priests without due reuerence, & Christians without Christ: Churches were reputed Synagogues, the Sanctuaries of God denyed to bee holy, Sacraments accounted vnholy, Festiuall daies depriued of Festiuall solemnities, men dyed in their sinnes, and their soules were euery where caught vppe, and brought to the terrible iudgement-seate, neyther reconciled by penitentiall reconciliation, nor garded with the Sacrament and holy Communion; that the way of the life of Christ was shutte vppe against infants, whiles the grace of Baptisme was denyed vnto them; and that they were hindered from drawing neere to saluation, though the Sauiour him-selfe cryed out aloud for them, saying *Suffer little children to come vnto me.* This is all that *Bernard* imputeth to him, neyther doth *Willielmus Abbas* (as Maister [x] *Higgons* vntruly reporteth) charge him with denying of prayer for the dead, but one [y] *Gotefrey* a Monke of *Clarauallis*, whose report is not greatly to be regarded, because what hee addeth aboue that before alleadged by vs, touching prayer for the dead, inuocation of Saints, excommunications of Priests, Pilgrimages, building of Churches, and the like, hee addeth as out of *Bernards* Epistle before mentioned, wherein there is no such thing. So that it is very probable that he mistooke the matter, and imputed such thinges to *Henricus*, as were taught by the *Apostolici*, or some other such like. Hetherto wee finde no great proofe of the confirmation of prayer for the dead, or any other point of popish error, by miracles: so that *my peremptory deny all*, that euer any miracle was done by any man in times past, or in our times, to confirme any of the thinges controuersed betweene the Papists and vs, standeth as yet vncontrouled. Wherefore Maister *Higgons* riseth from *Henricus* to *Gregory* the First, and *Augustine*, whome hee sent into *England* for the conuersion of our Nation, who, hee [z] sayth, were Papistes, and yet wrought many miracles for the confirmation of the

[u] *Epist.* 240.

[x] *Pag.* 72.

[y] *Vita Bernardi. li.* 1, *cap.* 5.

[z] *pag.* 82.

Doctrine they preached. A more trifeling fellow I thinke neuer aduentured to putte penne to paper; for wee confidently deny that eyther *Gregory*, or *Augustine* were Papistes, and say with Bishoppe *Iewell* in his worthy challenge, that all the learned Papistes in the world cannot proue that eyther of them held any of those twenty seauen Articles of Popish religion, mentioned by him.

If some superstition began in their times to grow in, it is not to bee maruayled at: neyther will it follow, that if *Augustine* and his Colleagues, sent hether *to sing the LORDS song in a strange land*, did miracles for the confirmation of the Christian faith taught by them, that the same miracles confirmed euery superstitious opinion, which any of them held. For then *Cyprian* and the *Affrican* Bishoppes teaching rebaptization, the orientall Bishoppes thinking it necessary to keepe the feast of Easter with the Iewes; *Papias*, and all the worthy Fathers that taught, that *Christ* raising vppe the *Saintes* from the dead, shall raigne with them on earth a thousand yeares in all earthly felicity, that there are two resurrections, the one of the iust, the other of the wicked, and that there are a thousand yeares betweene, *Lactantius*, *Irenaus*, and others, excluding the soules of the faithfull departed out of heauen, till the resurrection; such as held that men may be deliuered out of hell; such as held it necessary to minister the Communion to infantes: and other like Catholike Christians erring in some point of Doctrine, could doe no miracle, for the confirmation of the Christian faith amongst Infidells or Mis-beleeuers, but that the same must bee confirmations of their errors: and God must concurre with them by confusion, as this confused companion [a] speaketh: but if this instance serue not the turne, hee hath another euidence more potent and perswasiue, which serued as a key to vnlocke his vnderstanding, and that is this.

[a] Pag. 83.

[b] *Transubstantiation is affirmed by mee to bee one of the greatest mysteries of Popish religion.* Gerson *is highly approued by mee, and yet hee affirmeth* [c] *that Transubstantiation is confirmed by a thousand & a thousand miracles.* For answere where-vnto wee say with *Cassander*, [d] that the names of conuersion, transmutation, transformation, and trans-elementation, are found among the Ancient, and that the word Transubstantiation was vsed some hundreds of yeares, since: but touching the manner of this conuersion there is great variety of opinions, yet so that all agree in this, that they vnderstand such a mutation or chaunge to bee made, that that which before was earthly and common bread, by the wordes of institution, the inuocation of GODS name, and Diuine vertue, is made a Sacrament of the true body and blood of *CHRISTE*, visibly sitting at the right hand of GOD in Heauen: and yet after an inuisible and incomprehensible manner present in the Church. And that the bodie and blood of *CHRISTE* are in the Sacrament, and exhibited

[b] Pag. 85.

[c] Part. 4. Serm. in festo corporis Christi.

[d] Cassand. in Consultatione. art. 10. de transubstantiatione.

exhibited and giuen as ſpirituall meate and drinke for the ſaluation and euerlaſting life of them that are worthy partakers of the ſame.

Thus much wee doubt not but a thouſand and a thouſand miracles may confirme, and more, *Gerſon* doth not ſay is confirmed by miracle. For whereas there is almoſt infinite variety of opinions touching the manner of this conuerſion amongſt ſuch as admitte it in generality, it would bee very hard for Maiſter *Higgons*, or a wiſer man then hee is, to ſay, which of them any miracle euer confirmed.

All admitte, ſayth [e] *Caietan*, the conuerſion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of *Chriſt*, but in truth many deny that which the word Tranſubſtantiatiō indeed importeth; & therfore are diuerſly diuided; ſom vnderſtanding, that the Bread is therefore ſaid to bee made the body of *Chriſt*, becauſe where the Bread is, the body of *Chriſt* becommeth preſent; others vnderſtanding nothing but the order of ſucceſſion, whereby the Body ſucceedeth, and is vnder the vayles of thoſe accidents, vnder which the Bread, (which they ſuppoſe to bee annihilated) was before: which opinion in ſubſtance *Scotus* followeth, though in the manner of his ſpeach he ſeeme to decline it, ſome admitting both the word and thing not wholly, but in part, as *Durandus*, who thinketh the matter of Bread & VVine remayneth, the forme only chaunged: and ſome thinking the forme to remaine and the matter to ceaſe. [f] *Ockam* ſaith there are three opinions touching Tranſubſtantiation, of which the firſt ſuppoſeth a conuerſion of the ſacramental elements: the ſecond an annihilation: the third maketh the Bread to be ſo turned into the body of *Chriſt*, that it is no way chaunged in ſubſtance, or ſubſtantially conuerted into *Chriſts* body; but that onely the body of *Chriſt* becommeth preſent in euery part of the Bread.

[e] *In 3. part. Summæ. queſt. 75. artic.*

[f] *Centilogij. concluſ. 39.*

[g] *Cameracenſis*, *Gerſons* maiſter, profeſſeth, that for ought hee can ſee, the ſubſtantiall conuerſion of the Sacramentall elements, into the body and blood of *CHRISTE* cannot bee proued eyther out of Scripture, or any determination of the Vniuerſall Church, and maketh it but a matter of opinion, inclining rather to the other opinion of Con-ſubſtantiation. And therfore in his iudgement it was not witneſſed by a thouſand and a thouſand perſons of moſt holy life and profound knowledge, teſtifying ỹ truth therof vnto death, by a thouſand and a thouſand miracles. So that the thing which *Gerſon* ſaith hath bin proued by miracles, is the true preſence of *Chriſts* body & blood in the bleſſed Sacrament, the exhibition of thē to be the food of our ſoules, & ſuch a change of the elements in vertue, grace & power of containing in them, and communicating to vs *Chriſts* body and blood, as the nature of ſo excellent a Sacrament requireth. This is the [h] key which Mr. *Higgons* found to vnlocke his vnderſtanding ỹ it might runne riot into all idle and childiſh diſcourſes. But ſee the infelicity of the man! Hee was no ſooner at liberty, but preſently agayne hee was

[g] *In 4. Sentent. quæſt. 6.*

[h] *Pag. 83.*

incompaſſed, and brought into ſuch a ſtrayt, that eyther he muſt diſclaime
my booke, or his Proteſtanticall beleefe. Yet did hee not ſuffer him-
ſelfe long to bee ſo incloſed, but full wiſely choſe rather to forſake the
Religion hee was bredde in, and which as a publike Preacher hee had
taught others, then to diſclayme my booke. Becauſe as he ſayth, that Re-
ligion cannot bee good, that is ſo falſely and abſurdly defended by mee,
and all the cheefe Authors that euer applyed their paines vnto that ſer-
uice. Surely the poore Fugitiue is greatly to bee pitied, as weake in vn-
derſtanding, and medling with thinges not fitte for him, if hee doe that
hee doth in ſimplicity: or exceedingly to bee deteſted as a graceleſſe per-
ſon, if hee doe it, as it is to bee feared, out of malice. For what is it in my
Booke that is ſo falſe and abſurd, as that the conſideration thereof ſhould
make a man forſake his religion? is not Tranſubſtantiation one of the
greateſt myſteries of Popiſh religion, as I haue ſaid? is that falſely deliue-
red by mee? No; but I ſay no miracle was euer done to confirme any
thing defended by the *Romaniſtes* againſt vs, and yet *Gerſon*, highly com-
mended by mee, ſayth, many Miracles haue beene wrought for proofe
and confirmation of that Tranſubſtantiation which the Papiſts at this day
beleeue, and this is the falſitie and abſurditie hee ſpeaketh off.

i Pag. 86.

That no miracle was euer wrought to prooue the monſtrous conceit
of Popiſh Tranſubſtantiation, or any other Popiſh error, ſhall ſtand good
when heauen and earth ſhall bee no more. And if tenne thouſand *Ger-
ſons*, nay if ſo many Angells from heauen ſhould affirme the contrary, I
would not beleeue them; much leſſe *Gerſon*, a ſingle witneſſe in ſuch a
caſe. This is then the abſurdity that made him become a Papiſt, that
I commend *Gerſon*, and yet beleeue not euery thing hee ſayth.

Truly this abſurdity would neuer moue any but an abſurd ſmatterer
to alter his Religion. For doth not *Higgons* him-ſelfe admire *Bighius*,
Catharinus, *Contarenus*, and ſundry other from whome hee diſſenteth in
the matter of iuſtification, originall ſinne, and the certaynty of grace?
Doth hee not highly commend many that thought the Pope may erre,
that hee is ſubiect to Generall Councells, and may bee depoſed by them;
not for Hæreſie alone, but for other enormous crymes alſo? and yet I
thinke hee will not bee of their opinion. So that though *Gerſon* ſhould
thinke that the Tranſubſtantiation which we deny, was proued by mi-
racles, it were no ſuch intollerable abſurditie to commend him for
much piety, deuotion, learning, and vertue, and yet to diſſent from him
in this point.

In the matter controuerſed in former times in ꝟ *Romã* Church touching
ꝟ conceptiõ of the *bleſſed virgin*, were ther not worthy men on both ſides?
did not the Patrons of her ſpotleſſe conception pretend & alledge ſundry
miracles and viſions for confirmation therof? yet was it no abſurdity for
Cardinall

k Cardinall *Caietan* following the current of Antiquity, to dissent from them, how many and worthy soeuer they were, and to call all their pretended miracles in question. But indeed here is no such matter; for *Gerson* is not so ill aduised, as to dissent from his worthy Maister, and confidently to affirme that a thousand, and a thousand, renowned for piety & learning by a thousand, and a thousand miracles, gaue testimony to the opinion of the substantiall conuersion of the Sacramentall elements into the body and blood of Christ (which the l Maister of the Sentences, and the Author of the m Ordinary glosse, professe to be doubtfull, and *Caietan* saith so many admitted not euen in his time.) But the onely thing hee affirmeth to haue beene confirmed by Miracles is, that Christs body and blood are truely present in the Sacrament; that they are giuen to bee the foode of our soules, and that the outward elements are changed to become the body & blood of Christ; which we deny not, though we dissent from the Papists touching the manner of the conuersion, which they imagine to be substantiall; to which opinion haply *Gerson* might consent, as *Cameracensis* also did, though he professed hee could not see the deduction of it from Scripture, or any determination of the Church; and inclined rather to thinke that the substance of bread and wine remaine, and that the body and blood of CHRIST become present together with them, according to that of *Cusanus*, n who saith, certaine auncient Diuines are found to haue beene of opinion, that the Bread is not substantially chaunged, but that it is clothed vpon with a more noble substance, as wee hope to be clothed vpon with the light of glory; our substance remaining the same it was: and seemeth not much to dislike their opinion.

k *Opusc. tomo. 2. tract. 1. De conceptione virginis. ca. 1.*

l *Lib. 4. Dist. 12.*

m *In. 1 ad Corinth. 11.*

n *Excitationum. lib. 6. pag. 523.*

Thus wee see, poore runna-gate *Higgons* hath made a great out-cry, when there was no cause; for here is neither falsehood nor absurdity, but in him-selfe, who to wrecke his anger hath sold himselfe to be an absurd Patron of error and vntruth. The rest of his friuolous discourse following, being but a reflexion, as he calleth it, vpon these premises, I will not trouble my selfe nor the reader with.

The Second Booke.

§. 1.

I Come to his Second Booke, in the first part whereof hee challengeth mee for traducing the foure Doctors of the Church, beginning with *Gregory*, and from him proceeding to the rest. To make it appeare that I haue wronged *Gregory*, First o hee noteth, that the principall drift of my discourse touching the Church, is, to proue that the opinions wherein the

o *Pag. 101. l.*

Papists

Papists dissent from the Protestants at this day, were not the doctrines of the Church wherein our Fathers liued and died, but of a faction onely, predominating in the same.

[b] pag. 102. Secondly, [b] that to this purpose I frame an Appendix, wherein I produce the testimonies of sundry Fathers, and Schoole-authors, to iustifie the foresaid position.

[c] Ibid. Thirdly, that [c] descending into the controuersie, whether any sinnes be remitted after this life, or not, I vse this pretense; to wit, that whereas *Lombard* and others doe say, that some veniall sinnes are remitted after this life, we must so vnderstand their sayings, that therefore they are said to be remitted after this life, because they are taken away in the very moment of dissolution, the last instant of life beeing the first after life. That this is the summe of that Exposition I make of *Lombards*, and other mens opinion, concerning the remission of sinnes after this life; wherein, how sincerely, and exactly I deale, he will not dispute.

[d] Ibid. Fourthly, [d] that to corroborate this my Exposition, I bring a testimony of Saint *Gregorie*, not without great wrong done vnto him.

To these his obseruations I briefly answere: First, that it is true that the doctrines wherein the Papists and We dissent at this day, were not the doctrines of that Church, wherein our Fathers liued and died; but that I haue in any part vntruely set downe the differences betweene them and vs, this false runnagate shall neuer be able to prooue: though, if his credit would reach vnto it, he would gladly make men beleeue so.

Secondly, that I haue indeed framed and added such an Appendix as he speaketh of, to my Third booke, wherein I haue produced sundry learned men, and Schoole-authors, for proofe of that my former position; calling them, as they well deserue, worthy and learned men: but, that they are mine enemies, or that I speake honourably of them for mine owne aduantage, is but the saying of a silly fellow, that careth not much what he saith, so he may be thought to say something.

Thirdly, that this good fellow, that complaineth so much of falshood and bad dealing, hath in his third obseruation wholly mistaken the matter, and shamefully belied me; for I make not that construction of the sayings of *Lombard* and others, which he speaketh of, but it is the construction of *Alexander* of *Ales*, the irrefragable Doctor, and first of all the Schoole-men.

But that the Reader may the better perceiue how hee peruerteth all that commeth in his way, I will lay downe the matter at large. In the twentieth Chapter of that Appendix he speaketh of, I produce the iudgement and resolution of *Scotus*, *Durandus*, and *Alexander* of *Ales*, that all sinnefulnesse is vtterly abolished in the very moment of dissolution, and that there is no remission of any sinne, in respect of the fault and staine af-

ter

ter death. The wordes of these Authors I set downe at large. The wordes of *Alexander* of *Ales* are these.

[e] Finall grace taketh away all sinfulnesse out of the soule, because when the soule parteth from the body, all pronenesse to ill, and all perturbations which were found in it, by reason of the coniunction with the flesh, doe cease, the powers thereof are quieted, and perfectly subiected to grace, and by that means, all veniall sinnes remoued: so that no veniall sin is remitted after this life; but in that instant wherein grace may bee said to be final grace, it hath ful dominion & absolute command, and expelleth all sin. Where-unto he addeth, that whereas the M^r of Sentences, and some other doe say, that some veniall sinnes are remitted after this life; some answer, that they speake of a full remission, both in respect of the fault and staine, and the punishment also: but that others more narrowly and piercingly looking into the thing, doe say, that they are to be vnderstood to say, sinnes are remitted after this life, because (it beeing the same moment or instant that doth continuate the time of life, and that after life, so that the last instant of life, is the first after life) they are remitted in the very moment of dissolution, grace more fully infusing, and powring it selfe into the soule at that time, then before, to the vtter abolishing of all sinne, all impediment formerly hindering her working, nowe ceasing.

[e] *Summ. lib. 4. qu. 15. mem. 3. art. 3.*

So that these are the words of *Alexander* of *Ales*, deliuering the opinion of many worthy men in the Church, and not mine: and therefore whether hee and they doe aptly expound the sayings of the Master of Sentences, and others, or not, it is nothing to mee; for I doe not so interpret the sayings of these men, nor cite him to prooue they are to bee so interpreted: but cite him onely to shewe, that many learned men, in former times, did thinke all sinnefulnesse to bee purged out of the soules of men, departing hence in the state of grace, euen in the very moment of dissolution: which he cleerely sheweth, and besides telleth vs how they sought to construe the sayings of them, that seemed to be of another iudgement, that they might not be thought to be contrary here-unto.

The same may bee confirmed out of [f] *Bonauentura*, who saith, it was the opinion of certaine Doctors, who were of good vnderstanding, that no sinne is remitted after death, because the force of free will, in respect of merit, or demerit, doth altogether cease. These, as he saith, thought, that veniall sinnes are wholly remitted and taken away, either by repentance, or by finall grace, if there bee no time and place for repentance; as when a iust and good man is suddainly seased vpon by death. The author of the booke called [g] *Regimen Animarum*, a manuscript copy whereof I haue, who liued about the yeare

[f] *In 4. Sent. dist. 24. qu. 1.*

[g] *Part. 3. de effectu peccati venialis.*

yeare 1343. hath these words. *Delet gratia finalis veniale peccatum, in ipsa dissolutione corporis, et animæ, ex virtute completionis sui status, quamvis motus contritionis non sit ad illud directus, & hoc ab antiquis dictum est; sed modò communiter tenetur, quòd peccatum veniale hinc deferatur a multis, etiam quoad culpam.* That is, finall grace doth abolish and vtterly take away veniall sinne in the very dissolution and parting of the soule and body, in that shee groweth to bee in a full and perfect estate, though no motion of contrition bee directed to the putting of it away: and this was sayd by the Ancient, but now it is commonly holden, that many carrie veniall sinnes with them out of this world, euen in respect of the staine and fault.

[h] *Caietan. Opusc. tom. 1. tract. 23. quæst. 1.*

Caietan agreeth with those Ancient Diuines, that this Author speaketh of: his words are these: [h] *Patet quòd nec pro fomite purgando, qui etiam in baptizatis remanet, nec pro reliquis, quibuscunque, nisi satisfactione debitâ pro commissis vel omissis, pœnæ sunt purgatoriæ; sicut nihil acquirit graue ex remotione prohibentis, sed iuxta pristinam granitatem tendit ad proprium locum: ita anima ex remotione prohibentis, iuxta sortitam prius charitatem, in cœlestis patriæ mansionem sibi paratam intrat:* That is; It is euident, that Purgatory paines serue neither for the purging out of the remaines of concupiscence, which still abideth euen in the Baptized; nor for the taking away of any other thing whatsoeuer: but onely for the satisfying for the sinnes of omission and commission that are past: and therefore if that bee once performed, as a heauy thing, when that is taken away which hindered, getteth no new quality, or vertue, but by force of that waight and heauinesse it formerly had, goeth to the proper place where nature hath appointed it to rest: so the soule, so soone as that is taken away which hindered, by force and vertue of that charity it formerly had, entereth into the mansion of the heauenly country prouided for it. Further he addeth, that, as after death, charitie is, *extra statum merendi*, that is, in a state wherein there is no farther meriting: so likewise it is in a state, wherein it is capable of no increase, the increase of charity being the bound of the merit of it: whence it followeth, that there is no purging out of any sinne after death; for if after death there bee no new increasing of that grace and charity which during life stood together with veniall sinne, there is no purging out of any such sinne after death; seeing it is charity stirred vp and enkindled, that consumeth sinne, as the burning Furnace doth a drop of water, and nothing else. This is the resolution, not of a few or meane men, but of many, and those the greatest and best esteemed of in the Churches, wherein our fathers liued and died. To these I say *Gregory* seemeth to agree, saying; *That the very feare that is found in men dying, purgeth out the lesser sinnes.* But heere Maister *Higgons* hath noted [i] three points of fraudulencie, as hee saith, committed by mee in a few words; first by an omission: in that, whereas Saint *Gregory* saith, *plærunque*, for the

[i] *pag. 103.*

mo

most part it is so, I omit and leaue out this particle: Secondly by a reddition in that whereas *Gregory* saith the *Smallest*, I say the *Lesser*. Thirdly, by an extension, in that whereas *Gregory* saith *the Soules of the iust are purged*, I say in a more generall sort, *the soules of men dying are purged*. For answere hereunto I say, I haue no way misalledged *Gregory*, nor deriued any conclusion out of any words of his, contrary to his purpose and Doctrine in other places; for [k] *Gregory* seemeth to bee of opinion, that the feare, that is found in the soules of good men dying, doth alwaies purge out the lesser sinnes, so often as it is found in them: but, that it is not alwaies found in them, but for the most part; whereas I haue onely sayd, it doth purge out such sinnes, without adding *alwaies*, or *for the most part*.

[k] *Dialog. lib. 4. cap. 46.*

And that he addeth the particle *for the most part*, to shew that this feare is not alwaies found in good men, when they are to die, and not to deny the effect of purging out the smaller sinnes vnto it, whersoeuer it is found, appeareth, in that immediatly after, by way of opposition he saith, that, *nonnunquam*, that is some-times, God strengthneth and confirmeth the mindes of men ready to die, that other-wise would feare, so that they doe not feare at all: but if wee take the words as *Higgons* would haue vs, yet am I no whit disaduantaged: for if the feare of Gods iudgements alone, doe for the most part purge out the lesser sinnes, it is likely that other good motions, and the strengthning of grace, and putting of it into a state of perfecton, by the subtraction of impediments, should take away the rest: which is all that I haue said. For I doe not say, that hee doth agree with those that thinke all sinfulnesse is purged out in the very moment of dissolution; but that he seemeth to agree with them, or that in consequence of reason hee should agree with them. Neither is his next exception of least, and lesser, any better then this: for *Gregory* him-selfe in the thirty nine chapter of the same booke speaking of those sinnes, that are compared to timber, hay, and stubble, and are to be purged out by the fire, the Apostle speaketh of to the *Corinthians*; calleth them indifferently *peccata parua, et minima, leuia, et leuissima, minuta, atque leuissima*, that is small and smallest, light and lightest sinnes: so that small or light sinnes in the positiue degree, are the same with him that least or lightest: and therefore it was no fraudulency in me, not translating any sentence of *Gregory*, but reporting his opinion touching veniall sinnes, indifferently and freely to name them, *small*, *lesser*, *or smallest*, and lightest sinnes; seeing in his meaning and phrase of speach, and truth of the thing it selfe they are all one. The last exception is more friuolous then the two former, for speaking onely of the soules of the iust, and the purging out of such sinnes as are found in them till death, in my whole discourse, what neede was there, that I should adde *iust*, seeing no man could possibly vnderstand mee to

speake

speake of any other? but it seemeth the poore man knoweth not well what hee saith, for hee will haue *Gregory* to meane by *iust men, men of singular sanctity*, and not generally all that are in state of grace: and yet denieth that all the sinnes of these, are purged out in death, so casting into purgatory, not onely those of the middle sort, but the best and parfittest also, contrary to the opinions of his owne Diuines. So that wee see here is much a doe about nothing: and as the poore man said, when he shore his Sowe: here is a great cry and a little woolle.

For I do not absolutely say, that *Gregory* fully agreth with these worthy Diuines before mentioned, who thinke all sinnefullnesse to be vtterly abolished and removed out of the soule, in the very moment of dissolution; but that hee seemeth to agree vnto them; or that in consequence of reason hee should agree vnto them, in that hee maketh the very feare, that is found in men dying, to purge out their lesser sinnes, when it is found in them, though alwaies it be not found in them: which is not my priuat conceipt, but the *Grecians* in their Apology touching purgatory, long before deliuered, the very same more peremptorily; namely, that *Gregory by this saying, and some other found in him, doth vtterly ouerthrowe that Purgatory which hee is thought to teach:* and if hee wilbe pleased to peruse the schoolemen, hee shall find in [1] *Alexander* of *Ales*, that the best of them thought *Gregory* to bee of opinion, as they also were, that all sinne in respect of the staine, or fault, is purged out in death: some interpreting his words, where hee speaketh of remission of sinnes after this life, of that remission which is in the last instant of this life, and the first of the next: and other otherwise.

[1] *Summe. lib. 4 qu. 15. memb. 3. art. 3.*

And therefore Maister *Higgons* might well haue spared his taxation of me, and omitted his marginall note, [m] that many such tricks weare found by the Bishoppe of Eureux in the writings of the Lord *Plessis Mornay*. For in all that which I haue written touching this point, there is not so much as the least shadow of any ill dealing: and for that worthy gentleman, against whome that Bishoppe sought aduantage, by cauilling against some parts of his allegations; it wilbe found, that hee hath more sincerely handled the controuersies of religion, then euer any *Romanist* did.

[m] *Pag. 103.*

That if any mistaking bee found in him; there are many moe, and more materiall in farre lesse compasse, in the writings of Cardinall *Bellarmine* him-selfe: and that in his anatomy of the Masse, the booke excepted against by the Bishoppe of Eureux, hee hath in such sort cut in sunder the sinews, not onely of the Masse, but of the whole masse of *Romish* religion; that all the rabble of *Romanists* will neuer be able orderly to answere that whole booke, howsoeuer it is easie to cauill against some parts of any thing neuer so well written.

But

But to returne to the matter in hand: whatsoeuer we thinke of *Gregory*, of whom I say onely, that he seemeth to agree vnto the opinion of those Diuines, who thinke all sinnefulnesse to bee purged out of the soules of men dying in the state of grace, in the moment of dissolution: it is certaine, that exceeding many of best esteem in the Romane Church in former times, were of that opinion: and the same is prooued by vnanswerable reasons. Whence it will follow inuitably, that there remaineth no punishment to bee suffered after death, by men dying in the state of grace. For they are propositions of Saint *Bernard*, that all the world cannot except against; [n] *that when all sinne shall bee wholly taken out of the way, no effect of it shall remaine: that the cause beeing altogether removed, the effect shall be no more:* and, *that all punishment shall bee as farre from the outward man, as all fault shalbe from the inward.*

[n] Bern. in Psal. qui habitat. Serm. 10.

Now that all sinnefulnesse is purged out in the very dissolution of soule and body, is confirmed, as I said, by vnanswerable reasons; for seeing the remaines of naturall concupiscence, the pronenesse to euill, difficultie to doe good, and contrarietie betweene the better and meaner faculties of the soule, are wholly taken out of the soules of all them that die in the state of grace, in the moment of dissolution, euen in the iudgement of our aduersaries themselues; (there beeing nothing in the fault or staine of sinne, but the acte, desire, and purpose, which cannot remaine, where concupiscence, the fountaine thereof, is dried vp: or the habituall liking, and affecting of such things as were formerly desired, purposed, or done ill, which cannot be found in a soule, out of which, all naturall concupiscence, inclining to the desiring of things inordinately, is wholly taken away, and it selfe turned to the entire desiring of God alone, and nothing, but in, and for him; as is euery soule, out of which, concupiscence, inclining to affect finite things inordinately, is wholly taken away.)

It is more then euident, that all sinnefulnesse is wholly taken out of the soule of each good man, in the very moment of his death, dissolution, and departure hence. See then the absurditie of Romish religion! the soule of a good man, in the moment of death, is wholly freed from all sinnefulnesse: there is nothing found in it, that displeaseth God: charitie, and grace, making those in whome it is, acceptable to GOD, is perfect in it: and yet it must be punished, to satisfie the iustice of GOD, because it was sometimes sinnefull.

Truely I euer thought, whereas there are two things in sin, the fault, deformitie, or staine; & the punishment; that *Christ*, who is the *Lambe of God that taketh away the sinnes of the world*, by the working of his sanctifying grace, purgeth out the one; and by vertue of his satisfactorie sufferings, freeth such as he purgeth from the impuritie of sin, from the punishment due vnto it: and that in proportionable sort he purgeth out the one, and, by

vertue

vertue of his satisfactory sufferings, freeth vs from the other. So that when sinne is onely so purged out, that it is no more prædominant, there remaineth no condemnation, but yet some punishment, as in the case of *Dauid*; and when it is wholy taken away, there remaineth no punishment at all: which whosoeuer contradicteth, is iniurious to the sufferings of Christ, and the Iustice of God, who will not require one debt to bee twise paide. For it is most certaine, that Christ suffered the punishments, not onely of those sinnes, that men commit in the time of ignorance, infidelity, and the state of Nature, before Baptisme and regeneration, but of all sinnes: and that the reason, why notwithstanding godlesse men are subiect to all kinds of punishments, as before; is, because they doe not become one with Christ; nor are made partakers of his sanctifying spirit, purging out the sinfulnesse that is in them; that they might enioy the benefit of his satisfaction: as likewise the reason, why, good men, such as *Dauid*, turning to God by repentance, are still subiect to some punishments in this life, notwithstanding their vnion with Christ, is, because they are not so fully conioyned to Christ, and made partakers of his spirit, as to be purged from all sinne. For if they were, they should bee freed from all punishment, by his sufferings: hee hauing suffered for all them, that become one with him, all that the iustice of God requireth. This is that hæresie of the Papists, which I speake of, namely that, to satisfie Gods Iustice, the soules of men dying in the state of grace must suffer punishments answerable to the sinnes they some-times committed, though now pure from all sinne. This conceipt neuer any of the Ancient had: howsoeuer some of them supposed, that sinfull men in hell, may bee eased or deliuered thence; and some other (as *Augustine* and such as followed him in the Latin Church) were doubtfull, whether some in purity might not remaine to bee purged out of the soules of men dying in the state of grace, by afflictions and chastisments after this life. And therefore it is vntrue that Maister *Higgons* saith,

o Pag. 108. o *This imputation of heresie cleaueth as fast to the Fathers, whom we pretend to honour and reuerence, as to any Papist at this day.*

If *Gerson*, or any other whom I honour, held this heresie, they held it not heretically, as the *Romanists* now doe; euen as *Cyprian* held the heresie of rebaptization, and sundry of the Ancient the heresie of the Millenaries, but not heretically: so that *Vincentius Lyrinensis* saith, p *The Fathers were saued, and the children condemned: the authors of errors acquited, and the followers of them in the same, cast into the pitte of hell.* But Maister *Higgons* saith, *Bernard*, (whose sayings touching the not punishing of such as are freed from the impurity of sinne I alleadge; thereby to ouer-throw the erronious conceipt of Papists touching Purgatorie) *admitteth Purgatory*: and therefore q *I traduce the Testaments of the dead, to establish such doctrines as they impugne.* For answer where-vnto I say, that whether *Bernard* admitte Purgatory or not: yet may hee haue a sentence, which

p *Contra prof. Hereticorum nouitates. cap. 9.*

q Pag. 105.

suppoſing

ſuppoſing all ſinnefulneſſe to be purged out in the moment of diſſolution, proueth that there is no Purgatory: to which purpoſe I alledge him, and therefore traduce not the teſtaments of the dead to eſtabliſh any Doctrines they impugned, as Maiſter *Higgons* vntruely and vniuſtly chargeth me. For my [r] *diſtilling our Church out of the writings of learned men liuing vnder* the papacy, I ſhall haue a fitter place to anſwere him, when I come to his appendix; where I will make it appeare, that the *Iſraell of God* hath not beene forced (as he vntruely ſaith it hath) *to ſeeke to the Philiſtines as the diſtreſſed Iſraelites did for the ſharpning of their tooles, when there was no Smith in Iſrael*: but that the *Iſrael* in *Canaan* deriueth it ſelfe from that *Iſraell*, that ſome-times was in *Egypt* in miſerable bondage, enioyeth the iewells and treaſures, and fighteth againſt the enemies of God, with the weapons brought from thence. And thus much touching *Gregory*. [r. Pag. 107.]

§ 2.

IN the next place hee commeth to *Auguſtine*, whome hee ſaith I haue likewiſe abuſed. The words, wherein the ſuppoſed abuſe is offered vnto him, are theſe. *The* Romiſh *manner of praying for the dead hath no certaine teſtimony of antiquity, for no man euer thought of purgatory till* Auguſtine, *to a voyd a worſe error, did doutingly runne into it: after whome many in the Latin Church embraced the ſame opinion; but the Greeke Church neuer receaued it to this day*: in which words he ſaith [a] I note the temerity, irreſolution, and folly of *Auguſtine*: the reader I doubt not will note his temerity and folly, in cenſuring me thus without a cauſe: for I note not Saint *Auguſtine* for temerity, nor make him the Author of a new fancy, as hee falſely chargeth mee, but ſhew, that, whereas there were very dangerous opinions in the Church in his time, touching the ſtate of the departed, (many of great eſteeme thinking that men dying in mortal ſinne, and adiudged to hell, ſhall in the end come out thence and be ſaued) hee ſought to qualifie the matter in the beſt ſort hee could, with leaſt offence vnto them, and to bring them from that error, and therefore ſaith, [b] *if they would acknowledge the puniſhments of ſuch to be eternal, and thinke only that they may be mitigated or ſuſpended for a time, or that men dying in the ſtate of grace, yet in ſome leſſer ſins are afflicted for a time in the other world, (though he know not whether theſe things be ſo or not) yet he would not ſtriue with them.* This is not to bee the author of a new fancy; but, in hope to reclaime men from a great extremity, to leaue ſome thing leſſe dangerous in the ſame kind, doutfull: and this is all that I ſay of Saint *Auguſtine*; neither is this my priuat fancy; but the *Gracians*, in that learned Apology before mentioned, haue the ſame obſeruation, to wit, that hee wrote not thoſe things which hee hath touching Purgatory, out of a certaine perſwaſion, and as vndoubtedly holding them to be true: but as it were in a ſort inforced, and for the auoyding of a greater euill, which was this, *that*

[a] Pag. 108.

[b] *Enchirid. ad Laurentium. cap. 67.*

there is a purging of all sinnes after death as some then thought.

So that, as it seemeth, thinking it something a violent course, directly to go against the opinion of many; and fearing, his wordes would not seeme probable, if, whereas others thought all sinnes may bee purged out after death, he on ỹ contrary side should say none may be purged, hee chose rather to go in a middle way not contradicting that which is lesse absurd, and inconuenient, (that so hee might more easily bring them he had to deale with from that which was far more inconuenient,) then too much to exasperate them. This was the apprehension the *Grecians* had of *Augustines* writinges touching this point: which who-so euer shall without any sinister affection peruse, will finde to bee right and true.

Touching irresolution, it was farre from *Augustine* in matters pertaining to the rule of Faith: but in other thinges, wherein men may be ignorant, and doubtfull, and dissent one from another, without danger of eternall damnation, no man was more slowe to resolue, no man more inclined to leaue thinges doubtfull. But how-soeuer, that he was doubtful and vnresolued in the points concerning the state of the dead, it is euident in that hee sayth;[e] *If they, whose mercyfull error hee refuteth, would only thinke* the paynes of them that are in hell to bee mittigated, or suspended; hee would not greatly striue about it: though, I am well assured, he would not willingly haue resolued, that these thinges are so.

[e] *Vbi supra.*

The like may bee sayd touching the temporall affliction of good men dying in state of grace, but yet with some lesser sinnes: for hee was euer doubtfull concerning the same; and neuer resolued that they are vndoubtedly in a state of temporall affliction, as Maister *Higgons* vntruly[d] reporteth, and thence inferreth many things childishly against me: but that they are in a state wherein prayers may auayle them; which two thinges are very different. For the *Grecians* in their Apology, before cited admit remission of sinnes after this life, and yet deny that there is any estate of temporall affliction. And I haue shewed before, how sinnes may bee said to bee remitted after this life in the enterance into the other world, without admitting Purgatory-punishments. But it cannot bee excused that I say, *Augustine* fearefully opposed him-selfe against the error of them, who thought all right-beleeuing Christians, how wickedly soeuer they liued, shal in the end be saued. Surely the *Grecians* said as much before, and are in good hope to be excused: and therfore I am in some hope, that I may be also: for I do not say that he so feared any thing, as to conceale any truth he was thoroughly resolued off, and which hee held necessary to be known of al; but that he feared to offend them he dealt with, farther then of necessity he must; & therfore resolued to yeeld to them as far as possibly he might, without impugning knowne and resolued truthes, they beeing many and of great esteeme, that were otherwise minded, then hee was.

[d] Pag. 113.

Thus

Thus haue I no way wronged Sainct *Augustine*, but don him the greatest right I could: for I haue shewed, that hee impugned not onely the error of *Origen*, touching the saluation of all, euen the Diuell and his Angells, and of such as thought that all men, or at least all Christian men though Heretickes & Schismatickes, shal in the end be saued; but of them also that thought onely that all right-beleeuing Christians shalbe saued how wickedly soeuer they liue: affirming, that no such thing may bee yeelded, and yet professing himselfe doubtful touching the mitigation and suspension of their paines for a time, as also whether men dying in the state of grace, and yet with some lesser sinnes, bee afflicted for a time, and after deliuered.

So that hee brought the conceipt concerning the saluation by fire and punishment, of men departing hence in the state of sinne, from that exceeding large extent, to this straite: assuring himselfe more might not be yeelded, and professing hee knew not whether so much might or not. And therefore hee was the author of this limitation, that the error should not be so dangerous; but not of the error it selfe, touching the saluation of men dying in the state of sinne: which no way tendeth to his disgrace, but to his commendation.

But Maister *Higgons* will proue [e] that he was not the first that fell into the opinion of this Purgatory, of men dying in the state of grace; first out of the Magdeburgians, and secondly out of the testimonies of sundry Fathers, teaching the same Purgatory before *Augustine*, as he pretendeth: To the Magdeburgians it may be answered in a word, that they speake of the Purgatory of such as departe hence in mortall sinne, when they attribute the error of Purgatory to *Origen* and others before *Augustines* time. For *Origen* made all punishments, euen those of the Diuell and Damned ones, to be but Purgatory-punishments: & therfore that they say is nothing to our purpose. Wherefore let vs see what testimonies of Fathers, before *Augustine*, Maister *Higgons* can produce, for confirmation of his supposed Pugatory. The first he bringeth is Saint [f] *Basil*, who writing vpon those words of *Esay*, *iniquity shall be burned as fire, and deuoured of the fire as dry grasse, and burned vp in the thicknesse of the wood*: and againe, *all the earth shalbe set on fire in the furious and fierce wrath of the Lord; and all the people shalbe as it were burned by fire*: First sheweth, that iniquity may fitly be compared vnto grasse, the generation wherof is infinite, in that sinne begetteth and succedeth it selfe, fornication, fornication, lying, lying: and so in the rest. Secondly, that if we reueale and make bare our sinne by confessing and acknowledging it, we make it like drie grasse, fit to be deuouted and consumed by the purging fire: but that, if it become not like drie grasse, it shall not bee deuoured by the fire. Thirdly he interpreteth the thicknes of the wood to bee men darkned in their cogitations, and keeping many

[e] Pag. 110.

[f] Basil in Esaiæ. 9.

euils in the secret of their hearts. Fourthly, whereas it is said, the earth is set on fire by the fierce wrath of the Lord, he saith the Prophet meaneth, that earthly things are deliuered to the punishing fire, for the good of the soule: according to that of the Lord, *I come to send fire into the earth, and my desire is, that it be kindled assoone as may be.* Fifthly, hee sheweth, that whereas the Prophet saith, *The people shall be burned as with fire,* he threatneth not destruction, but promiseth purgation: according to that of the Apostle, *If any mans worke burne, &c.* Heere indeede mention is made of purging-fire; but it is the fire of tribulation in this world, and of diuine affections which it kindleth, for the consuming and burning vp of the sinnes of them, that acknowledge them, and make them bare by feeling and confessing how displeasing they are to God: whereas otherwise it worketh no such effect. But here is no word, nor circumstance, whence it may be collected, that *Basil* speaketh of any Purgatory after this life; nay it is plaine, he speaketh of that fire, which *Christ* came to bring into the world, and to cast out vpon the earth, and which he desired to bee kindled, as soone as might bee: which things, I thinke are not appliable to Popish Purgatory. [g] *The Scripture,* saith *Gregorie Nazianzene, mentioneth a purging-fire, which CHRIST came to send into the earth, and himselfe anagogically is called fire: the nature of this fire, is to waste and consume away the grosser matter, and vitious disposition of the minde: and therfore CHRIST desireth to haue it kindled as soone as may be, that we may haue the benefit of it:* which I thinke can hardly bee vnderstood of Purgatorie, vnlesse wee suppose *CHRIST* wisheth vs all to bee in those torments with speed.

[g] *Nazianz. Orat. 40. in sanctum Baptisma.*

Nicetas writing vpon *Nazianzen*, expoundeth the purging-fire hee speaketh of, to be loue, & faith towards God, which purge our soules from sinne, and ignorance, and diuide the godly, from the vngodly and vnbeleeuers. Another fire *Nazianzen* saith there is, which is not a purging, but a reuenging fire; whether it bee that Sodomiticall fire, which, mixed with brimstone and tempest, God powreth on the heads of sinners: or that which goeth before the face of the Lord, and burneth vp his enemies on euery side: or lastly, that which is more horrible then all these, which is ioyned with the restles worme, & which neuer goeth out. So that we see neither *Gregorie*, nor *Nicetas*, knew any thing of the Papists Purgatory-fire after this life, mentioning all the kinds of fire, that are spoken of in Scripture, and omitting it cleane. To *Basil*, Mr *Higgons* addeth, [h] *Eusebius Emissenus*, who was more ancient then He. But his owne [i] friends will tel him, these Homilies, which he citeth, that goe vnder his name, are none of his: but that they were collected out of the Latine Fathers by *Beda* or some other: the sentence doubtlesse, which he citeth, is found word for word in *Augustins* Homilie vpon the Epiphanie.

[h] *Homil. 3. de Epiphan.*
[i] *Sixtus Senens. Biblioth. sanct. l. 4 Baron. tom. 3. 341. 11.*

But howsoeuer the author of these homilies seemeth to speak of a trying fire,

fire, through which all must passe, and not of the Papists imagined Purgatory. The next testimony he bringeth, is out of [k] *Gregory Nyssen*; but as the *Graecians* in their Apologie note, they are not well aduised that alledge *Gregory Nyssen* to this purpose; seeing he speaketh not of a particular purging of some, but of a generall restoring of all: of which opinion also *Didymus* and *Euagrius* weare. This his grosse error they excuse, first, for that hapily these things might be foisted into his workes by Heretickes: And secondly, for that he wrote before the time of the Fifth Generall Councell, wherein the error of *Origen* was condemned. From these *Greeke* Fathers, Master *Higgons* [l] proceedeth to the Latin; And first produceth *Ruffinus* vpon the Psalmes: and then *Ambrose*.

[k] *Serm. de Defunctis.*

[l] *Pag. 112.*

That *Ruffinus* wrote vpon the Psalmes was neuer heard of before: that of late one *Antonius de Albone* Arch-bishoppe of Lions, found out a vnknowne worke, in a certaine ruinated Abbey, and put it out vnder the name of *Ruffinus*, though as him-selfe confesseth, it seemed strange to many that such a worke had lyen hid so long; and more strange, that so often the same sentences and periods should bee found in *Augustine* that are in this supposed *Ruffinus*; seeing he could not take them from *Augustine*; and *Augustine* in all likelyhood would not borrow them from him, neuer vsing to bee beholding to any man in this kind; so that it may bee thought this worke had a latter Author then either of these: and surely, the words Master *Higgons* citeth are the words of *Augustine*, and therefore ill alledged to shew that others before him thought as hee did touching the purging of men dying in an imperfit estate of grace.

Wherefore let vs come to *Ambrose*, out of whome he citeth two places: the first is vpon the hundred and eighteene Psalme, the second vpon the thirty sixe Psalme. Touching the first of these places, Cardinall [m] *Bellarmine* will tell him, that it is not to bee vnderstood of the fire of Purgatory, but of the fire of Gods Iudgement: which is not a purging or an afflicting fire, but a trying and examining fire. I will set downe the words at large, that the reader may iudge of them. All must be proued by fire that desire to returne to Paradise, for it is not idlely written, that when *Adam* and *Eue* were cast out of Paradise, God set in the entrance into it a fiery two-edged or turning-sword: for all must passe by flaming fire, whether it be *Iohn* the Euangelist, whom the Lord so loued that hee said of him to *Peter*; if I will haue him to abide, what is that to thee? follow thou me, (Of his death some haue douted, of his passage through the fire we may not doute, because he is in Paradise, and is not separated from Christ;) or *Peter* that receaued the Keys of the Kingdom of heauen, and walked vpon the sea, he must bee forced to say, we haue passed by fire and water, and thou hast brought vs into a place of refreshing; but when *Iohn* commeth, the fiery sword shall soone bee turned a way, because iniquity is not found in him, whom equity loued. If ther were any fault found

[m] *De Purgatorio. lib. 1. cap. 4.*

» In him, as a man, the loue of God wasted it away. For the wings thereof are
» as the wings of fire; hee that here hath the fire of charitie, shall not there
» feare the fire of the sword. *Christ* shall say vnto *Peter*, that so often offered
» to die for him, passe and be at rest: but he shall say, he hath tried vs in the
» fire, as siluer is tried, &c. He shal bee tried as siluer, but I shall be tried as
» lead. I shall burne till the lead melt away; if no siluer be found in me, woe
» is me! I shall be cast into the lowest hell, or wholly burnt vp, as stubble: if
» any gold or siluer be found in me, not by mine owne workes, but by the
» mercy and grace of *Christ*, and by the ministery of my Priest-hood, happi-
» ly I shall say, They that trust in thee, shall not be confounded. Therefore
» iniquitie shall be burned out by the fierie sword, that sitteth vpon the ta-
» lent of lead. He alone could not feele that fire, who is the Iustice of God, e-
» uen *Christ*, who did no sinne: for the fire found nothing in him, that it
» could burne; but concerning others, euen he that thinketh himselfe gold,
» hath lead: and he that thinketh himselfe to bee a graine of corne, hath
» chaffe, that may be burned. Many here seeme to themselues to bee gold,
» I doe not enuie them, but euen the gold shall bee tried: it shall burne in
» fire, that it may be prooued: for so it is written, I will prooue them as gold
» in ỹ fire: therefore seeeing wee are to be tried, let vs so behaue our selues,
« that we may deserue to be approoued by the iudgement of God; let vs,
« while we are here, hold humilitie, that when euery of vs shall come to
» the iudgement of God, he may say, See my humilitie, and deliuer mee.
» And vpon the thirty six Psalme, hee hath these wordes: Wee shall all be
» tried by fire: and *Ezechiel* saith, Behold, the Lord Almightie commeth,
» and who shall abide the day of his comming? or who shall endure it,
» when hee shall appeare vnto vs? for hee shall come as purging fire, and as
» Fullers soape, and hee shall sit downe to trie and fine the gold and the sil-
» uer, hee shall fine the sonnes of *Leuie*, and powre them out like gold and
» siluer, and they shall offer sacrifice to the Lord in righteousnesse.
» Therefore the sonnes of *Leuie* shall be fined by fire: *Ezechiel* shall bee fi-
» ned by the fire: and *Daniel* shal be fined by the fire: but these, though
» they shall be tryed by the fire, yet they shall say: wee haue passed by fire
» and water: others shall abide in the fire; to them the fire shall bee as a
» moyst dewe, as it was to the *Hebrew* children, that were cast into the hotte
» burning furnace: but the reuenging fire shall burne vppe the Ministers of
» iniquity. VVoe is mee, if my worke shall burne, and I suffer losse of
» my labour! and if the LORD doe saue his seruantes, wee shall bee
» saued by fayth, yet as by fire; and though wee bee not burned vp,
» yet wee shall bee burned: but, how some remayne in the fire, and
» other passe thorough it, let the Scripture in another place teach vs. The
» people of *Ægypt* were drowned in ỹ Red sea; the people of the *Hebrewes*
» passed thorough it: *Moyses* passed, *Pharaoh* was ouer-whelmed because

his

his greeuous sinnes did drowne him: in like sort sacrilegious *persons shalbe cast head-long into the Lake of burning fire; &c.* Here we see *Ambrose* speaketh of the triall of Gods seuere and righteous iudgement, expressing the same by the name of fire; because *euen our God is a consuming fire.* And a fire shall goe before him, when hee commeth to Iudge the world: but of the Papists Purgatory-fire hee hath no word. The fire he speaketh of, is the fiery triall of Gods iudgement, through which hee thinketh all must passe, though neuer so holy, and bee burned in it, though not burned vp, as the wicked shall: of the same fire, not of purgatory, but of the iudgement of God, doth *Hillary* speake vpon the same words of the 118. Psal. and vpon the second of *Mathew*, where expounding those words, *he shall Baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire*, he saith, *it remaineth, that they that haue beene Baptised with the Holy Ghost should be consumate and made perfit in the fire of iudgement.*

And before these *Lactantius*, [n] his words are these: therefore the Diuine fire, by one and the same vertue and power shal burne the wicked. &c. And also when the Lord shall iudge the righteous, hee shall try them by fire: Then they whose sinnes shall preuaile ether in waight or number, shalbe burned vp in the fire; but they whome full and perfect righteousnesse and the maturity of vertue shall haue throughly seasoned, shall not feele that fire, because they haue some-thing of God in them, to repell and reiect the force of the flame, and so great is the force of innocency, that that harmlesse fire doth fly from it, hauing receaued power from God to burne the vngodly, and to doe seruice to the righteous.

[n] *Lib 4. cap. 21. inst. Christ.*

Many things are found in *Basill* vpon *Esay*, which (as [o] *Sextus Senensis* saith) may seeme to tend to the same purpose, as [p] when vpon those words *he shal purge Hierusalem in the spirit of iudgement & in the spirit of burning*: he saith, this is to be referred to the trial and examination which shalbe in fire in the world to come.

[o] *Biblioth. Sanct. lib. 5. annot. 171.*

[p] *In 4. Esaiam*

Thus doe none of those Fathers, that Maister *Higgons* alledgeth, say any thing for the imagined Purgatory of Papists; but the same is cleerely refuted by that which they say: and therefore the reader may be well assured, that it is most true, that I haue said, that *Augustine* was the first that euer spake any thing of that Purgatory, wherein men dying in an imperfit state of grace, are supposed to be Purged after this life by fire.

These things being so, I doubt not but all men of any indifferency will easily see that this idle Prater, who ranne away vpon discontentment, had little reason to say [q] that he grew to a detestation of his religion, because he found my dealing to be corrupt, and vncapable of defence. His vaine and childish [r] retorting of that I say of *Bellarmines* impudency in another case and vpon another occasion, I litttle regarde: seeing hee gaue

[q] *Pag. 109.*

[r] *Ibid.*

me iuſt cauſe to ſay that I ſaid, & I had good aduantage againſt him; whereas this prating Fugitiue hath none againſt me.

§. 3.

THe next Father, which he ſaith I haue abuſed, is S. *Hierom*: the ſuppoſed abuſe offered to him, is, that I ſay, he was of opinion, that howſoeuer deuils and impious ones ſhall neuer bee ſaued; yet al right-beleeuing *Chriſtians*, how wickedly ſocuer they liue, ſhall, after puniſhments ſuffered and endured, be ſaued in the ende. It was my hard happe to fall into the hands of this ſeuere cenſurer, that brandeth all that come in his way, with the note of ill dealing, and abuſe of Fathers: and therefore I thinke I muſt be forced to appeale from him. And becauſe *Bellarmine* is by him pronounced worthy of immortall honour, let vs heare what he will pronounce: [a] *There are*, ſaith hee, *who thinke, that bleſſed* Hierome *was in this errour; yet it ſeemeth he was not.* Here is a more aduiſed, and temperate cenſure, then that of hotte-ſpurre *Higgons*. Some thinke hee was in this errour, but it ſeemeth he was not. So that it is not certaine that he erred not in this point, but doubtfull: and my dealing is not ſo badde, as Maſter *Higgons* would make it to bee. But let vs appeale yet farther, and make *Hierom* himſelfe, euen good Saint *Hierom*, as this ſmatterer is pleaſed to ſtyle him, iudge betweene vs: If I make it not as cleare as the ſunne at noone day, that he was in this errour, out of his owne indubitate writings, let *Higgons* inſult vpon me at his pleaſure; but if I doe, I would intreat his ſuperiours to teach him better manners.

[a] *De Purgatorio, lib. 2. cap. 1.*

In his firſt booke againſt the *Pelagians*, he diſtinguiſheth *vnrighteous men, and ſinners*, from *vngodly, or impious*: defining them to be *vngodly*, or *impious*, that either neuer knew God, or after they had the knowledge of God, corrupted and changed it; and then pronounceth, that the vnrighteous and ſinners, that haue the right knowledge of God, ſhall not periſh euerlaſtingly. His words are theſe.

» Who can endure that you haue in the Chapter following? that the
» vnrighteous and ſinners ſhall not be ſpared in the day of Iudgement, but
» bee burned vp in thoſe eternall fires? that you goe about to ſtoppe the
» courſe of Gods mercie, and to iudge of the ſentence of the Iudge, before
» the day of Iudgement? ſo that although hee would, he may not ſpare the
» vnrighteous and ſinners, becauſe you preſcribe the contrary; for you ſay, it
» is written in the Pſalme, Let the ſinners faile from the earth, and the vn-
» righteous, that they be no more. And againe in *Eſay*, The vnrighteous and
» ſinners ſhalbe burned together, and they that forſake God ſhal be deſtroy-
» ed: and doe you not vnderſtand, that the threats of God haue ſomtimes a
» ſound of mercy? for he doth not ſay, they ſhall be burned vp in euerlaſting
» fire; but that they ſhal faile frō the earth, & that the vnrighteous ſhal ceaſe
» for it is one thing for them to ceaſe frō ſin, & iniquity; & another thing for

them,

them to perish for euer ; and to bee burnt vppe in euer-lasting fyre.

To conclude, *Esaias*, whose testimony you bring, sayth, the sinners and vnrighteous shall bee burned together: and addeth not, *for euer:* And they that forsake God shall bee vtterly destroyed: This he speaketh properly of Hereticks, who vnlesse they conuert from their errors, shal perish: but what rashnesse is it to match and ioyne together vnrighteous men & sinners, with such as are impious & vngodly? who are thus defined by vs, Euery impious and vngodly man is an vnrighteous man and a sinner, but there is no reciprocation: neyther may wee say euery sinner and vnrighteous man is also an impious and vngodly man; for impiety properly pertayneth to them, that haue not the knowledge of God, or hauing had the knowledge of God, haue corrupted and chaunged the same, &c. The Apostle to the *Romanes* sayth, who-soeuer haue sinned without the Law shall perish without the Lawe; and who-soeuer haue sinned in the Lawe, shall be iudged by the Lawe. He that is without the Lawe, is the godlesse, or impious man, who shall perish euerlastingly: but hee that is in the Lawe, is the sinner that beleeueth in GOD, who shall bee iudged by the Lawe, and *not perish*. And afterwardes hee addeth these wordes. If *Origen* do say, that no reasonable Creature shall perish, and attribute repentance to the diuell; what is that to vs, who say that the Diuell and his Angells and all impious men and preuaricators shall perish for euer, and that Christians if they shall be preuented and taken in sinne, shal be saued after punishment?

Here we see the difference made, not between one degree of sinners, and another, but betweene sinners that professe rightly, or impious and vngodly men, that haue not the knowledge of God; or by heresie haue peruerted the same: betweene men sinning without the Lawe, and so perishing; and men sinning in the Lawe, that is, hauing the true knowledge of the Lawe, and so iudged by it, and yet not perishing euerlastingly. VVhence it followeth necessarily, that hee thinketh all right beleeuers shall bee saued. VVhich is farther confirmed, in that, hauing excluded impious men, he speaketh generally of Christians, as in a state of saluation not-withstanding sinne, though after greeuous punishments to bee indured.

In his commentaries vpon *Esay*, hauing spoken of their conceipt who thinke, that all that haue sinned and offended God, shall in the end finde mercy, and that no torments shall bee eternall; he concludeth in this sort:

[b] *As wee beleeue that the torments of the diuell, of such as deny God, and of impious men, which haue sayd in their hearts, there is no God, are eternall: so wee thinke, that the sentence of the iudge, that shall bee pronounced vppon sinners and vngodly men, who yet are Christians, whose workes are to bee tryed and purged in the fire, shall be moderate and mixed with clemency.* VVhere

[b] *In vltima verba Esaiæ.*

we

wee see againe, hee maketh not the difference betweene the degrees of sinne, as the *Romanistes* doe, but betweene impious men, that say in their heartes *there is no God*: that deny God and his truth; and Christians that are vnrighteous and sinners. Neyther are those wordes, *whose workes are to be tryed and purged in the fire*, to bee taken distinctiuely, to note forth vnto vs one certaine degree of Christians, who shall suffer a temporall punishment in fire, as Maister *Higgons* would haue them: but explicatiuely, to signifie the condition of all Christians. VVhich appeareth, because, otherwise he would not haue sayd of sinners, and yet Christians; but of sinners; and yet such Christians, whose workes are to bee tryed in the fire. This explication is added to putte a difference betweene Christians, and such as are no Christians; because the workes of Christians onely, and of all Christians, shall come to bee tryed in the fire of Gods iudgement, others beeing iudged already, as *Hierome* speaketh, and adiudged to eternall perdition.

These circumstances of the words of *Hierome* considered, I thinke there is no indifferent Reader, but will conceaue his opinion to haue bene, as I haue deliuered it: and that I haue no way wronged him, but that *Higgons* hath causelesly wronged Mee?

Some places there are in *Hierome* that are brought to proue, that he was of another opinion, but they proue nothing. The first is out of his Commentaries vppon *Hosea*, where hee saith, [c] *When heretickes see men offend against* God, *they say* God *seeketh nothing of them, but the verity of faith for this cause the people are not humbled, but they reioyce in their sinnes, and go forward with a stiffe necke: wherefore the People and Priest, Maister and Schollers, are bound vppe in the same iudgement.* This place is alledged to no purpose: For here *Hierome* sheweth onely, that Heretickes teaching falsely, that God requireth not good workes; and such as beleeuing them, shall reioyce in euill doing, shall perish: which is no way contrary to the other conceipt, that right beleeuing Christians, liuing ill, shall in the end be saued.

[c] *In cap. 4. Hoseæ.*

The next place they bring, is out of his Commentaries vppon *Mathew*: the wordes are these: [d] *Marke prudent reader, that both punishments are eternall, and that euerlasting life hath no more feare of any fallings away*, which no way contraryeth the opinion of *Hierome* before mentioned. For hee is resolued, that the punishments of the Diuell, his Angells, and all impious ones, are eternall: but thinketh right beleeuers, though liuing wickedly, shall bee punished but for a time.

[d] *In cap. 25. Math.*

That out of his Commentaries vppon the *Galathians* [e] *That emnity, contention, wrath, brawling, dissention, drunkennesse, and other like, which wee esteeme to bee but small euills, exclude vs from the Kingdome of* GOD, if it bee vnderstood of right beleeuers, according to *Hieroms* opinion, sheweth onely what these deserue, namely exclusion

[e] *In 5. ad Galat.*

from

from the Kingdome of GOD, but preiudice not the riches of his mercy towardes them that doe such things.

Heere by the way I would haue the reader to obserue a grosse ouersight in Maister *Higgons*; who sayth, [f] *it may as well bee inferred out of the writings of* Hierome, *that he thought all Christians shall in the end be saued, how damnably soeuer erring in matters of fayth, as right beleeuers*: Wheras, distinguishing the *godlesse* or *impious* man that neuer knew God, or corrupteth the knowledge he had of God, as heretickes, from a *sinner* or *vnrighteous man*, hee expresly pronounceth the one to perish euerlastingly and not the other. [f] Pag. 123.

Hauing thus cleared my selfe from the suspition of wrong offered to *Hierome*, which Maister *Higgons* would willingly fasten on mee, I will perswade my selfe to contemne the wronges hee doth mee: As namely, [g] *that I vse the testimonies of this Saint at my pleasure*, that *I vainly elude the truth, and vnconscionably intreat the Fathers*; *that I craftily conuay wordes into Saint* Augustine: *that I sort my termes wisely for my aduantage, and that I seeke to dazle the vnderstanding of my readers*: if Maister *Higgons* were a man of any worth, and should entreat mee thus ill without all cause as hee doth, I would lette him know more of my minde: but I haue resolued not to turne backe to euery Curre that barketh at mee. [g] Pag. 121. 122. & 123.

§. 4.

WHerefore from *Hierome* I will passe to *Ambrose*, whome this prophane *Esau* (who hath sold his birth-right for a messe of portage, for more I thinke hee will not haue for it) *bringeth* in as he sayth, [a] *to make vppe the messe*. In this idle discourse touching *Ambrose*, the poore fellow is to be pitied, or laughed at, accordingly as men are disposed: so ridiculously doth he behaue him-selfe. The circumstances of the matter are these. [a] Pag. 125.

In the place cited by him, first, [b] I shew in what sort men prayed lawfully for the dead, without any conceipt of Purgatory, namely respectiuely to their passage hence, and enterance into the other world, and for their resurrection, publike acquittall in the day of iudgement, and perfit consummation and blisse. [b] Third book of the church. cap. 17.

Secondly, I shewe first, what erroneous conceipts some particular men in former times had touching the possibility of helping men dying in mortall sinne, where-vppon they prayed for the dead, in such sort as the *Romanists* dare not doe: as for the deliuerance of men out of hell, or at least the suspension or mitigation of their paines, and seeondly, that they thought ỳ there is no iudgement to passe vpon men, till the last Day; that in the mean while, al men are holden either in som place vnder the earth, or else in some other place appointed for that purpose; so that they come

not

not into heauen, nor receaue the reward of their labours till the generall iudgement; & that out of this conceit ỹ praier in *Iames* his Liturgie grew, *that God would remember all the faithfull that are falne asleepe in the sleepe of death, since* Abell *the iust till this present day: and that he would place them in the land of the liuing*: as also many other like. Of this opinion I report *Iustine Martyr, Tertullian, Clemens Romanus, Lactantius, Victorinus Martyr*, Pope *Iohn* the two and twentith, and *Ambrose* to haue beene, besides sundry other.

All that which I haue sayd touching the lawfull and vnlawfull formes of praying for the dead, vsed amongst the Auncient, no way importing any conceipt in them of Purgatory, hee passeth ouer in silence, as no way able to refute any part of it; and likewise by his silence yeeldeth that *Iustine Martyr, Tertullian, Clement* Bishoppe of *Rome, Lactantius, Victorinus Martyr*, and Pope *Iohn* the two and twentith were of the opinion I speake off; to whome I might haue added *Irenæus, Bernard, Theophylact*, and many more. That all these should be charged with this opinion, or with this folly, as he will haue it, it neuer troubleth him: onely he is much moued that *Ambrose* should be charged with any such thing: It seemeth hee is not of the *Gregorian*, but of the *Ambrosian* Church, in that hee is careless what becommeth of his Popes, *Clement*, and *Iohn*, so all bee well with *Ambrose*. [c] *Hee was tormented* (he sayth) *with a necessary suspicion rather of my vnfaithfulnesse in this report, then of Saint Ambrose his folly in this matter.* Surely, if he were as wise as he is wilful, he would not passe his censures, as hee doth; for it is no such folly, but that as wise a man, as Saint *Ambrose*, might fall into it, to thinke as so many learned, worthy and renowned Diuines did; and therefore [d] *Alphonsus à Castro*, hauing charged the *Graecians* and *Armenians* with this error, saith, that after these, *Iohn* the two and twentith rose vppe, and embraced the same opinion; and least any man might giue lesse credit to his wordes, he sayth he wil report ỹ words of Pope *Adrian*, who writeth thus: *Last of all it is reported of* Iohn *the* 22h. *that he publikely taught, declared and commanded all to hold that soules though purged from sin, haue not that stole, whit his the cleare vision of God face to face, before the last iudgement. And it is sayd, that hee brought the vniuersity of* Paris *to that point, that no man could take any degree in Diuinity there, vnlesse first he did sweare to defend this error, and to adhere to it for euer:* thus far Pope *Adrian*. Besides these, there are other Patrons of this error, men of renowne and famous both for sanctity and science; to wit, the most blessed Martyr of Christ, *Irenæus*, *Theophylact* Bishoppe of *Bulgaria*, and blessed *Bernard*: Neyther should any man maruaile, that so great men fell into so pestilent an error; seeing, as blessed *Iames* the Apostle sayth, *He that offendeth not in wordes, is a perfit man.*

Not-withstanding the reader is heare to bee admonished, that hee thinke not, that this error detracteth any thing from the holynesse or learning

[c] Pag. 128.

[d] Lib. 3. aduersus Hæreses.

learning of so great men (so that it is no such imputation of folly to attribute this opinion to *Ambrose* as wise M^r. *Higgons* maketh it:) for whereas at that time the Church had defined nothing touching that matter, neyther had it euer beene called in question, and the testimonies of Scripture for that which is now defined, were not so expresse, but that they might be wrested into another sence; they might teach the one, or the other, without note of heresie: especially seeing there wanted not testimonies of Scripture, that seemed in some sort to fauour them. Thus farre *Alphonsus a Castro*. But let vs see how Maister *Higgons* will conuince mee, that I haue wronged *Ambrose*, which in so clamorous manner hee vndertaketh to doe: Surely this is the ground of his quarrell against mee: that hauing imputed this opinion to *Iustine Martyr*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens Romanus*, *Lactantius*, *Victorinus*, and *Ambrose*; in the margent I refer the reader to *Sixtus Senensis*, who yet excuseth *Ambrose* from this error. But the silly Nouice should know, that I doe not say *Sixtus Senensis* attributeth that opinion to *Ambrose*; and that I put not his name in the margent, as if I grounded my imputation vppon his authority: For if I would haue done so, I could haue mustered together a farre greater number then I haue done.

But because it had bene tedious to haue sette downe the wordes of all those I mention, wherein they expresse their opinion, in the margent I referre the reader to *Sixtus Senensis*, who reporteth their words at large, according to the course of times wherein they flourished, that the reader within the compasse of one page may see what they say, without turning ouer their large volumes: and among other, the wordes of *Ambrose*, which I thinke, will strongly perswade him, he was of that opinion, which I impute vnto him, how-soeuer *Sixtus Senensis* by a fauorable construction labour to excuse him.

Lette vs see therefore if *Ambrose* will not witnesse for mee, that I haue done him no wrong, but truly reported his opinion. The first thing I imputed vnto him is, that he thinketh, as many other did before and after him, that there is no iudgement to passe vpon men till the last day; If this bee not cleerely proued out of *Ambrose* his owne wordes, lette the reader thinke I haue wronged him.

In his second booke of *Caine* and *Abell*, hee hath these wordes: *The Maister of a Shippe, when he hath brought his Shippe into the hauen, scarce thinketh he hath ended his labour, before he begin to seeke the beginning of a new *: the soule is loosed from the body, and after the end of this life, it is still holden in suspence, vpon the vncertainty and doubtfulnesse of the future iudgment; so is there no end where there is thought to be an end.*

* *Soluitur corpore anima & post fine vitæ huius, adhuc tamè futuri iudicij ambiguo suspenditur.*

The second thing I attribute to *Ambrose*, is, that he thinketh the soules of men are kept in some place appointed for that purpose, so that they come not into heauen till the generall iudgement. Let vs heare him speake

speake him-selfe, and then lette the reader iudge, whether he say not all
10. that I impute vnto him. In his booke • *de bono mortis*, he hath these words.

In the bookes of Esdras *wee read, that when the day of iudgement shall come, the earth shall restore the bodies of the dead, and the dust shall restore those reliques and remaines of the dead, which rest in the graues, and the secret habitations shall restore the soules which haue beene committed to them, and the most high shall be reuealed vpon the seate of iudgement.* From hence he saith, the *Gentills* tooke those thinges which they admire in the bookes of Philosophers; and (blaming them that they mingled superfluous and vnprofitable thinges, with those that are true, as the demigration of soules into bees, birds, and the like fancies) saith, it had beene sufficient for them to haue said, that soules deliuered out of mortall bodies, *petunt Haden*, that is, go into an inuisible place: which place in latin is called *Infernus*; and farther addeth, that the Scripture calleth these secret habitations of soules *Store-houses*. Here we see *Ambrose* saith there are certaine secret habitations of soules, which though they be higher then the receptacles of dead bodies, yet are rightly called ἅιδας in Greeke, and *Infernus* in Latin: and that these are *Store-houses* keeping those soules that are committed to thē til the resurrection, and then restoring them. If Maister *Higgons* do think that *Infernus* is Heauen, then I haue no more to say to him: otherwise I think the euidence of this place cannot be auoyded. The third thing I impute to *Ambrose*, is, that the soules of the iust receaue not the reward of their labors til the general iudgment. Touching which point he hath these
† vbi supra. words. † *The scripture, meeting with the complaints of men, which they do or may make, for that the iust which went before, seeme to be defrauded of the reward due vnto them for a long time, euen til the day of iudgment, wonderfully saith, that the day of iudgment is like vnto a ring or crown, wherin as ther is no slacknesse of the last, so is there no swiftnesse of the first; for the day of crowning is expected by all; that within it, they that are ouercome may be ashamed, and they that are conquerors may attayne the palme of victory:* and, after some other thinges inserted, he addeth, *that so long as the fulnesse of time is expected, the soules expect their due reward; though neyther the one sort be without all sence of euil, nor the other of good.* Thus if it had pleased Maister *Higgons* to looke into *Ambrose* him-selfe, and not to the opinion of *Senensis*, (to which I referre not the reader, as he vntruly saith I doe, but to the wordes of *Ambrose* cited by him) hee might haue found that I dealt faithfully and sincerely in this matter, and so haue spared a great number of reproachfull termes, he now bestoweth very liberally on mee.

Some man happily will say, that else-where *Ambrose* seemeth to place the soules of iust men in heauen, before the resurrection, and that this place, *de bono mortis*, is to be interpreted by them. Where-vnto I answere, that places where thinges are but spoken of in passage, and not purposely, are rather to bee interpreted by those wherein they are purposely handled

led, then otherwise: and therefore this place, *de bono mortis*, wherein he goeth about to describe at large the state of the dead, must bee a rule to interprete other places by. The most pregnant proofe that is brought to the contrary out of his indubitate workes, is out of his [g] epistle to the *Thessalonians*; where, speaking of *Acholius*, of whose death hee had lately heard, he sayth, *Hee is now an inhabitant of the higher world; a possessor of that eternall citty of* Hierusalem, *that is in heauen; that hee seeth there the vnmeasurable measure of that Citty, the pure gold, the pretious stone, perpetuall light, without any sunne, and these thinges truly were well knowne to him before, but now seeing face to face, he sayth as we haue heard, so haue wee seene in the Citty of the Lord of hoastes, in the Citty of our God:* and out of the last of his Epistles, where, speaking of certaine Martyrs, he saith, [h] *their soules are in heauen, their bodies on earth*: but the answere here-vnto for the reconciling of the seeming contradictions of *Ambrose*, is easie; for in the former place [i] *De bono mortis* he sheweth, that he thinketh, that the soules of the iust, by seauen seuerall degrees, as it were by the space of seauen dayes, are ledd along to take a view of the thinges they shall enioy after the iudgement: and that afterwardes they are gathered into their habitations, there to enioy the benefit of their quiet congregating, or gathering together: seauen dayes liberty they haue to see the former things, and then they are gathered into their habitations. The 7. degrees, by which they are led those 7. daies, are; 1. the consideration of their victory, which they haue obtained ouer the flesh & other like enemies. 2. the quiet they find in them-selues, from these perturbations, and tormentings of conscience, which the wicked are subiect vnto. 3. the Diuine testimony which they haue in them-selues, that they haue kept the Lawe, making them not to feare the vncertaine euent of the future iudgment. 4. their beginning to discerne their rest & future glory. 5. triumphant ioy, in that they are come out of the prison of a corruptible body, into light & liberty, and to possesse the inheritance promised to them. 6. the brightnes of their countenances, beginning to shine as the sunne. 7. their confident hastning to see the face and countenance of God. Hauing beene thus led along, they are brought into their habitations, where they comfort themselues, in the fore-sight of that which shall be, and rest peaceably, guarded by the Angells, in a place as he describeth it, aboue the earth and places of dead bodies, & yet below the highest heauen, the place of perfit happines. And so *Acholius* might be said by *Ambrose* to be *an inhabitãt of the higher places, & to see the glory of the* Hierusalem *that is aboue*, & yet not be in the highest heauen: but, he saith, *Acholius* is a possessor of that eternall Citty, and that the Marytrs bodies are on earth, and their soules in heauen, therfore he thought the spirits of the iust, to bee in the highest heauen, before the resurrectiõ. This consequence, I feare, will hardly be made good: for [k] *Bernard* (who is confessed to haue holden the opinion which I impute to *Ambrose*

g *Epistol. lib. 7. ep. 59.*

h *Lib. 10. Epist. vlt.*

i *Cap. 11.*

k *In festo omnium Sanctorum Serm*

broſe) maketh three eſtates of ſoules: the 1. *in Tabernaculis*, the 2. *in Atriis*: and the 3. *in Domo interiori*: That is; the firſt in Tents or Tabernacles, while they remayne in the corruptible bodies of men that are in the warfare of Chriſt in the world: the ſecond, in the outward Courtes of the Lords houſe; and the third, in the inner roomes of the houſe of God: ſo ſorting theſe thinges, that both the latter ſtates of ſoules of men may bee ſayd and thought to bee in a ſort in heauen, and to haue poſſeſſion of the eternall *Ieruſalem*, that is in Heauen, and yet but one of them be in the higheſt heauen, where the perfection of the happy viſion of God is: to which purpoſe it is, that Saint *Auguſtine* ſayth: [l] *after this life, thou ſhalt not bee there where the Saintes ſhall bee, to whome it ſhall bee ſayd, come yee bleſſed of my father, receaue the Kingdome which was prepared for you from the beginning of the world; but thou mai:t be where the proud rich man in the middeſt of torments ſaw a farre off the poore man, ſometimes full of vlcers, reſting: in that reſt thou ſhalt ſecurely expect the day of iudgement.*

l *In Pſal. 36.*

Heere hee denyeth directly the ſoules of the iuſt to bee in heauen, where they ſhall be after the reſurrection, and general iudgement. In his [m] Confeſſions he ſayth, *Now* Nebridius *liueth in the boſome of* Abraham, *what-ſoeuer that it is that is ſignified by that boſome; there liueth my* Nebridius, *my ſweete friend.* Heere wee ſee hee is doubtfull what the boſome of *Abraham* is.

m *Lib. 9. cap. 3.*

Vppon [n] *Geneſis* hee doubteth, whether the ſoules of the iuſt bee in the third heauen, or not: which peremptorily in the place before cited he denyed. Neyther doth hee ſpeake thus, doubtfully touching the place only, but touching the ſtate of happineſſe alſo: for in his Retractations thus hee writeth: [o] *That maketh vs moſt happy, whereof the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, ſaying, then ſhall I ſee him face to face; and then ſhall I know as I am knowne: they that haue found this, are to bee ſayd to be in the poſſeſſion of bleſſedneſſe; but who theſe moſt bleſſed ones are who are in that poſſeſſion, it is a great queſtion: that the holy Angells are, there is no queſtion; but concerning holy men departed, whether they may bee ſayd to bee now already in that poſſeſſion, it is doubtfull, &c.* Surely it is maruayle if Saint *Auguſtine* eſcape the cenſure of Maiſter *Higgons*, who pronounceth it folly to doubt of theſe thinges.

n *Lib. 12. cap. 34.*

o *Retract. li. 2. cap. 14.*

P *Sixtus Senenſis* ſayth, we muſt ciuilly interpret Saint *Auguſtine* in theſe his ſayings; but q *Bellarmine* ſaith directly, hee ſometimes doubted of the place where the ſoules of the iuſt are after death: and that vppon the 36. *Pſalme* he denyeth them to bee there, where after the iudgement they ſhall bee. This is that *Auguſtine*, that Maiſter *Higgons*, in his ſcurril and ruffian-like phraſe, ſaith, [r] was not ſo eaſily to bee laded by mee, as *Ambroſe*; Thinking them al Iades as it ſeemeth, and vnfit for ſuch a horſeman as hee is to ride on, that haue beene doubtfull or found to erre in this

P *Lib. 6. Annotat. 345.*

q *De Sactorũ beatitud. lib. 1 cap. 5.*

r P. 121.

this point; if hee doe, I would desire to know of him what he thinketh of *Irenaus*, [s] who saith, *that the soules of men dying shall goe into an inuisible place appointed for them by God, and shall abide there till the resurrection, attending and wayting for it; and that after, receauing their bodies and perfitly rising againe, that is, corporally, as Christ rose, they shall come into the sight of God.* Of *Iustine Martyr*, who saith [t] *no man receaueth the reward of the things he did in this life, till the resurrection: that the soule of the good theefe, that was crucified with Christ, entered into Paradise, and is kept there till the day of resurrection, & reward; that there the soules of good men do see the humanity of Christ, themselues, the things that are vnder them, and besides, the Angels & Diuels.* Of *Tertullian* who sayth: [u] *nulli patet cælum, terrâ adhuc salua, ne dixerim clausa:* that is, heauen is opē to none, while the earth remaineth safe & whole, that I say not shut vp: & againe, [x] *thou hast our booke of Paradise, wherein we determine that euery soule is sequestred,* apud inferos, *with them that are in the lower dwellings, till the day of the Lord.* Of *Lactantius*, [y] who wil haue no man think that soules ar iudged presently after death, but that they are all detayned and kept in one common custody, till the time come when the greatest iudge shall examine their workes. Of *Victorinus Martyr*, who vpon those words of *Iohn* in the Reuelation, *I saw the soules of the slaine vnder the Altar of God*, obserueth, that in the time of the Lawe, there were two Altars, one of Gold, within; another of brasse, without; that as heauen is vnderstood by that golden Altar, that was within, to which the Priests entered only once in the yeare; so by the brasen Altar, the earth is vnderstood, vnder which is *Infernus*, a region remoued from paines and fire, & the resting place of the Saints; in which the iust are seen, and heard of the vngodly, and yet they cannot passe one to another.

[s] *Aduersus hereses. li. 5. in fine.*

[t] *Lib. quæstiō. à Gentib. propositarum. quæst. 76.*

[u] *Aduersus Marcionem. lib. 4.*

[x] *Ibid.*

[y] *Diuinar. Institit. lib. 7. cap. 21.*

Of *Bernard*, whose opiniō [z] *Alphonsus à Castro* confesseth to be, as I haue said; and [a] *Sixtus Senensis* likewise; but thinketh that he is to bee xcused with a benigne affection, because of the exceeding great number of renowned Fathers of the Church, which seemed to giue authority to this opinion by their testimony, amongst whom he reckoneth *Ambrose* for one. Lastly, of Pope *Iohn* the 22. who was violent in the maintenance of this opinion?

[z] *Li. 3. Aduersus Hereses.*

[a] *Vbi suprà.*

These premises considered, let the Reader iudge, whether Maister *Higgons* had any cause to complaine of *want of faithfulnesse and exactnesse in me*, in that *I* say, that many of the Fathers thought there is no iudgement to passe vppon men till the last day, that all men are holden eyther in some place vnder the earth, or else in some other place appointed for that purpose, so that they come not into heauen, nor receaue the reward of their labours till the generall iudgement: and that many made prayers for the dead out of this conceipt, such as that is in *Iames* his Liturgy:

that God would remember all the faithfull that are falne a sleepe in the sleepe of death since Abel *the* Iust *till this present time.* For I do not make this the ground of the generall practise, and intention of the Church, in her prayers, as this shameleſſe companion would make men beleeue.

§. 5.

[a] Pag. 134. FRom the foure Doctors of the Church, and the ſuppoſed wronges offered to them; he proceedeth to ſhew that I [a] *calumniate a worthy perſon, to defend the inexcuſable follie of our* Geneuian *Apoſtle*; his meaning is that I wrong *Bellarmine*, to iuſtifie *Caluin*: but what is the wrong done to the Cardinall? [b] Doctor *Field*, ſaith he, *accuſeth Bellarmine vniuſtly of trifeling and ſenceleſſe foolery in the queſtion of prayer for the dead:* Let the reader take the paynes to peruſe the [c] place cited by Maiſter *Higgons* out of my booke, and hee ſhall finde him to be a very falſe, vnhoneſt, and triſeling fellow in ſo ſaying. For firſt, I doe not accuſe *Bellarmine* of ſenceleſſe foolery in the matter of prayer for the dead, (as hee vntruly reporteth againſt his owne knowledge,) but in that he ſeeketh to calumniate Maiſter *Caluine*, worthy of eternall honor, in very childiſh ſort, about the name of Merit. *Caluin* ſayth, *the Fathers were farre from the popiſh error touching merit, and that yet they vſed the word, whence men haue ſince taken occaſion of error; therfore ſayth* Bellarm: *he diſſenteth from al antiquity, and acknowledgeth the* Romane *faith to be the ancient fayth & religion.* This is *Bellarmines* form of reaſoning againſt *Caluin*, if he ſay any thing: which whether it be ful of ſenceles foolery, or not, I wil refer it to the iudgment of any one that hath his ſences. Yet not-withſtanding Maiſter *Higgons* goeth on, and maketh a conſolatory concluſion, [d] that *Bellarmine* needeth not to be diſcontented, that I haue thus wronged him; ſeeing I haue likewiſe vniuſtly accuſed the Fathers. But if hee may bee as iuſtly charged with foolery in his manner of reaſoning againſt *Caluin*, as the Fathers are truly reported to haue holden the opinion imputed to them by me, as there is no queſtion but hee may, I thinke this comfortable concluſion will not be very cordiall vnto him.

[b] Pag. 130.

[c] Third book of the church. chap. 17.

[d] Pag. 130.

Secondly, I doe not ſay that *Bellarmine* doth trifle in the queſtion of prayer for the dead; as he likewiſe, adding one lye to another, ſayth I doe; but in prouing the doctrine of the *Romane* Church, that now is to bee the ſame with that which was of old. And therefore ſilly Maiſter *Higgons* knoweth not what he writeth. But that *Bellarmine* doth indeed (whatſoeuer this trifeler ſayth to the contrary) egregiouſly trifle, I will demonſtrate to the reader in ſuch ſort, that neither *Higgons*, nor any of his new maiſters, ſhal be able to auoyd it. Thus therfore the caſe ſtandeth. *Bellarmine* [e] in his diſcourſe of the notes of the Church (not in the particular queſtion

[e] *Lib. 4. de notis eccleſiæ. cap. 9.*

queſtion of prayer for the dead) vndertaketh to proue the conſpiring of the preſent *Roman* Church with the true Catholique Church that was of old: this, he ſayth, may be proued by producing the ſayings & ſentences of the Fathers touching euery particular controuerſie, now on foot: but becauſe this would be a tedious courſe, he ſaith there is another ſhorter and certayner way, by demonſtrating out of the confeſſion of Proteſtant writers, firſt, that the points now defended by Papiſts, are the doctrines of all the Ancient: ſecondly, that the Doctrine of the Proteſtants was condemned by the Auncient Church.

Touching the firſt, he goeth about to proue, that Proteſtants confeſſe the pointes of Popiſh doctrine to bee the doctrine of the Auncient, becauſe *Caluin* in his Inſtitutions, when hee oppugneth the aſſertions of Papiſtes, confeſſeth, that in ſo doing, he oppoſeth him-ſelfe againſt al Antiquity. Amongſt other particulars hee giueth inſtance of prayer for the dead. So that the thing which the Cardinall is to proue, is this: that *Caluin* impugning the popiſh manner of prayer for the dead, to deliuer men out of Purgatory, confeſſeth himſelfe in ſo doing, to be oppoſit to al Antiquity; & conſequently, that al Antiquity beleeued Purgatory, & admitted a neceſſity of praying for the deliuerance of men out of it. This he doth not, but is forced to confeſſe, that *Caluin* affirmeth, that the doctrine of Purgatory, and prayer to deliuer men thence, was vnknowne to all Antiquity: whence it followeth vnauoydably, that the Cardinal doth nothing but trifle; for if to talke idlely, and not to conclude the thing intended, be to trifle, he is found to do ſo moſt groſſely. Neyther doth it helpe the matter, that *Caluin* confeſſeth that many of the Fathers were ledde into error in the matter of prayer for the dead, as namely ſuch as thought they might ſuſpend, mitigate, or wholly take away the paines and puniſhments of men in hell; for theſe errors the *Romaniſts* condemne, and diſlike as much as wee: but, ſaith Maiſter *Higgons*, [f] Maiſter *Caluin* confeſſeth the action of praying for the dead was performed by the Ancient, howſoeuer hee litigate about the intention. It is true, he doth ſo, but his confeſſion maketh neyther whot nor cold to any thing now in controuerſie & queſtion between Vs and the Papiſts. Wherfore to ſilence this pratler, that multiplyeth vaine wordes without all ſence or reaſon; firſt we ſay, that neyther *Caluin*, nor any of vs, did euer ſimply condemne all prayer for the dead: for wee all pray for the reſurrection, publike acquittall in the day of *CHRISTE*, and perfitte conſummation of them that are dead in the *LORD*; and therefore the generall practiſe and intention of the Auncient in praying for the dead, is not condemned by vs. Secondly, wee ſay, that ſome of the Auncient prayed for the dead in ſuch ſort, as neyther wee nor the *Romaniſtes* dare allowe, as for the ſuſpenſion, mitigation, or releaſing of the paynes of ſuch as are in hell; and ſo were carryed into error, as *Caluin* rightly noteth.

[f] Pag. 133.

Thirdly we say, that neuer any man amongst the Ancients knew any thing of Purgatory, or the popish manner of praying to deliuer men thence. So that I trifle not in accusing *Bellarmine*, and defending *Calvin*, as hee is pleased to tell mee I do, in the front and title of his next ensuing chapter, but he talketh idly as his manner is.

§. 6.

[a] *Pag.134.*

His next challenge is, that [a] I make an vntrue construction of the Heresie of *Aërius*, condemning the commendations of the dead, vsed in the Church at that time. For the clearing whereof, wee must make a difference betweene the generall practise and intention of the Church, and the priuate opinion and conceipt of some particular men in the Church.

The generall practise of the Church was, first, to name the names of the dead, & to keep a commemoration of them, to signifie & expresse the assurance that resteth in the liuing, that they are not extinct, but ỹ they are & liue with God, that their spirits and soules are immortall, and that their bodies shall rise againe. Secondly to offer the sacrifice of the Eucharist, that is, of praise and thanks-giuing for them, to desire of God the destroying of the last enemy, which is death, the raysing of them vppe agayne in the last day, the publike remission of their sinnes in the iudgement of that great day, and their perfit consummation and blisse; which *Aërius* could not condemne without iust note of hereticall temerity and rashnesse; and all these things are excellently deliuered by [b] *Epiphanius*, and rightly iustified by him as right and good.

[b] *Heres.75.*

Some there were that extended these praiers farther, supposing that men dying in the state of sinne, may bee releeued by the piety and deuotion of the liuing; whose erroneous conceipt *Aërius* hauing an eye vnto, rather then to the generall practise & intention of the Church, inferred, that, if it be so, men may do what euils they wil, and be freed from the punishments of them, by the meanes of such friendes as they thinke good to procure and assure to them in the end, to make prayers for them after they are gone. To which obiection, *Epiphanius* answereth, that though the prayers of the liuing cut not off the whole punishment of sinne, yet some mercy is obtained for sinners by them, at the least for some mitigation or suspension of their punishments: of which opinion, as I haue shewed before, many other were as wel as *Epiphanius*: & [c] S. *Augustin* seemeth not much to dislike it, saying; if the mercyful men of his time would haue contented themselues with an opinion of ỹ only mitigation or suspension of the punishments of the damned, he would not haue striued much with them about ỹ matter: so that if *Aërius* his reprehension had reached onely to this erroneous conceipt, he had neuer bin condemned for his censure: but that

[c] *Enchirid. ad Laurentium, cap. 109.*

in

in that, vppon the consideration of the error of some particular men, hee presumed to condemne a generall custome, that was lawfull and good, he was iustly condemned him-selfe, as rash and inconsiderate; which things considered, the [d] contradiction which this simple fellow would fain force vppon vs, is easily avoyded: for his reprehension of the particular erroneous conceipt, and sinister intention of some men, mis-vnderstanding the Churches prayers, is rightly iustified by Doctor *Humphrey*, and the rest named by him: and his reprehension of the generall practise and intention of the Church is rightly condemned by mee and others: and the Church of that time defended against his rash and inconsiderate censure.

[d] *Pag.* 138. & 140.

Neyther lette this fooliſh Fugitiue thinke that hee can blow vppe all with the breath of his mouth, and put away this distinction by the sound of his bare word, and by onely saying, I vainely excuse the folly of Protestants, which sheweth it selfe in the diuersity of their censures touching the heresie of *Aërius*; nor by sporting him-selfe with the soueraigne plaister applyed by mee; for it will be found to haue vertue to heale a greater wound then he can cause.

§. 7.

BVt it is time for mee to looke about mee, for I heare a horrible outcry, as if *Hanibal* were at the gates of the citty.

Theophilus Higgons causeth it to bee proclaymed with sound of Trumpet that [a] I haue shewed my selfe a notable trifeler in the question of Purgatory, and prayer for the dead, to the vtter confusion of my booke, and the Protestanticall Church. VVhen *Moyses* came downe from the Mount, and heard the noyse in the Campe, he sayd, [b] *it was not the noise of them that ouercome in battell, nor of them that are ouercome, but of singing.* So is this hideous clamor, but the venting of the boyish vanity of a fooliſh youth, in sporting sort, calling company to come and play with him; for all that he saith, will bee found to be lesse then nothing. The occasion of this strange out-cry is this.

[a] *Pag.* 153.

[b] Exod. 32. 18.

In the Appendix to the third booke, I shew, that there was nothing constantly resolued on in the *Romane* Church in the daies of our Fathers, before *Luther* began, touching that Purgatory that is denyed by vs, and defended by the Papists: which I haue demonstrated in such sort, that this fellow hath nothing to oppose against it, but flourishes of his youthfull Rhetorike.

For the more cleare and perfit vnderstanding whereof, the Reader must obserue, that wee all acknowledge a purging out of sinne, in the dissolution of soule and body, and in the first enterance of the soule into the state of the other world: But all the question is of the nature, kind, and

quality of it. *Luther* (saith *Belarmine*) admitteth, a kind of Purgatory, but of most short continuance: For hee supposeth that all sinnes are purged out by the dolors of death, or by the very separation of soule and body, wrought by death.

[e] *De purgatorio lib. 2. cap. 9*

Which opinion of *Luther* we all follow; and the same was embraced by many in the *Roman* Church in the daies of our fathers, before *Luther* was borne, who taught then, as wee doe now, that all veniall sinnes are done away and purged out in the moment of dissolution, and in the first entrance into the other world, as I haue shewed [d] before. So that concerning Purgatory properly, as it serueth to purge out the impurity of sinne, there was nothing resolued on in the daies of our Fathers, but that which we willingly admit.

[d] *In Appendice. cap. 20.*

But the Papists at this day deny, that all veniall sinnes are purged out in the dissolution of soule and body, and the first enterance into the state of the other world. They imagine that they are long in purging out, that they are purged in materiall fire, and that the place of there purging out is below in the earth, neately bordering vpon the Hell of the damned. This is the true difference betweene Protestants and Papists, and rightly deliuered by me, howsoeuer it please Maister *Higgons* to say, [e] I yeeld not the true difference in this matter, nor propose the question as in learning and honesty it became me.

[e] *Pag. 155.*

It is true, that he saith, that wee must distinguish matter of substance from matter of circumstance, and that it is sufficient to haue fundamentall vnity in the first, howsoeuer ther may be accidental diuersity in the second. But it is a matter of substance whether all sinnefulnesse bee purged out in the moment of dissolution; they deny it; we affirme it; and are well assured they can neuer proue that all our fathers agreed with them in this matter of substance; and therefore Maister *Higgons* may soone be answered, when he asketh, [f] where that man is, who in the time of our fathers denied Purgatory, or shewed any doutfulnesse therein against the essentiall Doctrine in which the true difference betwixt Papists & Protestants doth stand most eminently at this day; seeing there were found very many, as I haue shewed before, who not onely doubted of the circumstances of material fire, place, and instruments of punishment, but taught as wee doe against the Papists, in the most substantiall point of all other, that all sinnefulnesse is purged out of the soules of men departing hence in the state of grace, not by materiall fire, in a place of Purgation, vnder the earth, or neare Hell: not by being afflicted by the ministery of Deuills, or otherwise; but by the completion of the state of grace, getting full dominion in the soule, vpon her diuiding from the body, in the moment of dissolution. Now if al impurity and staine of sinne be purged out in the moment of dissolution by the

[f] *Pag. 158.*

taking away of impediments, and leauing grace to her selfe, that she may fill all with her diuine effects, as many of our fore-fathers beleeued, and taught; there is no such Purgatory, as the Papists at this day imagine.

If it be said, that though all sinne be purged out by death, in respect of the staine or sinfull impurity, yet the punishment remaineth, and so there is a kinde of Purgatorie, wherein men are to suffer the punishments due to sinnes past, though now perfectly blotted out: It will easily bee answered, that whatsoeuer is of force to doe away all impuritie of sinne offending God, is likewise able to reconcile God vnto vs, so perfectly, as that no guilt of punishments shall remaine. For, seeing it is the nature of grace to expell sinne, offending God, and to make men acceptable to God, that stood in termes of disfauour before; where grace is so perfect, as that it expelleth all sinfulnesse, there it must needes worke and procure a perfect reconciliation; with which, guilt of punishment cannot stand.

Besides, charity implieth a dislike of all that which is displeasing to God, whom we loue, and a sorrowe that wee haue offended him: therefore charitie in such perfection as is able to purge out all impuritie of sinne, implyeth dislike of that which in sinning was ill affected, and desired before; and sorrow for the same, equiualent to the pleasure and delight taken in sinning; and consequently doth satisfie God in such sort, as that no punishment shall come vppon him, that so sorroweth. Thirdly, the punishments of men pure, and cleane from sinne, for such sinnes as they formerly committed: if any such bee imagined, cannot bee named Purgatory-punishments, but satisfactorie onely. So that if all sinfulnesse bee purged out, there remaineth afterwards no Purgatorie, properly so named.

Lastly, if it were doubtfull in the dayes of our Fathers, as *Maister Higgons* g confesseth it was, whether the fire bee materiall, or not, in which men are to satisfie GODS displeasure: what kinde of suffering it is that is to satisfie, whether of sorrow onely, or some thing inflicted from with-out, and likewise how long it doth continue; it is euident, that not-with-standing any thing resolued on in former times, GOD may bee so satisfied by the first conuersion of the soule vppon her seperation, turning vnto him in mislike of her former misdeeds, as that all guilte of punishments may bee vtterly taken away in the very moment of dissolution. g Pag. 154.

Whence it will follow, that nothing was constantly, certainly, and generally resolued on in the daies of our Fathers, touching the condition of such as dyed in an imperfect state of grace, contrary to any thing holden by vs at this daye. These premisses considered, and euery

of these thinges beeing confessed by Maister *Higgons*, or proued aboundantly by Mee, it seemeth the poore man is beside him-selfe, and that his discontentments haue made him madde. For otherwise what should
Pag. 158. moue him, like a madde man, to cry out in such sort, as he doth, [h] *That I haue disabled my booke, and ouerthrowne the Protestantical Church: that Papistes may triumph in the victory, which their chiefest enemies haue wrought in their behalfe, and ioyfully applaud the excellency of their cause, which enforceth her greatest aduersaryes to prostitute them-selues, to such base and dishonest courses.*

Let the base Runnagate looke to him-selfe, and his conscience will tell him that his courses haue bin base, dishonest, perfidious, and vnnaturall: (that I say not monstrous:) but our cause is such, as shall euer bee able to vphold it selfe against all opposers, without any such shifting deuices as they of the Aduerse faction are forced to vse, for the staying of that from falling, for a little while, that must fall and come to nothing, in despight of all that Diuells or diuelish men by lying, slaundering, murdering, and all hellish practises can do to sustaine it.

§. 8.

THus haue I breefely runne thorough his two bookes: and answered what-soeuer I concerneth my selfe in the same, and so might passe presently to his *Appendix*: but that towards the end of the second part of his second booke, he once agayne wrongeth that renowned Diuine Doctor *Humphrey*, in such sort as is not to be endured. For he chargeth him with
[a] Pag. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. vnfaithfulnesse in his relations, digressions from the matter, a generall imbecility of his whole discourse, obscurity, vncertainty, notorious deprauing of Saint *Augustine*, and other vnfaythfull practises against the same Father: and sayth, the detection of his falshood ministred the first occasion of his change.

If Maister *Higgons* were not better knowne, then trusted, some man happily would bee moued to thinke that some very grosse and vnexcusable ouer-sights are found in D. *Humphrey*, against whome hee so clamorously inueigeth: but seeing all the world taketh notice what manner of man hee is, by that description of him, which is found in a letter of a worthy Knight lately written to him, and another of his owne father written to the same Knight, I think there is no man of any sence that will regard his words any more then the braying of an Asse, or the bellowing of an Oxe when he lacketh fodder: yet to make it appeare that he hath calumniated & wronged a worthy person without al cause or shew of cause, I will breefely sette
[b] Ra. 3. downe the sum of D. *Humphreys* discourse. Whereas [b] *Campian* obiecteth to vs that we haue begged certaine fragments of opinions from *Aërius*, and others condemned as Heretikes, first he answereth, that we haue

not

not receaued our faith from Heretikes, but from the holy Apoſtles and their ſucceſſors. Secondlyhe ſaith, that we condemne al the heretical poſitions of *Aërius*, and yet admit what-ſoeuer he held rightly, & agreeably to the holy Scripture: in which ſaying, Maiſter *Higgons* telleth vs the Papiſts wil concur with him. Thirdly, he alloweth a commemoration of the Saints and Holy ones departed, and conſequently diſliketh *Aërius* for condemning the ſame. Fourthly, he condemneth that abuſe in praying for the dead, which *Aërius* condemned. Fifthly he ſaith, the commemoration of the departed is not commaunded in Scripture, but holden by cuſtome of the Church, Sixtly, that if wee die not in a true and liuely faith, al the prayers in the world cannot helpe vs, contrary to the error of thoſe men, who thought that not onely a ſuſpenſion or mittigation, but a totall releaſe of the puniſhments of men dying in mortall ſinnes, may bee procured: which error * *Auguſtine* refuteth by the euidence of the wordes of the Apoſtle, that vnleſſe wee here ſow vnto the ſpirit, wee cannot reape immortality. And againe, that we muſt all ſtand before the Tribunall ſeate of Chriſt, that euery one may receaue according to the things he did in this body, whether good or ill.

* *De cura pro mortuis.*

Whence he ſaith is inferred, that vnleſſe men depart hence in ſtate of grace, all the world cannot releeue them afterwardes. Theſe beeing the principall and moſt materiall partes and circumſtances of D *Humphrey* his diſcourſe; touching *Aërius*, lette vs ſee what are the exceptions that Maiſter *Higgons* taketh againſt him.

The firſt is, that hee ſaith there is no Scripture for that prayer for the dead: that was anciently vſed in the Church, & that *Auguſtine* ſeemeth to confeſſe as much; which hee [c] goeth about to improue, becauſe *Auguſtine* alleadgeth the booke of *Machabees* for the practiſe of praying for the dead. But for anſwere here-vnto, 1. we ſay that D. *Humphrey* denyeth, that there is any precept requiring vs to pray for the dead, found in Scripture; & ſpeaketh nothing of examples: And therfore the allegatiō of the book of *Machabees* is impertinent. 2. that the prayer of *Iudas Machabaus* mentioned in that book, was not for the releeſe of the dead, but for the remiſſion or not imputing of their ſins to the liuing, leaſt GOD ſhould haue ſmitten them for the treſpaſſe committed by thoſe wicked ones, that diſpleaſed God & periſhed in their ſin, though the author of that book make another conſtruction of it. 3. that the booke of *Machabees* is not Canonical; & though *Auguſtine* ſeeme to incline to an opinion that it is ſo, [d] hee is not reſolued that it is ſo: yea [e] ſome are of opinion that hee thought it Canonicall only in reſpect of the Canon of manners & not of faith, but Mr. *Higgons* wil proue, that in the iudgment of *Auguſtin*, prayer for the dead is plainly expreſſed, or ſufficiently deduced from ſ Scriptures of the New Teſtament; in that S. *Auguſtin* hauing alledged the bookes of *Machabees*, to proue that prayer was made for the dead, ſaith, if this were no where read in the Old Scriptures, the authority of the Church were greatly

[c] Pag. 169.

[d] *Contra Gaudentij. Epiſt. lib. 2. cap. 23.*

[e] *Caietan.*

greatly to be regarded, which shineth in this custom: which is a very silly inference. For neyther doth it follow, that if it be not in the old, it must be in the new; neyther would *Augustine* haue presently vrged the authority of the Church, vpon the supposition of not finding it in the old Scriptures, but the books of the new Testament, if hee had thought it to be found in the new: seeing hee seeketh first and principally to proue it by Scripture. His second exception is, that *Augustine* vrgeth the custome of the Vniuersall Church, for the commendation of the dead, and pronounceth, that without intollerable insolency and madnesse, this authority cannot bee reiected: whence hee inferreth that both these must inevitably fall vppon Doctor *Humphrey* and his Church: but the poore fellow that chargeth other men with madnesse, if hee were in his right wittes, might easily haue found, that Doctor *Humphrey* doth not condemne the commemoration, and commendation of the dead: for hee sayth expresly, *We retayne it in our colledges.*

I obserued before, that we must carefully distinguish the generall practise and intention of the whole Church from priuate conceipts; the whole Church commemorated the dead, offered the sacrifice of praise for them, prayed for them in the passage, and for their resurrection and consummation; all which thinges we allow: so that neyther Doctor *Humphrey*, nor we, condemne the Vniuersall Church, but thinke it were madnesse so to doe: but the priuate fancies of such as extended their prayers farther, thinking they might ease, mitigate, suspend, or wholy take away the paines of men damned in hell (for of Purgatory no man thought in the Primitiue Church) wee reiect. This erroneous conceipt and practise *Aërius* rightly condemned, and Doctor *Humphrey* and wee all agree with him in the same dislike: but hee did ill to impute this error to the whole Church, and to condemne that which was good and laudable vppon soe weake a ground. Of the difference which Maister *Higgons* would faine make betweene our commendation of the dead vsed in colledges, and that vsed anciently, whereof Saint *Augustine* speaketh, I haue spoken before; wherefore let vs come to his last exception against Doctor *Humphrey*, which is that hee handleth the matter artificially, to make a credulous reader beleeue that Saint *Augustine* him-selfe doth convell the vse of prayer for the dead, by those sentences of the Apostle, that [f] *wee cannot reape if wee sow not heere*, and that [g] *wee must all stand before the iudgement seate of Christ, that euery one may receaue according to the things he hath done in his body, whether good or euill.* This imputation is nothing else, but a malicious and impudent charging of him with that hee neuer thought off. For the onely thing hee sayth *Augustine* held, proued by these sentences, is, that vnlesse we depart hence in a true fayth, wee cannot bee releeued by any deuotion of other men after wee are gone. Which is so vndoubtedly true, that I thinke

[f] Gal. 6.8.
[g] 2. Cor. 5.10.

Higgons

Higgons him-ſelfe dareth not deny it. But that *Auguſtine* thought that men dying in the ſtate of grace and faith of Chriſt may be holpen by the prayers of the liuing, hee neyther made queſtion him-ſelfe, nor euer ſought to make his reader beleeue otherwiſe. Neyther doe wee diſſent from *Auguſtine* in this point, if the prayers hee ſpeaketh of bee made reſpectiuely to the paſſage hence and enterance into the other world, as I haue ſhewed before. The only thing that is queſtionable betweene Vs & our Aduerſaries being, whether prayers may releeue men in a ſtate of temporall affliction after this life, whereof *Auguſtine* neuer reſolued any thing, what-ſoeuer this pratling *Apoſtata* ſay to the contrary.

Theſe things being ſo, let the reader iudge whether the detection of falſhood and ill dealing in Doctor *Humphrey* could poſſibly occaſion Maiſter *Higgons* his change, as hee would make the world beleeue; there being nothing found in his whole diſcourſe, that is not moſt true and iuſtifiable, by all courſe of learning. But becauſe he is ſufficiently chaſtiſed by others, and knoweth too wel the true cauſe of his running away to be things of a far other nature then thoſe he pretendeth, I will proſecute this matter no farther againſt him.

The Appendix.

§. 1.

NOw it remayneth that I come to the Appendix, which he addeth to his booke, which he deuideth into two partes, whereof the firſt concerneth Me, the ſecond, D. *Morton*, which he hath anſwered already.

In that part which concerneth Me, he vndertaketh to proue, that I notoriouſly abuſe the name and authority of *Gerſon*, *Groſthead*, &c. to defend the reformation made by Princes and Prælats in our Churches. Wherefore that the reader may perceaue I haue not abuſed theſe reuerend and worthy men, but that he wrongeth both Them and Me, I will take the paynes to examine his whole diſcourſe, though it wil be very tedious ſo to do, by reaſon of the confuſed and perplexed manner of handling of thinges in the ſame, without all order and method. In the firſt chapter he doth but lay the foundation of his intended building: and therfore gathereth together a great number of poſitions and ſayings out of my booke, miſerably mangled, and torne one from another, all which ſhall bee defended when he commeth to ſay any thing againſt them, in ſuch ſort, as that it ſhall euidently appeare, that there is no falſhood, or colluſion in any part of my diſcourſe, as this falſe and treacherous Fugitiue is pleaſed to ſay there is. Onely one thing there is heere, that may not bee paſſed ouer becauſe it hath no farther proſecution in that which followeth. His words are theſe. [a] *Whereas* Bellarmine *doth obiect the inteſtine diuiſions, and*

[a] Pag. 3.

conflicts

„ conflicts of the pretenſed Goſpellers, this Doctor turneth him of with this
„ anſwer; we ſay that theſe diuerſities are to be imputed wholy to our Ad-
„ uerſaries; for when there was a reformation to be made of abuſes and
„ diſorders in matters of practiſe, and manyfold corruption in many points
„ of Chriſtian Doctrine, and in a Councell by a Generall conſent it could
„ not be hoped for, as *Gerſon* long before out of his experience ſaw and pro-
„ feſſed, by reaſon of the preuailing faction of Popes flatterers, it was not
„ poſſible but that ſome diuerſity ſhould grow, while one knew not, nor ex-
„ pected to know what another did. This hee ſaith, is a very admirable
„ deuiſe.

For anſwere hereunto, we muſt obſerue, that the diuiſions of this part of Chriſtendome are of two ſorts: the firſt is, from the faction of the Pope; the ſecond amongſt them that haue abandoned the vſurped Authority of the Pope. That the Pope & his adherents were the cauſe of the former of theſe diuiſions and the conſequents of it, is affirmed, by beter men then Maiſter

[b] *In conſultatione articulo. 7.*

„ *Higgons. I will not deny* (ſaith [b] *Caſſander*, a man highly eſteemed for piety
„ and learning by the Emperours *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian*) that many
„ in the beginning were moued out of a Godly affection, more ſharpely to
„ reprehend certaine manifeſt abuſes, and that the chiefe cauſe of this cala-
„ mity and diſtraction or rent of the Church, is to bee attributed to them,
„ who, puffed vp with the ſwelling conceipts of their eccleſiaſticall power,
„ proudly and diſdainfully contemned and repelled them that admoniſhed
„ them rightly of things amiſſe. And therefore I doe not thinke that any
„ firme peace is euer to be hoped for, vnleſſe the beginning thereof be from
„ them that gaue the cauſe of this diuiſion; that is, vnleſſe they that haue
„ the gouernment of the Church, remit ſomething of that there too
„ great rigor, and liſtning to the deſires of many Godly ones, correct ma-
„ niſeſt abuſes, according to the rule of ſacred Scripture and the auncient

[c] *In conſultatione. articulorum Lutheri.*

„ Church, from which they are departed. &c. Touching that, ſaith [c] *Contare-*
„ *nus*, which the *Lutherans* ſay in the firſt, and laſt place of manifold and
„ great abuſes brought into the Church of Chriſt; againſt which they ſo ex-
„ claime, and concerning which they haue made ſo many complaints, to ex-
„ preſſe their grecuances, I haue nothing to ſay; but firſt of all, to pray vnto
„ almighty God, the Father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, and his only begotten
„ Sonne, who continually maketh interceſſion for vs, and the Holy Spirit,
„ wherewith we haue beene anoynted to be Chriſtians by the grace of God,
„ and the Sacrament of Baptiſme, that he will reſpect his Church now totte-
„ ring, and in great danger, and that he will moue the hearts of the Prelats
„ of the Church, that at laſt for a little while putting away this moſt perni-
„ tious ſelfeloue, they may be perſwaded to correct things manifeſtly amiſſe
„ and to reforme themſelues. There needeth no Councell, there need no ſil-
„ logiſmes, there needeth no alledging of places of Scripture, for the quie-
„ ting of theſe ſtirres of the *Lutherans*; but there is need of good mindes of

charity

charity towards God and our neighbour, and of humility.&c. Touching the diuisions of them that haue abandoned the tyrannical gouernment of the Bishoppe of *Rome*, and imbraced the sincere profession of the heauenly truth, whome this *Lucian* calleth pretensed Gospellers, they are neyther such, nor so many as our Aduersaries would make the world beleeue, as I haue shewed at large in the [d] place cited by Maister *Higgons*. But be they what they may be, I haue truly sayd that the *Romanists* are the causes of them, in that their obstinate resistance against all peaceable publike proceeding in the worke of reformation in a Generall Councell, forced men to take another course, and to take this worke in hand seuerally, in the seuerall Kingdomes of the world. That there was no hope of reformation by a Generall Councell, and that seuerall Kingdomes were to take care for the redressing of thinges amisse, within their owne compasse, I haue shewed out of *Gerson*: his wordes are these.

[d] Third book of the church, *cap.* 42.

[e] I see that the reformation of the Church will neuer bee brought to passe by a Councell, without the presidency of a well affected guide, wise, and constant: let the members therfore prouide for them-selues thorough all Kingdomes and Prouinces, when they shall be able, and know how to *compasse this worke.*

[e] *Gers.* 3. *part. apologet. de Concilio Constantien.*

Now that [f] this kinde of proceeding must needes bee accompanied with differences, though not of moment, nor reall, yet in shew greater then were to be wished, euery man I thinke will confesse that hath the sence of a man. Against all this Maister *Higgons* hath nothing to say; but, as if he had gone out of his countrey, and passed the Seas of purpose to become a iester amongst our melancholly countrey-men that are abroad, to make them merry, maketh a iest of it, as hee doth of all other thinges, and so passeth from it.

[f] *Idem de Concilio vnius obedientiæ.*

The second part.

§. 1.

BVt lette vs giue him leaue to sport him-selfe a little: wee shall haue him in earnest by and by. For in the next part of this chapter hee vnder-taketh to proue, that *Gerson*, (whome I bring in as a worthy guide of Gods Church in the time wherein he liued, and one that wished the reformation of thinges amisse) vtterly detested the reformation that hath bin transacted by *Luther*, *Zuinglius* and the rest. But his proofes wil be found too weake; for though it were granted that he erred in the matter of transubstantiation, inuocation of Saints, and some such like things, yet will it neuer be proued, that he erred heretically, or that hee was not willing to yeeld to the truth in these or any other things wherein he was deceiued, when it should bee made to appeare vnto him, *Cyprian* erred in the

matter

matter of rebaptization, *Lactantius*, & ſundry other were caried into the error of the Millenaries: many Catholiques in *Auguſtines* time thought that al Orthodox and right-beleeuing Chriſtians ſhalbe ſaued in the end, how wickedly ſoeuer they liue here: yet were they of one communion with them that thought otherwiſe.

If Maiſter *Higgons* thinke, that I produce *Gerſon* as a man fully profeſſing in euery point of Doctrine; as we do, he wholy miſtaketh me; for I was not ſo ſimple, either to thinke ſo, or to goe about to perſwade others ſo; but this is that which I ſaid, and ſtill conſtantly affirme, that God preſerued his true Church in the midſt of al the errors and confuſions of the Papacy; that the errors condemned by vs, neuer found generall and conſtant allowance in the daies of our Fathers; and that there were many, who held the foundation, and according to the light of knowledge which God vouchſafed them, wiſhed the reformation of ſuch things as were amiſſe, ſome of them diſcerning more of the errors and abuſes that were then found in the Church, and other fewer: of which number I reckon *Gerſon* to be one of eminent ſort & ranke. For this worthy Diuine beleeued as we doe, [a] that all our inherent righteouſneſſe is imperfit, yea, that it is like the polluted ragges of a Menſtruous woman, that it cannot endure the triall of Gods ſeuere iudgement: that [b] wee muſt truſt in the onely mercy and goodneſſe of God, if we deſire to be ſurely eſtabliſhed againſt all aſſaults: [c] that all ſinnes are by nature mortall: that [d] indulgences reach not to the dead: that they are but remiſſions of enioyned penance: that [e] the Pope hath no power to diſpoſe of the Kingdomes of the world; that he is like the Duke of *Venice* amongſt the great Senators of that State, greater then each one, but inferior to the whole companie of Bi hoppes; that [f] hee is ſubiect to error, and that in caſe of error or other ſcandalous miſdeamenour, hee may be iudicially depoſed: that [g] Chriſtian perfection conſiſteth neither in pouerty nor riches, but in a mind reſolued to regard theſe things, no farther then they ſtand with the loue of God, and ſerue for the aduancement of his glory and the good of men.

[a] *De conſolat. Theologiæ. li. 4. proſa. 1.*
[b] *Ibid. lib. 1. proſa. 3.*
[c] *Part. 3. tract. de vita. ſpiritual. anim. lect. 1.*
[d] *Tract. de Indulgentijs.*
[e] *De poteſt. Eccleſiaſt. conſiderat. 12.*
[f] *De auferibilitate papæ.*
[g] *De Conſilijs et Statu perfectionis.*

So that ſome-times it is a matter of more perfection to haue and poſſeſſe riches, then to caſt them from vs; contrary to the falſe conceipt of the *Mendicantes*, who made extreame pouerty to bee the height of all perfection, and thought that Chriſt him-ſelfe did liue by begging, which hee reiecteth as an abſurd error: hee teacheth that the precept of Almighty GOD requireth all the actions of vertue in the beſt ſort they can bee performed; and that therefore they doe not rightly diſcerne betweene the matter of precepts and counſailes, who imagine that the precept requireth the inferior degrees of vertue, and the counſaile the more high and excellent; where-as counſails vrge vs

not

not to a higher degree of vertue, or morall goodneſſe, but onely ſhewe vs the meanes whereby moſt eaſily, if all things bee anſwerable in the parties, wee may attaine to the height of vertue the precept preſcribeth; ſo ouer-throwing the opinion of workes of ſupererogation: he [h] teacheth that there is no more merit of ſingle life then of mariage, vnleſſe the parties liuing in theſe different eſtates, otherwiſe excell one another in the workes of vertue: that virginity, in that which it addeth aboue coniugall chaſtity, is no vertue, nor higher degree of vertue, but a ſplendour of vertue onely: that [i] the lawes of men binde not the conſcience: that [k] they that whip themſelues, as ſome ſectaries amongſt the Papiſts doe, are to bee condemned; and that the patient enduring of thoſe croſſes which God layeth vpon vs, is more acceptable to God, then theſe voluntary chaſtiſements. [l] He condemneth Monkes intermedling with Secular or Eccleſiaſticall buſineſſes; the ſuperfluous pompe and Princely ſtate of Cardinalls, and Biſhops, making them forget that they are men, that one man holdeth two or three hundred Eccleſiaſticall liuings; that the ſword of excommunication is ſo eaſily drawne-out for trifles, and the Lords of the Cleargie vſe it for the maintenance of their owne ſtate: hee diſliketh the Popes appointing of ſtrangers to take cure of ſoules, the varietie of Pictures, and Images in Churches, occaſioning idolatry in the ſimple: the number and variety of religious orders; the canonizing of new Saints, there beeing too many Canonized already; the Apochryphall Scriptures; Hymnes, and Prayers in proceſſe of time brought into the Church, of purpoſe or ignorance, to the great hurt of the Chriſtian faith; the diuerſity of opinions in the Church, as about the conception of the bleſſed Virgin, and the like; the intollerable ſuperſtition in the worſhipping of Saints; innumerable obſeruations, with-out all ground of reaſon; vaine credulity in beleeuing things concerning the Saints, reported in the vncertaine legends of their liues; ſuperſtitious opinions of obtaining pardon, and remiſſion of ſinnes, by ſaying a number of *Pater-noſters* in ſuch a Church, before ſuch an Image; the vrging of humaine deuiſes more then the laws of God, & puniſhing more ſeuerely the breach of their own lawes, then the lawes of God; the contempt of holy Scripture, which is ſufficient for the gouernment of the Church, and the following of humaine inuentions, which made the ſtate of the Church to bee meerely brutiſh; the ambition, pride, and couetouſneſſe of Popes, ſubiecting all vnto them-ſelues, and ſuffering no man to ſay vnto them, *Why doe you ſo?* though they ouer-turne the courſe of Nature; their getting all into their owne hands by many craftie and ill meanes, to the ouerthrowe of that order that ſhould bee in the Church; and there-vppon ſheweth that it was the opinion of men right wiſe and godly in his time, that there beeing a Schiſme in the Church, and three ſeuerall preten-

[h] *Ibid.*

[i] *De vita Spiritual. anim. Lect. 4.*

[k] *Part. 1. tract. contra ſectam flagellãtium ſe.*

[l] See the places cited in the third book of the church, cap. 10, 11.

pretenders challenging the Papall chaire, it were good to take the aduantage of that difference, and neuer to restore againe to any Pope the vniuersall administration of the temporalites of the Church, and the swaying of the iurisdiction of the same; but that it weare best that all things were brought backe to that state they were in, in the times of the Apostles, or at least in the times of *Siluester* and *Gregory*, when each Prelate within his owne iurisdiction was permitted to gouerne such as were committed to him, without so many reseruations, and exactions, as haue beene since brought in.

These things considered, I suppose it will not seeme so strange as Maister *Higgons* would make it, that I bring in *Iohn Gerson* as a worthy guide of the Church in his time, and a man wishing the reformation of the same, as farre as it pleased God to enlighten him, though he saw not all, which other did in the same times, or before, or since. Neither will it euer be proued that hee would haue disliked any part of the present reformation, though he condemned the inconsiderate positions of *Wickleffe*, & though he held some opinions contrary to that which wee now teach. For as [m] *Augustine* said of *Cyprian*, and his colleagues, erring in the matter of rebaptization, that if they had beene in his time, when vpon full and exact discussing of things, it was resolued otherwise, they would haue beene of another minde: so surely, if *Gerson* had liued in latter times, when learning reuiued, and all sorts of auncient authors were brought out of the couerts of darkenesse, into the light and view of the world, hee would haue condemned many things which hee did not, as many other did both before *Luther* began to preach, and since, whom yet our Aduersaries dare not traduce as Heretieks.

[m] *Lib. 1. de Baptismo. c. 18.*

Which we are induced to thinke, because him-selfe professeth, [n] that the rent of the Church by reason of the three pretenders, challenging the papall chaire, and the calamity that followed the same, brought many things to light that were not knowne before, & was the occasion of much good, and the finding out of many truthes fit and necessary to be knowne; and in his booke [o] *De auferibilitate papæ*, in which hee sheweth many cases, wherein the Pope may bee depoied, limited, restrained, or haue obedience denied vnto him; he professeth he hath laid downe sundry considerations touching this matter, to open the way to others to enter farther, & to finde out more then he did, as indeed we see [p] *Cusanus* a Cardinall did; who resolueth wholy with vs, that the Pope is but onely prime Bishoppe amongst the Bishoppes of the world, and that he is but onely in order and honour aboue others.

[n] *De potest. ecclesiast. consid. 10.*

[o] *Considerat. 15. & 19.*

[p] *Concord. Cathol. lib. 2. cap. 13.*

Yet let vs heare what Maister *Higgons* can say to the contrary. *Gerson*, [q] saith he, beleeued transubstantiation, approued the masse, admitted purgatory, inuocation of Saints, indulgences, & communion vnder one kind:

[q] *Pag. 4.*

therefore

therefore hee could not wish the reformation that is now wrought by *Luther*, and the rest of transubstantiation I haue spoaken of already, and shewed that many admitted the word, that yet neuer beleeued the thing, which our aduersaries now professe; as also what it is to be thought of *Gersons* opinion touching this point, beeing the Scholer of *Cameracensis*; who professeth, that for any thing hee can see, transubstantiation, properly so named, can neither bee prooued out of Scripture, nor any determination of the vniuersall Church. Touching the Masse, wee must know that the holy Eucharist, and blessed Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ is named *missa*, misse, or masse, [r] *à missis, id est, dimissis publicæ diaconi voce Catechumenis, iisque qui Sacramentorum participationi idonei non erant*; that is, for that after the prayers and readings of the Scripture, before the consecration, the Catechumens, and all such as were not to communicate, were dismissed, and sent away, the Deacon crying alowd, *Ite, missa est*: that is, Depart, you are dismissed. And euen in *Gregories* time the custome was, that the Deacon after the reading of the Gospell, pronounced those solemne words, *Si quis non communicat, exeat*: that is, If there bee any that communicateth not, let him goe out. So that the Papists haue no misse, or masse, if wee will speake properly; for with them none are dismissed, but all permitted to bee present, and yet none communicate but the Priest; where as the name of masse was giuen to this holy Sacrament, for that none were permitted to bee present, but such as would communicate. But to let goe this aduantage, there is no question, but that *Gerson* allowed of the Sacrament of the Lords bodie and bloud: but I thinke it will hardly bee prooued, that hee approoued the alteration of the ancient custome of the peoples communicating with the Priest in the Sacrament, into a priuate masse; which indeed, if wee will speake properly, is no masse; or that hee held it to bee a new reall sacrificing of Christ, as the Iesuited Papists doe at this day. A sacrifice wee confesse it to bee, of praise and thanks-giuing, and a Commemoration of the bloudy sacrifice of Christ vpon the Altar of the crosse; and say, that therefore it may bee named a sacrifice, because signes haue the names of the things whereof they are signes: as also for that there is in this Sacrament an offering or presenting of Christ and his passion to GOD, by the faith of the Church, that by it wee may obtaine grace and remission of sinnes: but a new reall sacrificing of Christ wee denie, and thinke with *Luther*, that it is a hellish abhomination so to doe.

That *Gerson* thought, that there is a Purgatory, doth no more preiudice his being a worthy guide of Gods Church, then the error of *Cyprian* and other before mentioned. Touching inuocation of Saints, though hee did not absolutely condemne it, yet [s] he reprehended the abuses and superstitious obseruations then preuailing in the worshipping of Saints, very

[r] *Cassander, in præfat. Ord. Romani.*

[s] *Gers. de directione cordis consideral. 16. & seqq.*

very bitterly, as I haue shewed before: and sought to bring men to a truer sense of piety in y point, then was ordinarily found amongst men in those times. The like he did for [x] indulgences, restraining them more then was pleasing to the Popes faction; and for the communion vnder one kinde, howsoeuer he thought the Church might lawfully prescribe the communicating in one kind alone, which we cannot excuse, yet he [u] acknowledgeth that the communion in both kindes was auncienely vsed; and that when it may bee had, with the peace of the Church, it is to bee allowed. But to what purpose doth Maister *Higgons* alledge these things? shall it be lawful for him and his to repute *Iohn Gerson*, a worthy and Godly man, notwithstanding that he held that the Pope may erre, that he is subiect to Generall Councells, that hee medleth with things no way pertayning to him, when hee taketh vpon him to dispose the Kingdomes of the world, that all our inherent righteousnesse is imperfit, and as the polluted ragges of a menstruous woman, that al sins are by nature mortal, and the like and may not we take him to haue beene a member of the true Church, a good man, and one that desired the reformation of things amisse, notwithstanding his error in some things, and his not discerning all that was amisse? The insufficiency of this allegation, it seemeth, Maister *Higgons* himselfe perceaued, and therefore saith, [t] he will come to the supreme difference, to which all other points (as hee conceaueth) are subordinate, and inferior: that is to say, the soueraigne primacy of the *Roman* Bishop; and bringeth two very effectuall testimonies, as hee thinketh, of *Gerson*, to proue the Popes soueraigne primacy.

[x] *Tract. de indulgentijs.*

[u] *Tract. de communione sub vtraque specie.*

[t] Pag. 4.

[r] *Consid.* 8. The First is out of his booke [r] *De auferibilitate papæ*: his words are these. „ The formes of ciuill gouernment are subiect to mutability and alteration; „ but it is otherwise in the Church for her gouernment is Monarchical, and „ is so appointed by the institution of our Lord: if any man will violate this „ sacred ordinance, and persist obstinately in his contempt, he is to be iudged „ an Heretick, as *Marsilius* of *Padua*, and some other consorting with his „ fancy.

[s] *Consid.* 3. The Second is out of his tract, [s] *De vnitate Græcorum*, where prescribing many directions for the composing of the differences betweene the *Greeke* and *Latin* Churches, hee layeth it downe as a foundation, *that there must be one head in earth, vnto which all men must be vnited.*

[t] Pag. 5. [t] In these sayings, Maister *Higgons* saith, *Gerson* shewed himselfe a worthy guide of Gods Church, and a singular enemie of the Protestanticall reformation, which violently impugneth the supremacy of the Pope, in so much that *Luther* affirmeth, that a man cannot be saued, vnlesse from his heart hee hate the Pope, and Papacie. These things truely, carry a very faire shew, and may deceaue such as cannot or will not throughly looke into them. But whosoeuer knoweth what *Gersons* opinion of the Pope is, and what *Luther* hath written against the Papacy, will soone perceaue

perceiue there is no contradiction betweene them; or at least not in any essentiall and materiall point. For *Gerson* was of opinion, that the Pope is subiect to a Generall Counceil, and that hee is not free from danger of erring; and this hee thought to bee a matter of faith, defined in the Councell of *Constance*; and therefore would haue detested all claimes of infallible iudgement, and vncontrouleable power of Popes, as much as *Luther* did: and would haue accursed his words of blasphemie, if once hee should haue heard him say, as wee doe, and as before the holding of the Councell of *Constance* hee did: *All the world cannot iudge mee: though I ouer-turne the whole course of nature, no man may say vnto mee, why doe you so? I onely haue power to make lawes, and to vnde them againe: I haue authority to dispence with the Canons of all Councells, as seemeth good vnto mee, and, which is more, to dispose of all the kingdomes of the world: the assurance of finding out the truth and not erring, is not partly in mee, and partly in the Councell, but wholy in mee: what-so-euer all the world shall consent on, is of no force, if I allowe it not.*

Hee would haue sayd doubtlesse, as I haue done, if hee had heard him thus speake, that wee are not bound to take the foame of his impure mouth, and froath of his words of blasphemie, as infallible Oracles. This is that Pope, and this is that Papacie, which *Luther* saith, euery one that will bee saued, must hate from his heart: for otherwise if hee would onely claime to bee a Bishop in his precinct, a Metropolitan in a prouince, a Patriarch of the West, and of Patriarches the first and most honourable, to whome the rest are to resort in cases of greatest moment, as to the head and cheife of their company, to whome it specially pertaineth to haue an eye to the preseruation of the Church in the vnitie of faith and religion, and the actes and exercises of the same, and with the assistance and concurrence of the other by all due courses to effect that which pertaineth there-vnto with-out claiming absolute and vncontrouleable power, infallibilitie of iudgment, and right to dispose the Kingdomes of the world, and to intermeddle in the administration of the temporalties of particular Churches, and the immediate swaying of the iurisdiction thereof, [b] *Luther* him-selfe professeth hee would neuer open his mouth against him.

[b] *In Libro contra Papatum.*

This kinde of Primacie the [c] *Gracians* likewise professed they would bee contents to yeeld vnto him, if other differences betweene them might bee composed. [d] *Cassander* saith, Hee is perswaded there had neuer beene any controuersies about the Popes power, if the Popes had not abused their authority, in a Lordly and ouer-ruling manner, and through couetousnesse and ambition stretched it beyond the bounds & limitts set and prescribed by Christ and the Church: and professeth that the abuse of the Papall power, which the flatterers of the Pope amplified, enlarged, and magnified beyond all measure, gaue men occasion to thinke ill

[c] *Concil. Florentina Sess. vlt.*

[d] *Consult. de de Pontif. Romano.*

[c] *De vnitate Græcor. consid. 6.*

» of the Pope, and in the end to depart from him: with whom *Gerson* agree-
» eth, saying, that [c] the Popes intermedling in some kinds and assuming
» more then was fit, gaue occasion to the *Graecians* to depart from the
» Church of *Rome*, writing to the Pope at there parting in this sort; we know
» thy power, thy couetousnesse we cannot satisfie, liue by thy selfe. So that
I haue truely said (whatsoeuer Maister *Higgons* blattereth out to the con-
trary) that it was the pride of Antichrist, that made all the breaches in
the Christian world.

But, saith Maister *Higgons*, *Gerson* maketh the forme of the Churches gouernment to bee Monarchicall, which thing is mainely opposit to the opinion of Protestants; who will not admit the Pope to be a Monarch in the Church. It is true that *Gerson* maketh the gouernment of the Church to be Monarchicall, but no other-wise, but as the gouernment of the state of *Venice* is Monarchicall; wherein the Duke is greater then any one Senator, but subiect to the Senate, and hath neither absolute negatiue, nor affirmatiue; and therefore it is in truth and indeed, according to his opinion, rather Aristocraticall, then Monarchicall: though he make it to bee so, in that amongst all the Bishoppes of the world, one is first, and in order and honor before all other. Ahead hee maketh the Pope to be, as a president of

[f] *In Sent. prologi quæst 10. art. 2.*

» a company, not as an absolute commaunder. Whereas saith [f] *Iohn Bachon*,
» the denying the Pope to haue an illimited power was condemned as He-
» reticall in *Marsilius* of *Padua*, and *Iohn de Iandune*, some say they were
» condemned because the denied him to haue an illimited power, as head or
» chiefe of all Bishoppes, and with the colledge of them; and that it is not
» there defined that absolutely, in, and of himselfe, hee hath illimited power
» of making lawes and gouerning according to the same, without the con-
» currence of his bretheren.

[g] *De vnitate Græcor. consid. 3.*

» But [g] *Gerson* saith, it is Schismaticall not to acknowledge with al due res-
» pect the true Pope, vndoubtedly knowne to be so: therfore he must needs
» be an enemy to the Protestantical reformation. We say no, for, let the Pope
as *Gerson* teacheth him to doe, disclaime the claime of absolute and vncon-
trolable power, infallibility of Iudgement, right to dispose the Kingdomes
of the world, let him without particular intermedling suffer other Bishops
to gouerne their own dioceses, as they did in the Primatiue Church, with-
out so many reseruations, preuentions, and appeales receaued from all
parts of the world, and wee will thinke, as *Gerson* doth, that, as it is Schis-
maticall to impugne the gouernment of Bishops within there owne dio-
eeses, the superiorities of *Metropolitans* in their Prouinces, and of Patriar-
ches in their larger circuits; so it is Schismaticall to deny the Bishoppe of
Rome, contenting him-selfe there with, a Primacy of order and honour,
& a speciall interest in swaying the gouernment of the whole Church, and
managing the affaires thereof, as first amongst the Bishoppes of the world.

Where-

Wherefore let vs hearken to Maister *Higgons* his sute: hee beseecheth vs [h] *to consider the resemblance and similitude of these things: hee that reiecteth the Pope, shall not bee saued; and hee that doth not hate him and the Popedome from his heart, shall not bee saued; the one of these sayings is* Gersons, *and the other* Luthers; *and thus, saith* Higgons, *they damne themselues mutually in a capitall point, and exclude each other from possibilitie of saluation.* h Pag. 9.

Wee haue according to Maister *Higgons* his request, diligently considered these things, and doe finde that betweene these sayings in shew so opposite, there is in truth, and indeed no contradiction: and that *Luther* and *Gerson* are farre from damning one another in this point, as hee falselie saith they doe: for it is true, as *Luther* saith, that men are bound to hate the Papacie, that is, the claime of vncontroulcable and absolute power of infallible iudgement, and interest to dispose of the kingdomes of the world, euen in the iudgment of *Gerson* him-selfe; and they both agree, that for the preseruation of order and peace, men are bound to acknowledge the Papacie, that is, to yeelde to the Bishop of Rome a primacie of order and honour; if there bee no other matter of difference, nor no farther claime made by him. Neither is it communion with the Pope as prime Bishop, that maketh a man a formall Papist, as this formalist speaketh; but with the vniust claimes of the Pope. So that *Gersons* communion with the Pope, prooueth him not a formall Papist; and therefore, though Maister *Powels* iudgement bee of value, Maister *Higgons* may not vndoubtedly pronounce, that *Gerson* is damned to the nethermost hell, as [e] hee fondly saith hee may: neither can hee shew any good reason, why wee may not truly say, that *Luther* hath accomplished that reformation which *Gerson* desired; and therefore hee might well haue spared his *Risum teneatis amici?* and insteed thereof entreated men to weepe for his pittifull ouer-sight, and folly, which hee bewrayeth in the wordes immediatly following. [d] *I will knitte vp,* saith hee, *this matter with the counsell of* Gerson, *which hee giueth to the spouse of Christ, saying, the Church must intreate the Pope, the Vicegerent of Christ, with all honour, and call him Father, for hee is her Lord and head: that shee must not expose him to detractions, &c.* e Pag. 8. d Ibid.

Maister *Higgons* is wont [e] to compare them to the Diuell, who alledge any sayings of Fathers, or Scriptures, in shewe making for them, and leaue out that which followeth, making against them: if this course be right and good, as no doubt it is, I will soone make the Reader know to whome Maister *Higgons* is like, in citing *Gersons* testimonie against vs. For *Gerson* speaking of the respect that is due to CHRIST the husband of the Church, and his Vicegerent, from her, as his Spouse and Wife, hath these words. e Pag. 33.

f De nuptijs Christi & Ecclesiæ.

" f I deliuer this first vnto thee, that for the honour of CHRIST her husband, the Church Synodally assembled, or not so assembled, ought to carry her-selfe towards the chiefe Bishop with reuerence and due respect in all louing sort, if hee behaue him-selfe towards her laudably, nay, if his entreating of her bee tollerable; because in many thinges wee offend all: and the iudiciall sentence of Diuorce is to bee expected before hee bee caste off, as hither-to the discretion of our Fore-fathers hath obserued towards inferiour Bishoppes.

In the next place I deliuer vnto thee, that the Church, for the reuerence of CHRIST her husband, ought to name his Vicegerent, and him whome hee hath appointed her keeper, *Father*; and both in her selfe and her children, to bee most ready to giue all honour, and to yeelde all obedience to him, as to her Lord and head: and likewise to shewe all due respect to the Romaine Church, as ioyned to her in a speciall degree of fellowship. Neither is it fitte to expose such a Father to detractions, and wrongs, but to hide his turpitude as much as may bee. Not-with-standing in the third place I deliuer vnto thee, that if this Vicegerent, thorough frigiditie, or other impediment, become vnfitte for the spirituall generation of children, hee may not bee esteemed a fitte husband for the Church, nor Vicegerent for her husband. Now the seede of this generation, is the holy word of GOD, and not the variable traditions of the sonnes of this world.

Againe I deliuer, that the Church, if this Vice-gerent of her husband become a Fornicator, or Adulterer, marrying a widdow, a woman put away from her husband, a woman of vile and base condition, and a Harlotte, contrarye to the commandement of Almightie GOD in *Leuiticus*; If hee hardlye intreate the Church, if hee spoile and robbe her of her roabes by Dilapidation, or goe about to abuse her by Symonie, if hee smoother her children eyther in the wombe, or after they are come out of the wombe by ill example, if hee slay them with the sworde of scandalous Doctrine, and such as killeth the soule, or pestiferous wicked courses of life, or hurtfull dissembling and wincking at faults, and heresies, that should bee suppressed; that the Church, I say, in these cases, may giue him a bill of Diuorce, especially if hee adde in-corrigibility to his fault, least the keeping of him still, turne to the disgrace and dishonour of her husband, and the hurt of her children.

If it had pleased *Maister Higgons* to suffer *Iohn Gerson* thus fullye to vtter his minde, his Superiours I thinke would neuer haue permitted him to produce a witnesse, to depose so directlye against them

them in Printe; for what could *Luther* say more then *Gerson* doth? if the Pope, who is the chiefe Bishop of the world, will doe his duty, hee is to bee honoured, as chiefe of all Bishops, but if hee become scandalous, if hee bee vnable to performe the dutie of teaching the people of GOD, if hee teach false doctrine, or wilfully neglect to reforme things amisse, and shewe him-selfe in-corrigible; hee may, nay hee must bee reiected by the Church, and a bill of Diuorce must bee giuen vnto him.

This I thinke will bee censured as hereticall by our Romanists. But how-so-euer, *Maister Higgons* had no cause to exclaime as hee doth, g that *Luther*, whome hee calleth the *Cham* of Saxonie, did not demeane him-selfe towards the Pope as hee ought to haue done, and there-vpon to compare him to furious *Aërius*, and to say, that I likewise approximate to them both, when I say, wee haue not receiued the marke of the Antichriste, and childe of perdition in our fore-heads, nor sworne to take the foame of his impure mouth, and the froath of his wordes of blasphemie, for infallible Oracles of heauenlye truth. For *Luther* did hide the turpitude and shame of this holy Father, as long as it was lawfull so to doe: but when the turpitude of this *Noe*, neither could nor would bee hidde any longer, when hee became vnfitte to begette sonnes vnto GOD, when hee became a Fornicatour, and an adulterer, when hee marryed a woman refused by her husband, a base woman, nay a harlotte: when hee choaked and smothered the children of the Church before, and after they came out of her wombe; when hee slewe them with the sworde of scandalous doctrine, and such as killeth the soule, when hee spoyled the Church, and stript her out of all her Roabes, when hee abused and wronged her in most shamefull and vile manner, to the dishonour of CHRIST her husband, what remained for *Luther* and such other sonnes of the Church, as had any care of their Mothers well-fare, to doe, but to cast him off with disgrace, that in so shamefull manner dishonoured the sonne of God their Father, and wronged the Church their Mother?

g Pag. 8.

But if this testimonie of *Gerson* serue not the turne, *Maister Higgons* produceth another, that will better satisfie vs touching the opinion hee held of the Pope: his words are these: *Nolo de sanctissimo Domino nostro, & Christo Domini, velut os in cœlum ponendo, loqui:* that is, I will not speake of our most holy Lord, and the Lords annointed, as it were setting my face against heauen. These words follow not in the same place where the other are found. And *Maister Higgons* directeth vs to no other place, as if they were found there; who yet is wonte to complaine against mee, for that I cite in the same

page, things found in diuerſe parts of *Gerſons* workes, and not all togethet: the Reader may finde them in the third part of his workes, in his Apologeticall Dialogue. The occaſion of theſe his words is this: hee complaineth in that Apologie, of the partialities and ſiniſter courſes hee ſaw to bee holden in the Councell of *Conſtance*, by reaſon whereof the *French* King, and other Chriſtian Princes, with their Biſhops and Diuines, could not obtaine, nor procure the condemning of certaine wicked and ſcandalous aſſertions of *Iohannes Paruus*, and ſome other preiudiciall to the ſtate of Princes, and more peſtilent and dangerous, as hee ſaith, whether wee reſpect the proſperity of the Kingdomes of the world, or the good manners and honeſt conuerſation of men, then thoſe of *Wickliffe* and the *Bohemians*, that were condemned in that Councell. After this complaint, one of the ſpeakers in that Apologeticall Dialogue asketh, if things went not better in that Councell, after a Pope was choſen, and the Schiſme ended, then before? where-vnto the other Speaker anſwereth in
» this ſort: I will not ſpeake of our moſt holy Lord, and the Lords annoin-
» ted, as it were ſetting my face againſt heauen; not-with ſtanding he had
» ſome ſitting by his ſide, who, ſome ſay, proceeded not with that due care
» and diligence, which they ſhould haue vſed, in the matter concerning the
» ſtate of Princes, and the things concerning the Lords of *Polonia*: and
» theſe men feare not to ſay, that they were ſo backward, that they could
» not bee ſtirred vp ſufficiently to the zeale and fauouring of Catholique
» verity, nor be mooued either by words of exhortation or writing, to de-
» termine ſuch things as were propoſed vnto them.

Thus doth he in mannerly ſort decline the direct taxing of the Pope, which might haue beene ſome-thing offenſiue to ſome at that time; and yet ſpareth him not, but condemneth his negligence, and want of zeale, in ſuppreſſing hereſie, and defending and maintaining Catholique veritie; and addeth that hee would haue them, that are zealous of Chriſtian religion, the honour of the Pope, and the holy Councell, to conſider, whether if care be not had for the extirpation of hereſies, eſpecially in matters ſolemnly denounced, proſecuted, and handled, ſome will not impute it to negligence, other to ignorance, other to a direct refuſall to doe right, other to the couetouſneſſe of Prelates ſeeking their owne things, and not thoſe of Chriſt, other to the contempt of the Princes and Vniuerſities, that ſought the condemnation of ſuch errors, others to the weakeneſſe of the Eccleſiaſticall power, in rooting out hereſies, and the notorious negligence of the Court of *Rome*, in omitting to doe that which is fitte, other to baſe corruption? and there-vpon ſheweth, that an appeale was put in on the behalfe of the Lords of *Polonia*, to the next Generall Councell, againſt which exception was taken, that it was not lawfull to appeale from the Pope in any caſe, or to decline his iudgment in matters of faith, contrary to the lawes of God, and the

decrees

decrees of the same Councell, and to the vtter ouerthrowing of all those thinges that were done in the Councel of *Pisa*, and *Constance*, in electing the pretenders, and electing a new Pope, professing that he is well assured there will neuer be any reformation of the Church by a Councell, without the presidency of a guide well affected, and prudent, stout, and constant, of which sort hee insinuateth the Pope then being was not.

Thus wee see *Gerson* thought it no impiety in modest sort to taxe the Popes negligence, and in most resolute manner to condemne as impious and against the Lawes of God and man, his pride in denying appeales from him-selfe, as if no man might decline his iudgement in matters of faith: Which things being so, let the reader iudge, whether that one poore sentence of *Gerson*, mangled, and rent from that which went before, and followeth after, do bring more aduantage to Maister *Higgons* his cause, then it doth preiudice the same, when it is ioyned with the other parts of his discourse in the same place But thus do these [g] *Madianites* slay themselues with their owne swordes, and turne their weapons vppon themselues to the vtter ouer-throw of their bad cause.

[g] Iudg. 7. 22.

From this particular of the Popes supremacy, wherein Maister *Higgons* hath foyled him-selfe, and hurt his cause, hee [h] proceedeth to some generall euidences, whence as he sayth, it may bee proued that *Gerson* neuer fauored the Protestanticall reformation. The first is, for that speaking of the *Romish* Church, hee sayth, [i] *VVee must receaue the certainty of our fayth from it*: The second, for that hee [k] preached zealously at *Constance*, against the articles of *Wicklife* and the *Bohemians*.

[h] Pag. 9.

[i] 1. Part. I. Serm. coram Alexand. Pa. 5.

[k] Part. 3. Dialog. Apologet. de Concilio Constantiensi.

For answere to the first of these allegations, the reader must remember that *Gerson* doth clearly resolue, that ỹ Pope may erre, not only personally, but Episcopally and iudicially also; and consequently, that we must not ground our fayth vppon his resolutions, as certaine and vndoubted. The like may be said of the *Roman* Church, that is the *Romane* Dioceese, Prouince, or Patriarchshrp: for if it haue any more infallibility of iudgement then other particular Churches, it hath it from the Bishop, which it cannot haue, seeing he is not free from error him-selfe; the meaning therfore of *Gerson* is not, that wee may or must take what-soeuer the *Romane* Dioceese, Prouince, or Patriarchship deliuereth vnto vs, to be vndoubtedly true; but speaking of the *Indians*, who are Christians, and yet doubting whether they hold the fayth of Christians sincerely or not, hee sayth, it may be feared least they doe not, seeing they are deuided from ỹ *Roman* Church, from which the certainty of fayth is to bee sought: to shewe that the truth and certainty of fayth is to bee sought in the vnity of the vniuersall or catholike Church, the beginning beeing taken from that which of all others is the first and cheefest, and hath hetherto beene most free from damnable heresies. For other-wise, that hee is no way resolued

that

that the determinations of the particular *Roman* Church Dioceſan, Prouinciall, or Patriarchicall, doe abſolutely binde all to receaue them, it is moſt cleare and euident; in that, in his diſcourſe of the meanes of procuring vnity betweene the *Greekes* and *Latines*, (one ſpeciall cauſe of the breach betweene them, being the determination paſſed by the *Latines* touching the proceeding of the holy Ghoſt, without the conſent of the *Greekes*) [1] hee wiſheth men to conſider, whether, as wee are wont to ſay of the articles of *Paris*, that they bind none but ſuch as are within ꝧ Dioceſſe of *Paris*, ſo it may not be ſaid that the determinations of the *Latine* Church binde none but thoſe that are within the compaſſe of the ſame? which he could not, nor would not do, if he thought the infallible directiõ of al the reſt, to be in the *Roman* Church alone, and that all euery where were bound to receaue as vndoubtedly true, whatſoeuer it deliuereth, as ꝧ *Romaniſts* at this day do think. Beſides this, it is to be obſerued, that by the name of the *Roman* Church, the perſon of the Pope, whom the *Romaniſts* name the *Virtual Church*, is not meant, nor the Dioceſſe, or Prouince of *Rome* alone, but the whole *Latin* or *Weſt* Church, ſubiect to the Biſhoppe of *Rome*, as Patriarch of the *Weſt*, which wee are perſwaded neuer yet erred from the fayth, but had alwayes in it many worthy men profeſſing and maintayning the truth of Religion, how-ſoeuer ſome erred damnably in the midſt of it, and a ſeperation bee now growne betweene the true members of that Church, and ſuch as were but a faction in the ſame. So that that which *Gerſon* hath of fetching the certainty of our faith from the Church of *Rome*, proueth not that hee would haue beene an enemy to the Proteſtanticall reformation: for hee ſpeaketh not of our fetching the certainty of our faith from the Pope, or Court, or Dioceſſe of *Rome*; but of the *Indians* fetching the certainty of their fayth from the *Roman*, that is the Weſterne Church. But that hee neuer thought that all Chriſtians, and Churches of the Weſt, are to fetch the certainty of their faith from the Pope, or Court of *Rome*, it is euident, in that [m] he commendeth the *French* King, that condemned the hereſie of *Iohn* the two and twentith, touching the ſoules not ſeeing God till the reſurrection, with ſound of trumpets (the Nobles and Prelats of *France* beeing preſent,) and beleeued rather the Vniuerſity of *Paris* then the court of *Rome*.

Neyther is the next proofe of *Gerſons* preaching againſt the articles of *VVickliff*, and the *Bohemians*, any better then this: for hee preached againſt ſuch articles as were brought to the Councell of *Conſtance*, by the *Engliſh* and *Bohemians*: now thoſe articles were many of them impious, and hereticall, nay helliſh and blaſphemous, in ſuch ſort as they were propoſed by them, that brought them; as [n] *that God muſt obey the Diuel*, that *Kinges or Biſhoppes if they bee reprobates, or if they fall into mortall ſinne, ceaſe to be Kinges or Biſhoppes any longer, and that all they do is meerely voyd:* wheras *VVickliff*, neuer deliuered any ſuch thing, nor

1 *De vnitate Græcorum conſiderat. 6.*

m *in Serm. in Paſchate. part. 4.*

n *Concil. Conſtantienſ. Seſſ. 8.*

nor had any such impious conceipt, as they sought to fasten on him: neyther is it to be maruayled at, that impious thinges were falsely and slanderously imputed to him; seeing wee are wronged in like sort at this daie.

For there are who shame not to write, ° that wee affirme, *God to bee the author of sinne*, that wee teach *that God doth sinne, that man sinneth not*, that *God onely sinneth*, and *that God is worse then the Diuell*, with many other like hellish blasphemies, which wee accurse to the pitte of hell: many things no doubt were written by *VVickliff* in a good and godly sence, which as they were wrested by his Aduersaries, were heretical and damnable.

° A letter of a Catholike to his protestant friend: or certayne articles or forcible reasons printed at *Antwerp*.

For example, it is a damnable heresie to thinke that Kinges and Bishops cease to be that they were, if they fall into mortall sinne; or that reprobates cannot be truly Kings or Bishops: neither did *VVickliff* euer hold any such opinion; but, as *Iohn Hus* shewed, hee thought that godlesse persons, how-soeuer *officio*, in office and place, they bee Kings and Bishoppes; yet *merito*, that is in merit, they are neyther; because they are vnworthy to bee eyther: and are of such quality, as that if GOD would take the forfeyture, they might iustly bee depriued, not of dignitye alone, but of life and beeing also. Now then this is the goodly argument which Maister *Higgons* frameth: *Gerson* condemned such hereticall and impious Articles, as were presented to him and other assembled in the Councell of *Constance*, as taken out of the writings of *Wickliffe*; and disliked some other that were indeed his, and might haue a good sense, because they were deliuered in a dangerous forme of speach, as likewise such as rather bewrayed his too passionate dislike of things amisse, carrying him too farre into contrary extremities, then an aduised and wise consideration of the meanes, whereby they might bee amended: therefore hee would neuer haue allowed that reformation of religion, that now is. This Argument I thinke will not holde; because wee also condemne many of the Articles attributed to *Wickliffe*, no lesse then *Gerson*; and yet are no enemies to the Protestanticall reformation, as Maister *Higgons* calleth it. But Maister *Higgons* saith, P I must needs bee found contrary to my selfe, in that I acknowledge *Wickliffe, Husse, Hierome* of Prage, and the like, to haue beene the worthy seruants of Christ, and holy Martyrs, and Confessors: and yet praise *Gerson*, as a worthy guide of Gods Church, and one that desired the present reformation, who consented to the condemnation of *VVickliffes* Articles. We are wont to say: *Distinguish times, and the Scriptures will soone be accorded*: so let Maister *Higgons* distinguish aright thinges that differ one from another; & this seeming contrariety will be found to be none at all. For *Wickliffe* & *Husse* might be worthy seruants of *God*, in that they repooued the intollerable abuses of those times, which *Gerson* neuer

P *Pag.* 16.

approo-

approued: and yet *Gerson*, though as zealous and religious as eythen of them, might condemne, as impious, some positions falsely imputed to *VVickliffe*, not knowing but that they were his, and dislike other that indeed were his, as not deliuered in such sort and such formes of wordes as was fitte, or sauoring of too much passion and violence: and therfore like a right wise and moderate man, he [q] interposed him-selfe betweene *VVickliff*, and such as he was opposite to; disliking the one sort, as attributing too much to the Cleargy, and the other as detracting too much from it. Touching *Iohn Hus*, and *Hierome* of *Prage*, I could neuer yet find, in what point of fayth they dissented from Doctrine of the Church, then constantly resolued on, but they bitterly inueighed against the ambition, pride, couetousnesse, and negligence of the Cleargie; they vrged the necessity of oftner preaching then was vsuall in those times, and desired to haue the Communion in both kindes, according to the ancient custome of the Primatiue Church, and could not bee induced simply and absolutely to condemne the articles of *VVickliff*, but thought many of them might carry a good sence; and that the author of them was a man, that carried a good minde, how-soeuer he might faile in some things: Neyther was there any matter worthy of death proued against them, but they were vniustly charged with things they neuer thought off; so that [r] *Luther*, said truly that they were Murderers and seauen times Heretikes, that condemned the innocent men, *Iohn Hus* and *Hierome* of *Prage*. For it is most euident to any one, that will consider the acts of that Councell, that things were carryed in it, in a most violent and tumultuous manner, with clamours and out-cryes, against those poore men standing in their iust defence, and clearing them-selues from any thing their Aduersaries them-selues accounted to be hereticall. And particularly concerning *Hierome* of *Prage*, appeareth the Cardinalls that were cheefe Presidents of that Councell, sought all possible meanes to let him go free, as *Pilate* did to acquite Christ; but the cry of the multitude preuayled; And therefore I thinke it will not bee easily proued by Maister *Higgons*, that *Gerson* had any hand in the turbulent and furious proceeding against the persons of these men, how-soeuer he might mislike some things which they were charged with. So that he is neyther pronounced to be an Hereticke, nor a murderer by *Luther*, as maister *Higgons* vntruly sayth he is.

What manner of proceeding there was in the Councell [t] *Gerson* himselfe reporteth, shewing his dislike of the courses holden in it, and confessing that many intollerable things were done there, which neyther could nor would haue beene indured, if men had not beene content to endure any thing in hope of vnity, and peace, after soe many calamites of the Church, most pittifully torne and rent in sunder by the former Schismes.

There is only one thing more remayning in this chapter that toucheth

Mee

[q] *De potestate Ecclesiast. Consider.* 12.

[r] In an epistle to the Earle of *Passun*, prefixed before his booke against *Henry* the Eighth,

[t] *In Dialog. Apologet. de Concilio Constantiensi.*

Me; and that is, that speaking of the tyrannie of the See of *Rome*, and such as with-held the truth of God in vnrighteousnesse, and beeing named Christians, serued *Antichrist*, I adde, *as* Bernard *complayned of some in his time*, in which addition Maister *Higgons* [t] chargeth Me with fraudulency; saying, that I go about to make the world beleeue, that they, against whome *Iohn Hus*, *Hierome* of *Prage*, and the rest opposed them-selues, serued *Antichrist* euen by the verdit of Saint *Bernard* him-selfe. If *Bernard* say not expresly, that many, euen exceeding many, so that they were without number, of the pretended friendes and louers of the Church of *Rome*, and such as possessed high places of rule and gouernment in the same, serued *Antichrist*, let him charge Me with ill dealing at his pleasure; but if he doe, let Maister *Higgons* know hee hath wronged Mee in a very high degree. Let vs heare therefore what *Bernard* will say. *Woe*, [u] sayth he, *to this generation because of the leauen of the Pharizees*, which is hypocrisie; if yet it may bee named hypocrisie, which in respect of the greatnesse of it, cannot; and in respect of the impudency it is growne vnto, seeketh not to bee hid. A filthy, rotten, running soare, secretly passeth along thorough all partes of the body of the Church; the more largely, the more desperately it spreadeth it selfe: and the more inwardly, the more dangerously: for, if an open enemy by professed heresie opposing him-selfe, should rise vp, he would be cast out; and if a violent enemy should seeke to oppresse the Church, Men would hide them-selues from him; but now whome should the Church cast out? or from whom should she flye? all are friendes, and all are enemies: all are tyed vnto her in a band of amity, and yet all are her Aduersaries: all are of her houshold, and yet none are at peace with her: all are neighbours, and yet all seeke their owne: they are the Ministers of Christ, and they serue *Antichrist*: so that nothing remayneth, but that the diuell, that feareth not to walke at noone day, should be reuealed to seduce such as remayne in Christ, still abiding in their simplicity: for he hath already swallowed vppe the riuers of the wise, and the flouds of the mighty, and hath hope to draw in *Iordan* into his mouth, that is the simple and lowly in heart, that are in the Church.

[t] Pag. 11.

[u] Serm. 33. in Cantica.

What is therefore the fraudulency Maister *Higgons* so much complayneth off? Surely he sayth, it was onely wickednesse of life *Bernard* complayneth off, and I seeme to extend his complaynt farther. For answere where-vnto, first I say, that I no way extend the wordes of *Bernard* to any particular kinde of euill, of life, doctrine, or violation of discipline: but cite them in such generall sort, as they are found in him. Second, I say it is vntrue, that *Higgons* sayth, that *Bernard* complayned onely of the euill lyues of men in his time: for in his bookes of *Consideration* to *Eugenius* the Pope, hee blameth him for medling with thinges more properly pertayning to men of another rancke and sort, asking of him [x] *Quid fines alienos inuaditis? quid falcem vestram*

[x] *Lib. de consideratione ad Eugenium.*

ad

ad alienam messem extenditis? that is, why doe you incroch vppon the bounds of other men? and why doe you reach forth your sicle, and thrust it into the harueſt of other men? adding, that, *if the dayes were not euill, he would speake many other things.* Likewiſe hee complayneth of the confuſion, and abuſe of appeales to *Rome* in this ſort: [y] *Præter fas et ius, præter morem et ordinem fiunt: non locus, non modus, non tempus, non cauſa diſcernitur, aut perſona.* That is, appeales are made and admitted, beſides law, and right, beſides cuſtome, and order: no difference is made of place, manner, time, or cauſe: ſo that the Biſhoppes in all partes of the world are hindered that they cannot do their dutyes; as alſo of the ſpoyling of the guides and gouernors of the Church of their authority, by exemptions and priuiledges, freeing ſuch as are vnder them from their ſubiection: [z] *Murmur loquor*, ſaith he, *et querimoniam eccleſiarum: truncari ſe clamitant, et demembrari: vel nullæ, vel paucæ admodum ſunt quæ plagam iſtam aut non doleant, aut non timeant. Quæris quam? Subtrahuntur Abbates Epiſcopis, Epiſcopi Archiepiſcopis, Archiepiſcop Patriarchis, ſiue Primatibus.* That is; I vtter the murmuring, and complaint of the Churches: they cry out, that they are mangled, and diſmembred; there are eyther none, or very few, which eyther feele not, or feare not this plague: If you aſke what plague? Abbots are exempted from the iuriſdiction of their Biſhoppes, Biſhoppes of their Arch-biſhoppes, they of their Primates. But hee diſſented not from the Papiſts in matter of Doctrine. Surely this is no truer then the reſt: for it will bee found that *Bernard* hath written that which will not pleaſe our Aduerſaries very well, touching ſpeciall fayth, imperfection and impurity of inherent righteouſneſſe, merits, power of free will, the conception of the bleſſed virgin, and the keeping of the feaſt of her conception. For I would willingly learne of them whether they will graunt, *that* [a] *all our righteouſneſſe is as the polluted ragges of a menſtruous woman? that* [b] *wee muſt beleeue particularly that our ſinnes are remitted to vs? that* [c] *our workes are* via regni, *not* cauſa regnandi; *that is, the way that leadeth to the Kingdome, but not the cauſe why we raigne? that* [d] *the bleſſed virgin was conceaued in ſinne; and that the feaſt of her conception ought not to be kept.*

In all theſe thinges doubtleſſe *Bernard* diſſented from the Papiſts at this day: neyther did hee know or vnderſtand any thing of their tranſubſtantiation, locall preſence, priuate maſſes, halfe Communions, indulgences, and the like, which are matters of difference betweene vs and our Aduerſaries at this day: ſo that there might be good conformity in ſubſtance betweene *Bernard*, and *Wicliff*, and his followers, though many articles falſely attributed to him are damnable and hæreticall, and ſome thinges were vttered vnaduiſedly by him: and therefore that which followeth, of [e] *Falſhood, inflexions, Pretenſes*, and *ſubtilties*, is but the bewraying the diſtemper of *Higgons* his idle braine; who hauing confounded

[y] *Lib. 3. de Conſideratione.*

[z] *Ibid.*

[a] *Bernard. Ser. 5. de verbis Eſaiæ.*

[b] *Serm. 1. de annunciat. Dominicâ.*

[c] *Tract. de grat. & libero arbitrio in fine.*

[d] *Epiſt. 175. ad Canonicos Lugdunenſ.*

[e] *Pag. 12.*

founded him-selfe in his owne intricate conceipts, would make men beleeue, other are like vnto him; how orderly, plainely and sincerely soeuer they handle things.

The third part.

§. 1.

IN the third part of this chapter, he reflecteth (to vse his owne wordes) vppon foure passages of mine: and professeth, [a] that he will detect sundry vntruths, & vanities, wilfully committed in the same. Wherein the reader shall finde him as false, and as vayne a man as euer he met with. The foure passages, hee speaketh off, are these: the first, *that* Gerson *reporteth that sundry lewd assertions, preiudicial to the states of Kings & Princes, were brought into the Councel of* Constance, *and that the Councell could not be induced to condemne thē*. Secondly, *that they made no stay to condemn the positions of* Wickliff *and* Hus. Thirdly, *that they condemned the positions of* Wickliff *and* Hus, *seeming to derogate from the state of the Cleargy*. Fourthly, *that they condemned the said positions, though many of them might carry a good & Catholike sence, if they might haue found a fauorable construction*. In which of these passages is my falshood and vntruth? Doth not [b] *Gerson* report that sundry lewd positions, preiudiciall to the state of Princes, were brought to the Councell of *Constance* to be condemned; and that by no exhortations, or entreaties, by word or writing, ỹ Fathers assembled in it could be brought to condemne them? Doth hee not say, that they condemned the positions of *Wicliff* and *Hus*, that they imprisoned some for those errors in the beginning of the Councell, and burnt them afterwards? Doth he not say, the positions preiudiciall to the states of Princes, which hee speaketh off, were more pestiferous in the life and conuersation of men, and in the state of common-weales, then those they condemned? Doth he not complayne of partiality and respect of persons, and the Cleargies seeking their owne, rather then that which is *Christ Iesus*? Doth hee not say, [c] many of the positions of *Wickliff* might haue had a good sence if they might haue beene fauorably construed? Doth hee not protest that hee hath no hope of reformation by a Generall Councell, thinges standing as hee found them to doe? if there bee any vntruth in any of these passages, lett the Reader censure mee as hee pleaseth. But if all these thinges be most vndoubtedly true, lette him accompt of *Higgons*, as of an impudent young man, that hath strangely hardened his fore-head, as if hee had beene a scholler in the schoole of impudency

a farre

[a] Pag. 12.

[b] *Dialog. Apologet.*

[c] *Part. 1. Ser. pro viagio Regis Romanorū 2 part. principali direct. 3.*

a farre longer time then yet hee hath beene. But happily hee may finde vanity in these passages of mine, though no vntruth.

[d] Pag. 14. Let vs see therefore, what he sayth: [d] *what aduantage*, sayth hee, *can Doctor Field* gaine from *Gersons* improbation of the afore-said lewd assertions, preiudiciall to the states of Kinges and Princes? why doth hee presse the authority of *Gerson*, whose medicine hee knoweth to bee very sharpe, against the disease of all such Princes, as by the infection of Heretickes are seduced from the integrity of the Catholique fayth: to witte, persecution by fire and sword.

Surely heere *Theomisius Higgons* bewrayeth more then vanity: for, as if he meant presently to become a traytor against his Soueraigne, whome hee and his consortes suppose to bee seduced from the Catholique verity, hee beginneth at the very first to talke of sharpe medicines against such Princes; and those prescribed by *Gerson*, as hee telleth vs; but hee will bee found a lying and cogging mate: for *Gerson*, in the [e] place cited by him, hath nothing for the Popes deposing Princes for heresie, or any thing else, which yet is that medicine hee meaneth: nay wee are assured hee neuer held any such trayterous position; but, writing against the flatterers of Princes, hee wisheth Princes to take heed they listen not to such men, as will instill into them many false opinions, touching their power and absoluteness, contrary to the fayth and truth of God; whereby, in the end, they may make them-selues so odious as to bee pursued by fire and sword by their subiects.

[e] Part. 4. *dece considerat contra adulatores Principum.*

So that, whereas *Gerson* speaketh of errors in fayth, concerning the state of Princes, bringing them to do things so odious, as to be persecuted with fire and sword, this good fellow turneth his words to another sence; as if hee had meant, that for error in fayth, the Pope were to depose Princes; and whereas, to meete with certayne false and foolish suggestions, made to some Princes, contrary to the doctrine of fayth, hee setteth downe certayne propositions, whereof the first is, *that Princes must not iustifie them-selues, and thinke they offend not, what-soeuer they doe*; *and, that the Lawes Ecclesiasticall and Ciuill will auayle for the furtherance of this consideration*; hee turneth the wordes into this sence, that these Lawes, are auaylable for the deposing of Kinges: so treacherous and trayterous is this Fugitiue become already.

From this first obseruation hee proceedeth to a second, saying that, [f] if the reformation wished for by *Gerson*, consisted onely, or principally, or at all, in the redresse of lewd assertions, preiudiciall to the states of Kinges, the Protestants haue not effected that, which hee desired, their positions beeing dangerous likewise; and therevppon breaketh out into a long and large discourse concerning the positions of Protestantes, touching the state and power of Princes. But

[f] Pag. 14.

surely

surely he is like a Spaniell not acquainted with his game, that runneth after euery bird that riseth before him; and is to bee taught better before there will bee any great vse of him. For I bring not the report of *Gerson* touching these assertions, so much to shewe what hee would haue reformed, as to make it appeare how strangely thinges were carryed in former times, and how little hope hee and other good men had of any reformation by a Councell, seeing these positions so dangerous and apparantly false could not bee condemned in the Councell of *Constance*, by reason of a mighty faction preuayling in the same; and so all that hee sayth vppon this false ground, is nothing to the purpose: notwithstanding if the man were worth the medling with, or the matter required it, it were easie to shew, that Protestants are farre from holding any such trayterous opinions as Papistes defend. But I haue resolued to confine my selfe to the defence of my selfe against his childish exceptions, and no way to follow him into any other of his idle discourses.

Touching *Gersons* condemning certayne positions attributed to *Wicliff* and *Hus*; and *Husses* suffering in the cause of CHRISTE, against *Antichrist*; and the idlenesse of *Higgons*, in charging Me with contradiction, in that I graunt the one, and affirme the other, I haue spoken already. But so plentifull he is in obiections, that nine thinges more remayne in this chapter, not obiected before, which hee obiecteth to mee. The first is, the extenuation of the turbulent and impious positions of *Wickliff*, in that I say they seemed to derogate frō the Cleargy. Secondly, that I conceale the impiety of *Wickliff* in other things. Thirdly, that I cite in one place, things found in diuers places. Fourthly, that I exaggerate the seuerity of the Councell of *Constance* against *Wickliff*, &c. and make as if *Gerson* had disliked it, whereas he did not. Fiftly, that I say *Gerson* desired a reformation, and thought that it was to bee assayed seuerally in the particular Kingdomes of the world, there being little or no hope of doing any good by a Generall Councel. Sixtly, that the proceeding in this worke of reformation seuerally in diuers parts of the world, without a common deliberation, was the cause of those differences, that now appeare in the reformed Churches, according as *Gerson* feared it would fal out. Seauenthly, that I say *Gerson*, *Grosthead*, and others, were of the true Church, who yet were members of the Church of *Rome*. Eighthly, that I misalledge a saying of *Gerson*. And the nineth, that whereas *Gerson* saith the Popes sought to bee adored as GOD, I say they sought to bee adored and worshipped as God. To euery one of these I will answere in a word.

To the first, that I extenuate not the impious positions falsely and maliciously gathered out of *Wickliffs* workes, as that, *God must obey the*

Dinell, and if there bee any other like, but accurse them to the pitte of hell; but, speaking of those which, in *Gerſons* iudgement, were not ſo hurtfull, neyther to the conuerſation of men, nor the ſtate of common-weales, as thoſe againſt Princes, which the Councell of *Conſtance* could not bee induced to condemne; I ſay of them, they ſeemed to derogate from the Cleargy; becauſe I know not certaynly, vppon what ground, or in what ſence, many of them were vttered by him. To the ſecond I anſwere that I concealed not the impiety of any articles where-with *Wickliff* was charged, but hauing no occaſion to ſpeake of any other but ſuch onely as were not ſo badde in *Gerſons* iudgement, as ſome, they in the Councell could not bee induced to condemne; I had no reaſon to cenſure them any otherwiſe, then I did: for had they beene ſo bad, as Maiſter *Higgons* would make them to bee, the Pope and Councell were not very good, that could by no meanes bee induced to condemne ſuch as were farre worſe, as *Gerſon* telleth vs. To the third I ſay, that it is lawfull for a man to cite in one place out of one author, thinges found in him in diuers places; or elſe Maiſter *Higgons* is too blame [g] who doth ſo. To the fourth I ſay, that I exaggerate not the ſeuerity of the Councell againſt *Wickliff* ſimply, but in compariſon; and ſo doth *Gerſon*, and diſliketh it as much as I doe, condemning it of partiality. To the fifth, and ſixth, I ſay, that *Gerſon* affirmed the one, to witte, that no good was to bee expected by a Generall Councell; that the ſeuerall partes of the Chriſtian world were to reforme them-ſelues; and feared the other, namely, that too great diuerſity would follow vppon ſuch diuided reformations; as it will eaſily appeare, to any one that will take the paynes to peruſe the places cited by Mee. Neyther was it haſt and precipitation, as Maiſter *Higgons* is pleaſed to cenſure it, but neceſſity, that made our men to doe as they did, hauing no meanes to meete for common deliberation. To the ſeauenth I anſwere, that *Gerſon*, *Groſthead*, and the reſt, were members of the Church that was vnder the Papacie; but that they were not of the Papall faction, nor vaſſalls of the man of ſinne; but men of a better ſpirit. To the eighth I anſwere breefely, that I haue moſt ſincerely and truely alleadged the teſtimony of *Gerſon*, and no way varyed from his intention; which, that the reader may the better bee able to diſcerne, I will firſt ſette downe what my allegation is; and then what exceptions *Higgons* taketh to it. My words are theſe.

[g] Pag. 8. Hee alledgeth two ſayings of *Gerſon* found in two ſeueral places, as if they were in one: without ſpecifying whence the later of them is taken.

[h] Third book of the church. chap. 12.

[h] Touching the ſecond cauſe of the Churches ruine, which is the ambition, pride, and couetouſneſſe of the Biſhoppe, and Court of *Rome*, *Gerſon* boldly affirmeth; that whereas the Biſhoppes of *Rome*, challenging the greateſt place in the Church ſhould haue ſought the good of Gods people, they contrarily ſought onely to aduance them-ſelues: his wordes are theſe: In imitation of *Lucifer*, they will

will bee adored and worshipped as Gods; neyther doe they thinke themselues subiect to any, but are as the sonnes of *Belial*, that haue cast off the yoke, not enduring, what-soeuer they doe, that a man should aske them why they doe soe: they neyther feare GOD nor reuerence men. This is my allegation: now let vs see what it is that Maister *Higgons* excepteth against in it: Are not these the wordes of *Gerson*? Hee cannot deny but that they are: but hee [i] saith, *Gerson* vttered them, when there was a Schisme in the Church: It is true he did so; but what then? Did not the true Pope, who-soeuer hee was, amongst those pretenders, take as much on him as the rest: and is not this note of disgrace fastned vppon all? but that Maister *Higgons* may know, that *Gerson* spake as much of the Pope simply, as I haue cited out of him, without any reference to pretenders, (as hee would fayne auoyd the euidence of his heauy sentence) let him consider what *Gerson* hath written, in his Tract, *de potestate ecclesiæ*: where hee goeth about to stoppe the mouth of flattery, giuing too much to the Cleargy; and vile Detraction, taking too much from it; and bringeth in flattery speaking in this sort to them of the Cleargy, especially the Pope.

[i] *Pag.* 28. & 29.

[k] O how great, how great, is the height of thy Ecclesiasticall power? O sacred Cleargy! how is secular power nothing, if it bee compared vnto thine! Seeing, as all power both in heauen and earth, was giuen to CHRISTE, so CHRISTE left it all to *Peter*, and his successors; so that *Constantine* gaue nothing to Pope *Sylvester*, that was not his before, but restored to him that which had bin vniustly with-holden: and there is no power temporall, or ecclesiasticall; imperiall or regall, but from the Pope; in whose thigh CHRISTE did write: *King of Kinges, and Lord of Lords*: of whose power to dispute, it is sacrilegious: to whome no man may say, why doe you soe? though hee ouerturne, teare in sunder, and ouerthrow all states, possessions and dominions, temporall and ecclesiasticall: let Mee be reputed a lyar, sayth hee, if these things bee not found written, by them that are wise in their owne eyes; and if they be not found to haue bene beleeued by some Popes: Hee addeth, *notum est illud satyrici:*

[k] *De potestate Ecclesiæ. consider.* 12.

——— *Nihil est, quod credere desit,*
Non possit, cum laudatur diis æqua potestas:

That is, according to that known saying of ỹ Satyrical Poet: what should not he perswade himselfe of him-selfe, that is magnified, as equall to God in power. For that of the Comicall Poet, is true of the flatterer: that *he maketh fooles to be starke mad.* These are the sayings of *Gerson*, which I haue laid downe at large, that the reader may iudge, whether I haue depraued the intention of *Gerson*, or not: and whether *Higgons* had any cause to traduce Mee in such sort as hee doth. It seemeth, the poore fellow was hyred to say something against Mee, or else he would

neuer haue aduentured to vent such fooleries; yet the last accusation against Mee is not to be passed ouer.

Gerson saith, the Popes will bee adored as God, and I feare not to adde, that the *English* reader may vnderstand Mee, that they will bee adored and worshipped as God: out of these premises hee maketh an excellent conclusion,[1] comparing *Gerson* to *Dauid*, that commanded *Ioab* to saue the life of *Absalom*; and *Luther* to *Ioab*, that had no pitty on trayterous *Absalom*, in that the one would haue the Pope well dealt withall, though hee disliked his faults: and the other sought to tread him vnder his feete.

[1] Pag. 30.

But let the reader know, that as *Gerson*, so *Luther* was willing to giue all due honour to the Pope, contenting him-selfe with that which of right pertayneth to him: but if hee dishonour God, wrong the Church, suffocate and kill her children, and heretically refuse to be subiect to the Church, and Councell: if he challenge infallibility of iudgement, from which no man may appeale; *Gerson* will tread him vnder-feete, and reiect him as an Heretike, as well as *Luther*.

The fourth part.

§. 1.

IN the fourth part of this Chapter Maister *Higgons* vndertaketh to proue that I haue abused the name and authority of *Grosthead*, to iustifie the *Lutheran* reformation: which hee performeth full wisely in this sort;

[a] Pag. 32.

[a] *Grosthead* was iudged a Catholike, and a good man, by some Cardinals in *Rome*: therefore hee could not desire that reformation of thinges amisse, that now is wrought. If the consequence of this argument be denyed, he knoweth not how to proue it: but [b] willeth his reader to demand of Mee, whether these Cardinalls, which iudged *Grosthead* to bee a Catholike, and of the same religion with them-selues, were not reall members of the Antichristian Synagogue? proud *Romanists*? factious Papists? &c. which question is soone answered. For I haue distinguished, as he knoweth right well, the Church in which the Pope tyrannized, and the faction of Papists, that flattered him, and applyed them-selues to sette forward his proud and vniust claimes, till they lifted him vp into the throne and seate of *Antichrist*; the members of the Church, and of the faction: and though both these liued for a time in the same outward Communion, as did the right beleeuers and they that denyed the resurrection of the dead, amongst the *Corinthians*: yet did they differ as much in iudgement, as wee doe from the

[b] Pag. 33.

the Papistes at this day: so that these Cardinals that opposed them-selues against the furious purposes of the Pope, intending to proceed against *Grosthead*, for resisting his tyrannicall vsurpations, and iustified *Grosthead* as a good man, and the things hee stood vpon, as right and iust, and told the Pope of a departure from him, which hee must looke for, and by these ill courses, intended by him, he might hasten, may bee thought not to haue beene members of the Antichristian faction, but of the poore Church oppressed and wronged by the same: as *Grosthead* also was.

Neyther is it so strange, that Cardinalls, who are so neere the Pope, should bee auerse from his Antichristian courses: For *Cameracensis*, then whome that age had not a worthyer man, eyther for life or learning, and *Cusanus* no way inferior to him, how-soeuer they were not free from all errors of Papisme, yet wholy condemned the Papacie, as we do at this day; denying the Popes vniuersality of iurisdiction, vncontroulable power, infallible iudgement, and right to meddle with Princes states; making him nothing but the first Bishop in order, and honour, amongst the Bishoppes of the Christian Church.

And [c] *Contarenus*, as all men know, condemned sundry errors of the Papisme, and seemed no lesse to dislike the Papists wilfull and obstinate maintayning of grosse errors, abuses, and confusions, then the temerity of of those that disorderedly, as hee thought, sought to haue an alteration. Thus is Maister *Higgons* his great demaund easily answered: Onely one great and vnexcusable fault I haue committed; in that I say these Cardinalls opposed them-selues against the Pope, when hee intended to proceed violently against Bishoppe *Grosthead*: whereas I should haue said, [d] they interposed them-selues. The poore man it seemeth is very weake in his conceipt, and therefore saith hee knoweth not what: for did not the interposing of them-selues, in such sort, as they did, imply a contrariety of iudgement in them, opposite to that of the Pope? and was not their hindering, crossing, and stopping of him by all the meanes it was fit for them to vse, an opposing against his rash purpose and resolution? Surely Maister *Higgons* in this passage sheweth him-selfe as very a babe as euer suckt a bottle. For all men know, that one may oppose him-selfe vnto another, as well by way of perswasion and entreaty, as of authority or violence.

[c] *De Predestinatione.*

[d] Pag. 34.

But to leaue these triseling fooleries, and to come to matter of substance, because hee saith, [e] I expresse not the matters of quarrell, and differences betweene the Pope and Bishoppe *Grosthead* particularly enough; and that I conceale the correspondence hee held with the *Romane* Church in matters of Faith; I will relate the whole story at large, of such thinges as fell out betweene the Pope and this worthy Bishoppe, whereby I doubt not but it will appeare, that if *Grosthead*

[e] Pag. 33.

were nowe aliue, hee woulde deteſt ſuch ſmattering companions as *Higgons* is, that labour ſo carefully to reconcile him to that *Anti-chriſt*, with whome hee had warre both while hee liued and after hee was dead.

The Popes in the time wherein *Groſthead* liued, not contenting them-ſelues with the præheminence of being Patriarches of the Weſt, which ſtood in confirming Metropolitanes, by impoſition of handes, or by miſſion of the Pall, and in calling Patriarchicall Synodes, in certayne cafes, to heare and determine matters of greater conſequence, then could be ended in Prouincial Synodes: but taking vpon them, as if the fulnes of al Eccleſiaſtical iuriſdictiō had reſted in them alone, admitted appeales out of all partes of the Weſt, not of Biſhops onely, but of Preſbyters, inferior Cleargy-men, and Lay-men alſo; reſerued a great number of caſes to their owne cogniſance, debarring the Biſhoppes and Metropolitanes from medling with them: exempted whome they pleaſed from the ordinary iuriſdiction of their Biſhoppes, and challenged the right to conferre all kinde of dignities Eccleſiaſticall, whether preſentatiue, or electiue, not onely when they were voyd, but before: whence came their expectatiue graces, and prouiſions; and, which much offended and greeued all good men, beſtowed the dignities of the Churches abroad in *England* and other places vppon ſtrangers, that neuer came to thoſe Churches they were intitled to; ſo that at one time, a ſuruay being taken, it was found that ſtrangers carryed yearely more then threeſcore thouſand Markes out of *England*, which was more then the bare reuenew of the Crowne at that time.

[f] *Math. Paris. In Henrico 3.*

[f] Amongſt others, Biſhoppe *Groſthead* receaued the Popes letters for the placing of certayne ſtrangers in his Church of *Lincolne*; which hee refuſed to doe, and wrot backe to the Pope, to lette him know hee was oppoſite to *Chriſt*, a murtherer of ſoules, and an Heretike in theſe his courſes: Vppon the receipt of which letters, the Pope was halfe madde with anger, and calling his Cardinalls together, ſware by *Peter* and *Paul*, that if it were not that hee were ouercome by the goodneſſe of his nature, hee would caſt downe this Biſhoppe into the pitte of all confuſion, which thing hee ſayd hee could eaſily doe, for that the King of *England* was his Vaſſall and Slaue; and hee could commaund him, vnder payne of his high diſpleaſure, to caſt him into priſon, or otherwiſe to proceed againſt him: but that how-ſoeuer hee would make him an example to all ſuch as ſhould dare in like ſort to diſobey his *Mandates*. Some of the Cardinalls, more aduiſed, then the Pope, ſought to pacifie him what they could, and to ſtoppe theſe his intended violent courſes: telling him; Biſhoppe *Groſthead* was in faith a Catholike, in life a moſt holy man, of great learning, and

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euery where much reſpected: that the thinges hee ſtood vppon, were iuſt and right; and that therefore it was not ſafe for him to proceed againſt him, leaſt ſome tumult ſhould follow: which they beſought him the rather to thinke off, for that there muſt bee a departure from the Church of *Rome*, which they would not haue him to haſten by this meanes.

Theſe perſwaſions preuayled ſo farre, that *Groſthead* was not accurſed, nor depoſed, but dyed Biſhoppe of *Lincolne*; yet after his death, (it beeing eaſier to inſult vppon a dead Lyon then a liuing dogge) the Pope tooke heart, and was reſolued to accurſe him, and to commaund his dead body to bee taken vppe, and to bee buryed in a dunghill. But the night before this vile act ſhould haue beene done, Biſhoppe *Groſthead* appeared vnto him with his croſier ſtaffe in his hand; and ſo rebuked the wicked Pope, for fauoring the wicked and perſecuting the righteous; and beſides ſtrooke him in ſuch ſort with his croſier ſtaffe, that hee neuer enioyed his Papall dignity after it. This apparition happily was nothing elſe but the apprehenſion of his guilty conſcience, repreſenting to him the perſon of him, whome hee intended to wrong, and terrifying him euen vnto the death.

How-ſoeuer it appeareth by *Mathew Paris*, that this worthy Biſhoppe: (for ſo will I call him, not-with-ſtanding any thing prating *Higgons* can ſay to the contrary) finding that the Pope ſought to ouerthrow the order of the Eccleſiaſticall Hierarchie, to encroch vppon all Biſhopps, and guides of the Church, and to vſurpe ſuch an illimited, vniuerſall, and abſolute authority, as no way pertayned to him, feared not to call him *Antichriſt*: to compare him and his Courtiers, to that *Behemoth* that putteth his mouth to the Riuer of *Iordan*, thinking he can drinke it vppe; to pronounce that it is moſt true, that before his time, was ſayd of him and his execrable Court.

Eius auaritia totus non ſufficit orbis:
Eius luxuria meretrix non ſufficit omnis:

That the Church was holden in Babylonicall captiuity by this *Antichriſt*, and that her deliuerance would neuer be wrought, but by the edge of the ſword, that muſt be bathed in blood.

This is the true report concerning *Groſthead*: in all which there are neyther fictions nor exaggerations, as *Higgons* pretendeth, by which it is euident that there was as little Communion betweene the Pope, challenging as hee did then, and doth now, infallibility of iudgement, vniuerſality of illimited and vncontroulable power, and right to diſpoſe the Kingdomes of the World, as there is betweene light, and darkneſſe, the Temple of God, and Idols, *Chriſt*, and *Antichriſt*. So that he was no Papiſt, ſeeing he ouerthrew the papacie; and if in any thing he erred, as liuing in corrupt times, it is not to be maruayled at: neyther did his error in ſome particular thing, ſo much preiudice his piety and ſanctity,

as that he may not be called a worthy and renowned Bishoppe, seeing hee held the foundation, and stroue for the truth as farre as hee knew it, euen to death. And therefore the exceptions of the Author of the booke of the Three Conuersions against worthy Maister *Fox*, touching this Bishoppe and some other mentioned by him, and recorded in the number of martyrs and confessors, are little to be regarded: for that men might be members of that true Church, whereof wee are, houlding the foundation, and carefully seeking out and maintaining the truth, as farre as they knew it, though they were other-wise perswaded in some-things, then either Maister *Fox*, or we are; which need not to seeme strange to Maister *Higgons*, nor any other of that side: seeing they thinke many to haue beene members of their Church, and Catholiques, that dissented from them in all the questions concerning the Pope, to which § all other, as Maister *Higgons* telleth vs, are subordinate: and besides in the questions of originall sinne, free-wil, iustification, merit, satisfaction, the number of the Sacraments, and sundry other like things.

§ Pag. 4.

Thus wee see how zealously *Grosthead*, the worthy and renowned Bishop of *Lincolne*, opposed him-selfe against the tyrannicall vsurpations and incroachments of the Pope; and feared not to call him Antichrist for the same. Neither was he alone in this opposition, but wee shall finde that the whole state of England, after many complaints against the Popes incroachmentes, vsurpations, & tyrannical intermedling in things no way pertaining to him, to the ouerthrow of the Hierarchy of the Church; told him in the end, that if these courses were continued, they should be forced to doe that, which would make his heart to ake. Thus, saith *Mathew Paris*, at last the poore Church of England, that had beene long vsed as an Asse to carry the Popes burdens, in the end grew weary, and opened her mouth as *Balaams* Asse did, to reproue the folly of the Prophet: and that not without iust cause, in the iudgement of all the world: for howsoeuer the Church of *Rome* challenged to be the Mother of all Churches, and the Pope to be the Father of all Christians, yet the one proued a cruell stepmother, and the other an vnkind and vnnaturall Father: so that they both lost the hearts of all men. But what did the Pope vpon the complaints of so great a Church & nation, as this of England? did he ease her burthens, or any way listen to her most reasonable suits? no verily: but was so vnmercifull, as the same *Paris* testifieth, that hauing so sore beaten vs, hee beat vs againe in more cruell sort then euer before, onely because we cried: and therefore let him not bee angry with vs, because wee haue kept our word with him, that neuer kept any with vs; and haue indeed done that which maketh his heart to ake, as our fore fathers threatned him long before: these groanes of our wronged Mother, and her often renewed bitter complaints, before any was found to worke her deliuerance, doe iustifie that which we haue done, to be no more, then in duty we stood bound to

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doe,neither is there any better proofe of the goodneſſe of our cauſe,then that,that, which we haue done in the reformatio of the Church,was long before wiſhed for,expected,&fore-told,by the beſt men that liued in former times,in the corrupt ſtate of the Church. But becauſe Maiſter *Higgons* is pleaſed to tell vs, [h] that if there bee no better proofe, the cauſe is bad,and the patrons worſe; becauſe theſe beſt men,we ſpeake of,will not ſpeake for vs: I will take a little paines to ſhew the goodneſſe of this proofe; which I doubt not but the Reader will find to be better,then that Maiſter *Higgons* or any other of his Romaniſts, ſhall euer bee able to weaken it. Al that which we haue done in the reformation of the Church, conſiſteth in three things; the firſt is,the condemning of certaine erronious opinions in matters of doctrine: the ſecond, the ſhaking off of the yoake of Papall tyrrany; and the third,the remooving of abuſes & ſuperſtitious obſeruations. Now then if it be proued,that the beſt & beſt learned in former times,thought as wee doe in matters doctrinall: that they complained of the heauie yoake,which the Pope laide on them,& deſired the remooving of ſuch abuſes as we haue remooued,I thinke this proofe will be found very ſtrong and good:I will therefore firſt begin with matters of doctrine,and ſo proceed to the other points, not intending to run through all the controuerſed points of doctrine, but ſome onely for example:& becauſe the queſtion is onely of the iudgment of men liuing in latter times in the corrupt ſtate of the Church vnder the Papacie, I will paſſe by the Fathers,and ſpeake of ſuch as liued ſince their time. Touching the Canon of Scripture,which is the rule of our faith: we deny the bookes of *Tobit, Iudith, Eccleſiaſticus, Wiſdome, Macchabees, the Song of the three children, and the ſtory of Bell and the Dragon*, to be Canonicall Scriptures: So did [i] *Hugo de S^t. Victore, Richardus de S^t. Victore, Petrus Cluniacenſis, Lyranus, Dionyſius Carthuſianus, Hugo Cardinalis, Thomas Aquinas, Waldenſis, Richardus Armachanus, Picus Mirandula, Ockam, Caietan*, & *Driedo:* to ſay nothing of *Melito Biſhop of Sardis, Origen, Athanaſius, Hilarius, Nazianzen, Cyrill of Hieruſalem, Epiphanius, Ruffinus, Hierome, Gregory and Damaſcen.* Heere we ſee a clowd of witneſſes,depoſing for vs. And what better proofe of the goodneſſe of our cauſe can there bee,then that ſo many worthies of the world,in ſo diuerſe places,and at ſo diuers times giue teſtimony to our opinion? Touching the creation,fall,and ſtate of originall ſinne,there were ſome, and they excellently learned, who thought as we doe,that man muſt either be lifted aboue him-ſelfe by grace,or fall below himſelfe by ſinne: that there is no middle eſtate of pure nature, that originall righteouſneſſe was required to the integrity of nature; and conſequently,that being loſt,nature is corrupted, and depriued of all naturall and morall rectitude: ſo that a man,after the fall of *Adam*,till grace reſtore him,can do nothing morally good,or that is not ſinne. Theſe men defined originall ſinne to be, *a priuation of originall righteouſneſſe*, that is,

[h] *Lib.1.pag.84.*

[i] See the places cited in the 4.booke of the Church chap.23.

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of that grace, without which a man can neither feare, loue, nor serue God aright. And consequently, do teach, that after *Adams* fall, with-out grace renuing vs, we cannot keepe the commandements of God, do the workes of morrall vertue, or any way dispose our selues to a true conuersion and turning vnto God. This opinion is learnedly defended by [k] *Thomas Bradwardin*, in his discourses against the *Pelagians* of his time, and confirmed by him out of the Scriptures, and Fathers: and likewise by [l] *Gregorius Arimenesis*; as it was before them, by *Augustin* and *Prosper*. Many there were who thought otherwise; whom Cardinall [m] *Contaren* blameth, as inclining too much to the *Pelagian* heresie; but the best men concurred in iudgment with these. For proofe whereof [n] *Cassander* citeth an excellent saying of *Bonauentura*: *Hoc, inquit, piarum mentium est, vt nil sibi tribuant, sed totum gratiæ Dei; vnde, quantumcunque aliquis det gratiæ dei, à pietate non recedit: etiamsi multa tribuendo gratiæ Dei, aliquid subtrahit potestati naturæ, vel liberi arbitrij: cum vero aliquid gratiæ dei subtrahitur, & naturæ tribuitur, quod gratiæ est: ibi potest periculum interuenire.* That is, it is the property of *pious* and good mindes, to attribute nothing to themselues, but to ascribe all vnto the grace of God: for how much soeuer a man giueth to the grace of God, he offendeth against no rule of piety, no though by giuing much to the grace of God, he subtract some-thing from the power of nature, or free-will: but when any thing that pertaineth to grace is denied vnto it, and giuen to nature, there may bee some danger. Concerning iustification, there is a very maine difference betweene the Papists, and vs: for though we deny not, but that there is a donation and giuing of the spirit to all them that are iustified; changing and altering them in such sort, as that they begin to doe the workes of righteousnesse; yet we teach, that iustification consisteth in such sort in the remission of sinnes, and the imputation of Christs righteousnesse, that the faithfull soule must trust to no other righteousnesse but that which is imputed; the other being imperfect, and not enduring the tryall of Gods seuere iudgment: Now that this was the faith of the best and worthiest men in the Church, in former times, it will easily appeare vnto vs. [o] *The righteousnesse of another* (saith *Bernard*) *is assigned to man, because hee had none of his owne*: and vpon the Canticles he saith; [p] *I also will sing the mercies of the Lord for euer.* Shall I sing of mine owne righteousnesse? no Lord, I will remember thy righteousnesse onely: for that is mine, seeing thou art made vnto mee of God, righteousnesse. Is there any cause for mee to feare, least it should not suffice vs both? it is no short cloake, which according to the Prophet, cannot couer two. With *Bernard* all other good men agreed, who in respect of the imperfection of our inherent righteousnesse, pronounced it to bee as the polluted ragges of a menstruous woman.

[q] Who is there, saith *Gerson*, that shall dare to boast that hee hath a cleane

[k] *De causa Dei contra Pelagianos.*
[l] *In 2. Sentent. Dist. 26. quæst. 1. art. 1. & dist. 30. quæst. 3.*
[m] *In lib. de prædestinatione*
[n] *Consultat. art. 18.*
[o] *Epistola. 190*
[p] *Serm. 61. in Cantica.*
[q] *Lib. 4. de consolatione Theologiæ prosa. 1.*

cleane heart? and who shall say I am innocent? and I am cleane? who is hee that will not quake for feare, when hee shall stand before God to bee iudged? who is fearefull in his counsels. Hence *Iob* in his affliction saith vnto God, I feared all my workes, knowing that thou spareſt not the sinner: and againe, if hee will contend with mee, I cannot answere him one of a thousand. Where-vnto the prayer of the Prophet agreeth; enter not into iudgment with thy seruant, O Lord, for no liuing man shall bee iustified in thy sight: And againe, if thou shalt obserue iniquities, O Lord, Lord who shall endure it? Further-more wee read, that *Esay* wrapping vp himselfe with other, and waxing vile in his owne eyes, in all humility professed, that all our righteousnesse is as the poluted ragges of a menstruous woman. Who therefore in boasting sort shall dare to shew his righteousnesse to God, more then a woman dareth shew the ragges of her confusion and shame to her husband? There are two kindes of iustice, to which faith leadeth vs, saith [r] Cardinall *Contarenus*; the one inherent, the other imputed: it remaineth that we enquire vpon which of them wee are to stay our selues, and by which wee are to thinke that wee are iustified before God, that is, accounted iust and holy, as hauing that iustice that pleaseth God, and answereth to that his lawe requireth: I truly, saith he, thinke that a man very piously and Christianly may say, that we ought to stay, to stay I say, as vpon a firme & stable thing able vndoutedly to sustaine vs, vpon the iustice of Christ geuen and imputed to vs, and not vpon the holinesse and grace that is inherent in vs. For this our righteousnesse is but imperfit, & such as cannot defend vs, seeing in many things we offend al. &c. But the iustice of Christ, which is giuen vnto vs is true and perfect iustice, which altogether pleaseth the eyes of God and in which there is nothing that offendeth God: Vpon this therfore as most certaine and stable we must stay our selues, & beleeue that we are iustified by it, as the cause of our acceptation with God: this is that pretious treasure of Christians which whosoeuer findeth, selleth all that he hath to buy it.

[r] *De iustificatione.*

With *Contarenus* agree the Authors of the *Enchiridion of Christian religion*, published in the prouincial Synod of *Colen*, in the yeare of our Lord 1536. Which, as [s] *Cassander* saith, the more learned diuines, in *Italy* and *France* approued: the authors of the booke called [t] *Antididagma Coloninense*, [u] *Albertus Pighius*, and sundry other; who if they were now a liue, and should thus teach, our Iesuited Papists would soone condemne them as Heretickes.

[s] *Consult. art. 4.*
[t] *De iustificatione.*
[u] *Contro. 2. de fide & iustificatione.*

Touching merits, I haue shewed [x] elsewhere that *Scotus*, *Camerascensis*, *Ariminensis*, and *Waldensis*, do thinke there is no merrit properly so named. With whome agreeth [y] *Adrian* the Pope, vpon the fourth of the sentences, writing thus, like a Protestant as I thinke. Our merits are as a staffe of reed, vpon which if a man stay himselfe, it will breake and pierce the hand of him that staieth on it: and our righteousnesse

[x] *In appendice. cap. 11.*
[y] *Citatus a Cassandro in Consult. art. 6.*

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is as the ragges of a menstrous woman, &c. [z] Clithouaus vpon the Canon of the Masse, vpon these words, *not waying our meritts, but pardoning our offenses*, asketh, what merit wee can plead with God, to whome wee owe all things? according to that, *When yee haue done all, say that yee are vnprofitable seruants*: & how we can applaud our selues in our good workes, whereas all our righteousnesse is as the polluted ragges of a menstruous woman before the Lord? wherevnto [a] *Bernard* agreeth. There is extant an excellent Epistle of Cardinall [b] *Contarenus*, wherein he sheweth what reasons moued him, and the other of his side, to yeeld so farre to the Protestants, as to leaue out the name of merit, and to acknowledge that there is no merit of workes properly so named. And as these Catholike Diuines thought thus of iustification, by imputation of Christs righteousnesse, the imperfection of our inherent righteousnesse, & our not meriting anything with the merit of condignity; so they taught likewise that Christs righteousnesse is to be apprehended by a liuely faith, and defined a liuely faith to bee that motion of the spirit, whereby men truly repenting of their former life, are raised and lifted vp to God, and doe truly apprehend the mercy of God promised in Christ, so that they doe indeed feele in themselues that they haue receiued remission of sinnes and reconciliation by Gods goodnesse, and by the merit of Christ, and do cry *Abba* father. Thus much was expresly deliuered in the [c] booke exhibited by the Emperour *Charles* to the Diuines of both sides, whom he appointed to conferre together, for the composing of the controuersies of Religion; and the Diuines agreed vnto it. Likewise in the [d] *Enchiridion* of Christian religion, so much approued by all the more learned Diuines of *Italy* and *France*, thus we read. We confesse that it is true, that it is altogether required to the iustification of a man, that hee certainly beleeue not onely in a generalitie, that for Christs sake, sinnes are remitted to such as truly repent, but that particularly they are remitted to him-selfe by faith for Christs sake. With whom *Contarenus* agreeth in his tract of Iustification, the most reuerend Canons of the metropoliticall Church of Colein, Authors of the booke called [e] *Antididagma*, and sundry other. And before them all, *Bernard* deliuered the very same: his words are these. [f] If thou beleeuest that thy sinnes cannot be done away, but by him against whom only thou hast sinned, and who cannot sinne, thou doest well: but adde this more-ouer, to beleeue that thy sinnes are remitted thee: this is the testimony which the holy spirit giueth in our hearts, saying; Thy sinnes are remitted thee. For so the Apostle supposeth, *that a man is iustified freely by faith*. That the Pope may erre, not personally onely, but iudicially also, we haue the opinion of [g] *Ockam, Michaell Casenas, Cameracensis, Cusanus, Almain, Gerson, Waldensis, Picus Mirandula, Pope Adrian the 6. almost all the Parisians*, all them that thinke the Councell to be aboue the Pope, the Fathers in the Councels of *Constance* and *Basill*; *Alphonsus a Castro*: & as some

[z] Citat. à Cassandro ibid.

[a] Serm. 1. in festo omnium Sanctorum.

[b] Epist. ad Cardinalem Farnesium, de actis Ratisbon.

[c] Citat. à Cass. Sand. Consult. art. 4.

[d] Ibid.

[e] De duplici fiducia.

[f] Serm. 1. de Annunciat. Dominica. „ „ „

[g] Hi omnes citantur à Stapletono Relect. Cõtrou. 3. qu. 4. & Bellarmino lib. 4. de Pontifice cap. 2.

some thinke, *Durandus*; [h] *Cyprian*, and his colleagues, who resisted against the determination of the Bishop of *Rome*; & all the Christians of the East at this day. This might seeme to bee a good proofe; yet [i] *Stapleton* is so farre from yeelding to it, that he condemneth them all that thus thought, as ignorant and rash, especially the latter of them. That the Pope is onely first amongst Bishops, equall with him in power, not of order only, but of iurisdiction also, [k] *Cusanus* proueth at large, as [l] *Ockam*, [m] *Michaell Cæsenas*, and their consorts did before: and with these in effect (though they expresse not the same so well,) *Camerasensis*, *Gerson*, *Almaine*, and all the rest agree, who thinke the Councell to be greater in authority, and in the power of iurisdiction, then the Pope: and make him to bee amongst Bishops, as the Duke of *Venice* is amongst the great Senators of that state, greater then each one, but inferior to the whole company of Bishops. [n] *Iohn Bacon* our country-man noteth, that many in his time were of the same opinion, who thought the Pope, as head or president of the Colledge and company of Bishops; and with them, to haue an illimited authority reaching to all persons and causes Ecclesiasticall; but not as in, of, and by him-selfe. This opinion [o] *Duarenus* followeth, and sheweth, that anciently the Pope tooke no more on him. The same opinion doe all the Christians of the East hold: and the practise and resolution of antiquity confirmeth the same. Touching the vnlawfulnesse of the Popes medling with Princes and their affaires, we haue the testimonies of [p] *Sigebertus*, [q] *Cusanus*, and many more, whom I would produce, but that Maister *Blackwell* the Arch-priest in his examination, hath already produced a world of witnesses, deposing against the Pope in this behalfe, to whome I referre the reader. The like might be shewed in other points; but because I will not be tedious, I will leaue these points of doctrine, and come to shew what complaints were euery where heard in the Christian world, before wee were borne, against the Pope and court of *Rome*. Of Bishop *Grosthead*, & our English, I haue spoken already; and haue sufficiently shewed, how they multiplied complaints against the Pope: let vs therefore come to other. The Popes, saith *Nicholaus* [r] *Clemangis*, as they saw them-selues to be greater then other Prelats, so they lifted vp themselues aboue other in desire of ruling, and ouer-ruling all: and finding that *Peters* patrimonie, though exceeding any one kingdome of the world, would not suffice to maintaine their state, which they would haue to bee greater then that of Emperors, Kings, & Princes; they entered into those sheepfolds of other men, which they found to abound with milke and wooll: for they tooke to them the power to conferre benefices, & church-liuings, which should fall voide in any part of the Christian world, ouer-throwing all those elections which the ancient by so many Canons carefully sought to vphold: and hereby drew to them an infinite masse of money: neither did they so stay, but tooke away from Bishops and patrons all right of collation and presenta-

h *Bellarmin. Ibid. cap. 7.*

i *Vbi supra.*

k *De concord. Cathol. lib. 2. cap. 13.*

l *Dialog. lib. 4. primi tractat. tertiæ part. cap. 2.*

m *Ibid. cap. 3.*

n *Super Sent. prolog. quæst. 10. art. 2.*

o *De sacris Eccles. minist. & Benef. lib. 3. cap. 2.*

p *In Chronico Anni. 1088.*

q *De Concord. Cathol. lib. 3. cap. 41.*

r *De corrupto Ecclesiæ statu.*

» presentation ; forbidding them to place any, till such should be prouided
» for, as they had giuen the expectatiue hope of benefices not void. Of
» these men there was an infinite number, not comming from the Vniuer-
» sities and schooles of learning, but from the plowgh or base trades, not
» knowing *Alpha* from *Beta*: who liued most wickedly, and dissolutly,
» and brought the holy Ministery into so great contempt, that whereas an-
» ciently nothing was more honorable, now nothing is more abiect, and
» contemptible. Besides these greeuances, vppon euery vacancy, they ex-
» acted the benefit of a whole yeare out of euery liuing, according to a
» taxation sette by them, which sometimes three yeares profit would not
» answere: and yet not content here-with, they often times imposed
» tenthes, and such like extraordinary taxes vppon the poore Cleargy: And,
» as if nothing would suffice, ouerthrew all the iurisdiction of other Bi-
» shoppes: brought all matters of suite to the Court of *Rome*: and thereby
» also filled their coffers: and, that nothing might bee wanting to make
» the Church most miserable, the proud spirits of Cardinalls, the Popes As-
» sessors, their swelling wordes, and their insolent gestures were such, that
» if a man would draw a perfit picture of pride, the best way to expresse the
» same were to paint a Cardinall. For though these men at the first were
» but of the inferior Cleargy, yet in time they so inlarged their Phylacte-
» ries, that they doe not onely despise Bishops, whome in contempt they
» call *Episcopellos*; but also Patriarches, Primates, and Arch-bishoppes as
» their inferiors; and almost suffer them-selues to bee adored of them. Yea
» they thinke them-selues to bee Kings fellowes: neyther did they content
» them-selues thus proudly and insolently to aduance them-selues aboue
» these, vnder whome they should haue bin, but to maintaine their state, the
» vnmeasurable and inextricable gulfe of their couetousnesse was such, that
» no words can expresse it. For they got diuers kinds of liuings, that do not
» well stand together: they became Monks and Canons, Regulars and Secu-
» lars: and vnder one habit, possessed the liuings of all religious orders, and
» professions: not 2. or 3. 10. or 20. but a hundred, 2, hundred,, yea some-
» times 4. hundred or more: and those not small, and poore, but the best &
» fatteſt that could bee gotten. *Gerson* speaking of the incroching of the
» Court of *Rome*, writeth in this sort: ‘ *In processe of time the Pope drew many*
» *things to him-selfe.* ’ so that in the end, vpon occasions giuen & taken (which
» it is not needful heare to rehearse) almost the whole collation of liuings
» and iurisdiction of the Church, rested in the Pope and his Court, in
» such sort, that scarce was there any Prelate found, that had power
» to giue any the least benefice. Together with these thinges concur-
» red manifold exactions, to maintaine the state of the Pope and Cardinals:
» and whether there were not many fraudes, abuses, and symonies
» committed, I referre to the iudgement of such as are of experience.
» These thinges I haue therefore insisted vppon, because happily it

‘ *De Concil. vnius Obedientiæ.*

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may seeme to some more expedient for the Vniuersall Church, that all thinges should bee brought backe to their auncient estate, wherin they were in that Church that was in the Apostles times, as much as conueniently might bee, the greater part of these iurisdictions being reiected, which haue made the Church meerely brutish, and carnall, sauoring almost nothing of the things that concerne the saluation of soules, (not of them-selues but thorough the fault of such as abuse them) or at the least that thinges should bee brought to the state they were in, in the time of *Syluester*, or *Gregory*; when euery Prelate was left to him-selfe in his owne iurisdiction, and that part of the Church that was committed to his charge: And the Pope held that which was his owne, without so many reseruations, and so many great exactions, for the maintenance of that Court and Head, growing happily too great for the other states and parts of the body to beare.

So that, as there were worthy men, that, conspiring with vs in matter of fayth, opposed them-selues against errors, and false opinions, so there wanted not, that disliked and reproued the Popes incroaching, tending to the dissoluing of the whole frame of the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchie, and the ouerthrow of the forme of gouernement, setled by Christ, which is no lesse hurtful, then the bringing in of heresie and false Doctrine. And this is that Babylonicall captiuity, of which *Grosthead* complayned; and in respect of these confusions, and not onely in respect of ill life, as Maister *Higgons* vntruly telleth vs, *Bernard* and other complayned, that the seruantes of *Christ* serued *Antichrist*.

From the tyranny and vsurpations of the Pope, so much complayned of in the dayes of our Fathers, let vs come to abuses and superstitious obseruations remoued by vs, and see whether they that went before vs, will not giue testimony to that which wee haue done.

And first to begin with the Sacrament of the Lords body and bloud: the first abuse in the celebration of that Sacrament disliked by vs, is the mangling of it, and giuing it to the Lay people onely in one kinde.

Touching the ministration of the holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, it is euident, sayth [t] *Cassander*, that all other Churches of the World euen vnto this day, and that the *Roman* or *West* Church for more then a thousand yeares, in the solemne, publike, and ordinary dispensation of this Sacrament, gaue both kindes to all the members of the Church. The same doth [u] *Rhenanus* proue at large, writing vppon *Tertullian*; and sheweth, that, for feare of shedding, the Chalices, wherein the consecrated wine was, and out of which the people were to drinke the bloud of CHRISTE, had certayne pipes of siluer. Afterwardes in processe of time, the consecrated bread was dipped into the wine, and so giuen to the people, that they might receaue the whole Sacrament. But this kind of dipping [x] *Micrologus* saith, *Ordo Romanus* condemneth: and

[t] *Consultat. art. 22.*

[u] *Annot. in li. de Corona militis.*

[x] *De officio missæ. cap. 19.*

and therefore prescribeth, that on Good fryday, when there is no consecrating, but a receauing of the mysticall bread, that was consecrated the day before, they should by saying the Lords Prayer, and dipping the bodie of our Lord into Wine, not consecrated, consecrate the same: that so the people might bee partakers of the whole Communion: which thing were superfluous, if the body of our Lord, kept from the day before, and so dipped, might suffice for a full and entire Communion: and he sheweth, that *Iulius* the Pope, writing to the Bishops of *Ægypt*, condemned this kinde of dipping, and commanded them to giue the bread and wine apart, as Christ did institute: yet in time they proceeded farther, and gaue the Sacrament onely in one kinde to the people: which custome when some condemned; the Councels of *Constance* and *Basil*, thought good to confirme and allow; yet so, that the Bohemians, vpon certaine agreements, were permitted to haue the communion in both kindes: and [y] it is reported of Pope *Martin*, chosen in the Councell of *Constance*, that hee went home from the Councell, and ministred the Communion in both kindes, to diuerse, not of the Cleargy onely, but of the laitie also. [z] *Waldensis* also testifieth, that heere in England, some deuout men of the laitie were permitted to communicate in both kindes in his time: and [a] *Cassander* assureth vs, that all the best men that professed themselues to bee Catholiques, especially such as were conuersant in reading the ancient writers, and monuments of antiquity, vpon great reason desired to haue the Communion in both kindes.

[y] *Lindan. Panoplia Euangelicæ li. 4. ca. 56*

[z] *Doctrinal. Fidei tom 2. de Sacramento Eucharistiæ. cap. 94.*

[a] *Consultat. art. 22.*

The next abuse was that of priuate Masses. I haue shewed already that the name of Masse was giuen to the holy Sacrament, for that all *non-communicants* were dismissed, and all that staid were to communicate. And, as [b] *Cassander* fitly noteth, the whole composition and forme of the sacred prayer, called the Canon, agreeth only to a publike ministration; there beeing often mention made in it of the people standing round about, offering and communicating; so that some ancient expositors of the *Roman* order, thinke the Canon ought not to bee vsed; but in a publike ministration. To which purpose [c] *Micrologus* obserueth, that the prayers vsed after the communion are appliable onely to such as haue communicated; and therefore willeth them not to neglect to communicate, that desire to enioy the blessing of these prayers.

[b] *In præfat. Ord. Romani.*

[c] *De officio Missæ. cap. 19.*

[d] *Clichthoueus* vppon the Canon of the Masse sayeth, that which some note, that the Priest, so often as hee celebrateth, should giue the Sacrament to all that stand by, is Auncient and agreeable to the custome of the Primatiue Church, when the faithfull did euery day receaue the Sacrament according to that Sanction of *Calixtus* the Pope; *after the consecration let all communicate*: and that of *Anacletus*, who willeth them to be excommunicated, that being present at the consecration,

[d] *Citat. à Cas. in præfat. ord. Romani.*

communicate

cõmunicate not: which [e] *Andradius* wil not haue to be restrayned to the Ministers assisting, but extended to all the people, & that by the authority of *Dionysius*, and *Iustin Martyr*. [f] *Cochlæus* against *Musculus de sacrificio missæ* hath these words: In old time both Priest & people, as many as were present at the sacrifice of the Masse, after the oblatiõ was ended, communicated with the Priest, as it is euident by the Canons of the Apostles, and the Epistles of the most Ancient Doctors, &c. Afterwards the deuotion of the people decayed, yet the Cleargy and Ministers communicated still; and when all they did not communicate, yet at least the Deacons, and Subdeacons communicated, as the author of the *Romane* Breuiary testifieth. Where-vppon, saith *Cassander* some godly and learned men, doe wish, that this ancient custome were restored, that at least the Ministers might communicate with him that celebrateth, as agreeable to the practise of the Primitiue Church, and making much for the dignitie and grauity of this Mystery.

[g] In the Churches of *Æthiopia* all communicate in both kindes, twise euery weeke to this day. [h] *Iohn Hofmeister*, expounding certaine praiers of the Masse, hath these wordes: the thing it selfe proclaymeth it, that as well in the *Greeke*, as *Latin* Church, not the Priest that celebrateth only, but the rest of the Presbyters & Deacons, and the whole people, or at least some part of the People, was wont to communicate: which custome how it ceased, and grew out of vse, may seeme strange; but it were greatly to be wished that it were restored againe: which thing might easily be effected, if the Pastors of the Churches would doe their duty: for the Priests themselues are in fault, that few or none of the people are found to communicate, in that they do not inuite & stir them vp to communicate more often: as appeareth, by the writing of a certain Diuine, not vnlearned, in ỹ former age, in which he reprehendeth certaine Pastors of that age wherein he liued, who tooke it ill, that some of their Parishioners, though liuing very laudably, desired to communicate euery Sunday. That the Sacrament was ministred in former times in loafe bread, as we minister it at this day, it is euident by the booke called *Ordo Romanus*, by [h] *Durandus*, and sundry other authorities. In auncient times the manner was to giue the holy Sacrament into the handes of the communicants, as wee do, and not to put it into their mouthes, as the Papists doe. *What shall I speake*, saith [i] *Andradius*, of the vse of the holy Eucharist, which now no man may lawfully touch but the Priests, whereas it was wont to bee caryed by the Deacons, to such as were absent, and to be giuen to Lay men into their handes; whence proceeded that exhortation of *Cyrill* of *Hierusalem*; full of piety and religion, that each communicant should fasten his eyes vpon those hands that receaued the holy Eucharist, and kisse them with the kisses of his mouth, that so he might communicate to the rest of the members the holynesse of the Eucharist.

[e] *Defens. fid. Trident. lib. 2. fol. 239.*

[f] *Citat. à Cassandro vbi suprà.*

[g] *Damian. à Gors de Morib. Aethiopũ.*

[h] *Citat. à Cassandro consult. art. 24. De solitariis missis.*

[h] *In rational. Diuinorum. lib 4. rubrica de pacis osculo. Pag. 76.*

[i] *Defens. fid. Trident. lib. 2. fo. 239.*

The cuſtome of circumgeſtation, ſaith [k] *Caſſander*, is contrary to the manner of the Ancient, and would neuer haue beene liked of them, who held this myſterie in ſo great reſpect, that they admitted none to the ſight of it, but ſuch as they thought worthy to be partakers of it: where-vpon all ſuch as might not communicate, were ejected before the conſecration; and therefore it ſeemeth that this circumgeſtation might bee omitted. *Crantzius* praiſeth *Cuſanus*, who being the Popes Legate in *Germanie*, tooke it away, vnleſſe it were within the Octaues of the feaſt of *Corpus Chriſti*, the Sacrament being inſtituted for vſe, and not for oſtentation. Touching the honour of Saints, [l] *Gerſon*, [m] *Contarenus*, and others reprehend ſundry ſuperſtitious obſeruations, and wiſh they were wiſely abolished. Whether the Saints particularly know our eſtate, and heare our cries and groanes, not onely [n] *Auguſtine*, and the [o] Author of the *Interlineall Gloſſe*, but [p] *Hugo de ſancto Victore* alſo will tell vs, it is altogether vncertaine, and cannot bee knowne: whence it followeth, that how-ſoeuer, being aſſured they pray for vs in a generallity, we may ſafely deſire to be reſpected of God, the rather for their ſakes, yet it is not ſafe to pray to them. Neither is this a new conceipt of ours, but [q] *Gulielmus Altiſiodorenſis* ſaith, it was a common opinion in his time, that neither wee doe properly pray to Saints, nor they in particular pray for vs, but that improperly we are ſaid to pray to them, in that we pray vnto God, that the rather for their ſakes, and at their ſuite, we may finde fauour and acceptation with him. Touching the abuſe of Images, and how much it was diſliked in former time, let the Reader ſee [r] *Caſſander*. How great complaints were made long ſince againſt the forced ſingle life of the Cleargy, and how many and great men deſired the abrogation of the lawe, that forced men ſo to liue, I haue ſhewed at large [s] elſe-where. That in the Primatiue Church they had their prayers in the vulgar tongue, [t] *Lyra* confeſſeth; and [u] *Caietane* profeſſeth, that he thinketh it would be more for edification, if they were ſo now; and confirmeth his opinion out of the Apoſtle Saint *Paul*. Thus haue I giuen the Reader a taſte of the iudgment of thoſe that liued in former times, both concerning matters of doctrine now controuerſed, the Popes incroachments now by vs reſtrained, and alſo ſuch abuſes as we haue remooued, by which I thinke it will appeare to be moſt true, that amongſt many good proofes of the equitie of our cauſe, there can no better be deſired, then that, what we haue done in the reformation of things amiſſe, the worthieſt men in the Church wiſhed to be done, before we were borne. And therfore Maiſter *Higgons* hath little cauſe to ſay, [x] *Our cauſe is bad, and theſe Patrons worſe*. That which hee addeth; (*that* [y] *it is to bee marualled at, that I diſtill the religion and profeſſion of Proteſtants, out of Catholiques,*) is to bee laughed at as moſt ridiculous: for out of whome elſe ſhould I diſtill it? but if he thinke they were all Papiſts, whome I cite for proofe of our cauſe, becauſe they liued

vnder

k *Conſultat. art. 22.*

l *De directione cordis Conſider. 26. & ſeqq.*

m *In Conſut. artic. Lutheri.*

n *De Cura pro mortuis.*

o *In Eſaiæ. 63.*

p *Erudit. Theolog. de ſacram. fidei lib. 2. part. 16. cap. 11.*

q *In 4. Sent. lib. 3. tract. 8. cap. 5. queſt. 6.*

r *In Conſult. artic. 21. de Imaginibus.*

s *5 Booke of the Church. chap. 57.*

t *In 1 ad Corinth. 14.*

u *In Reſponſ. ad articulos Pariſienſes.*

x *Pag. 84.*

y *Pag. 107.*

vnder the Papacie, he is deceaued: for a great difference is to be putte betweene the Church, and faction in the Church: wee deriuing our selues from the one, and they from the other.

The second Chapter.

§. 1.

VVWherefore now let vs returne to see, what Maister *Higgons* hath further to say; [z] he will conuince Mee, he saith, of singular vanity, in that I say there is no materiall difference betweene those, whome he and his consorts call *Lutherans*, and *Zuinglians*. That the reader may the better be able to discerne, how ignorantly *Higgons* accepteth gainst Mee, I will set downe at large what I haue written touching this matter. Answering the calumniation of Papists, traducing vs for our diuisions, my wordes are these: [a] I dare confidently pronounce, that after due and full examination of each others meaning, there shall bee no difference found touching the matter of the Sacrament, the Vbiquitary presence, or the like, betweene the Churches reformed by *Luthers* Ministery in *Germany*, and other places, and those whome some mens malice called Sacramentaries. And in my third booke, answering the obiection of *Bellarmine*, charging the *Germane* Diuines with the heresie of *Eutiches*, in that they say the humanity of Christ is euery where, Vbiquity being an incommunicable property of the Deity, that cannot be communicated to the humane nature of Christ without confusion of the Diuine and Humane natures, I haue these words: [b] he should remember, that they, whom he thus odiously traduceth, are not so ignorant as to thinke, that the body of Christ, which is a finite and limited nature, is euery where by actuall position, or locall extension; but personally only, in respect of the coniunction and vnion it hath with God, by reason whereof it is no where seuered from God, who is euery where. This is it then, which they teach, that the body of Christ doth remayne in nature and essence finite, limited and bounded; and is locally but in one place: but that there is no place, where it is not vnited personally to that God, that is euery where: In which sence they thinke it may truly be said to be euery where. This construction of their sayings, who defend the Vbiquitary presence, is no priuate or singular deuice of mine, as Maister *Higgons* would make men beleeue; but [c] Maister *Hooker*, a man so far excelling *Theophilus Higgons* in learning and iudgement, that hee is not worthy to bee named the same day, hath the same precisely in the very same wordes, and alloweth it as Catholike and good; and indeed, who but an ignorant Nouice that hath not learned the principles of the Catechisme would impugne it? Yet Maister *Higgons* sayth; [d] I haue sayled exceedingly in two poynts: the first in saying, there is no place, where the body of

[z] *Pag.* 36.

[a] Booke 3. cap. 42.

[b] *Ibid. cap.* 38.

[c] Ecclesiastical pollicy. booke. 5.

[d] *Pag.* 37.

Christ is not vnited personally vnto that God that is euery where, and that it doth subsist euery where: the second, in saying the humane nature of Christ may rightly bee sayd to bee euery where, in as much as it is vnited personally to that which is euery where. This second saying is none of mine; for I haue no such wordes; as the reader will soone perceaue if he peruse the place; but my wordes are these: *The body of CHRISTE is not euery where by locall extension, but personally onely in respect of the vnion it hath with God, by reason whereof it is no where seuered from God, who is euery where:* and againe, *there is no place where it is not vnited personally, to that God, that is euery where:* in which sence the *Germane* Diuines thinke it may be sayd to be euery where.

Wherefore, let vs see what Maister *Higgons* can say against any thing deliuered by Mee, touching this point: hee sayth I haue sayled, for that, though the Diuine person wherein the humane nature subsisteth, be euery where; yet the humane nature subsisteth therin finitely, & in one determinate place, the Vnion it selfe being a created thing. For the better clearing of this point, and the vnderstanding of the Doctrine of the Church, resolued on by the best learned in the Schooles, wee must obserue, that there is a being of essence, and a being of existence, or subsistence: the beeing of essence, which the humane nature of Christe hath, is finite and limited, as is the essence of all other men: but beeing of existence it hath none of it owne, but that of the Sonne of God communicated to it, which is infinite and Diuine. [e] *Deus in incarnatione verbi* (saith *Picus Mirandula*) *fecit essentiam humanitatis sine suo esse, vt dicitur à multis Doctoribus:* that is, Almighty God in the incarnation of the eternall word, produced the essence of the humanity, without that finite & created actuall existence, which, left to it selfe, it would haue had, as many Doctors doe affirme; and [f] the person of the Sonne of God, hauing in it the fulnesse of all beeing, drew the nature of man to the vnity of that infinite beeing it had in it selfe, and communicated the same vnto it: so that the humanity of Christ neuer had any other being of actuall existence or subsistence, but that of the Sonne of God communicated to it. And farther the same *Picus* sayth, *Esse corporis Christi substantiale est increatum Diuinum, quod est suppositi Diuini; cum in Christo non sit nisi vnum esse actualis existentiae substantialis.* That is, the substantiall, actuall beeing of the body of *CHRISTE*, is the increated beeing of the Sonne of GOD: seeing in *CHRISTE* there is but one beeing of actuall existence.

[e] *In Apologia quæst. 9. de accidentib. in Sacramento.*

[f] *Apolog. quæst. 5.*

[g] *Apolog. quæst. 9.*

This which *Picus Mirandula* hath deliuered, is the resolution of *Thomas Aquinas*, *Caietan*, and all the best learned in the *Romane* Schooles: whence it followeth ineuitably, that the humanity of Christ, in the being of actual existence, and subsistence, which it hath, is not limited or contayned within any bounds of place, but is euery where; how-soeuer in

respect

respect of the being of essence, which is created and finite, it be shutte vp within the straits of one place, at one time: and therefore it is no better then Heresie, that *Higgons* hath, g *that the humanity of Christ subsisteth fixitely in the person of the sonne of God:* for if it subsist finitely, the subsistence it hath is finite: and if it haue a finite subsistence, then are there two subsistences in Christ, the one finite, the other infinite; and consequently, two persons: which is flat *Nestorianisme.* But, saith *Higgons*, the vnion it selfe in *Christ* is a created thing; therefore the being of actual existence, or subsistence, which the humanity hath, is finite. Truly it had bin fitte the poore Nouice had beene set to Schoole for a time, before he had bene permitted to write: for hee bewrayeth grosse ignorance in those thinges, which euery one that hath saluted the Schooles doth know. *The vnion of the natures of God and man in Christ*, sayth Cardinal h *Caietan*, *is to bee considered, vel quantum ad relationem quam significat, vel quantum ad coniunctionem in personâ, ad quam consequitur: quoniam plus differunt hæc duo, quam cælum & terra; Vnio enim pro relatione, est ens reale creatum. Vnio autem pro coniunctione naturæ humanæ in personâ diuinâ, cum consistat in vnitate, quæ est inter naturam humanam & personam filij Dei, est in genere seu ordine Substantiæ; & non est aliquid Creatum, sed Creator; quod ex eo constat, quòd Vnum non addit supra Ens naturam aliquam, & vnumquodq; per illudmet, per quod est Ens, est et Vnum, &c. Ac per hoc, natura humana in Christo, quia per esse substantiale subsistentiæ filii Dei est iuncta naturæ diuinæ, oportet quod illud vnum esse, in quo indiuisæ sunt natura diuina & humana in Christo, sit esse vnum substantiale diuinum; & verè sic est, quia esse subsistentiæ filii Dei, in quo non distinguũtur ambæ naturæ, Substãtia est, Deus est: quia verbum Dei est. Vnâ et eâdem quippe Subsistentiâ subsistit filius Dei in naturâ Diuinâ & in naturâ humanâ & consequenter natura diuina & humana in Christo sunt indiuisæ in illâ Subsistentiâ vtriq; communi, quamuis inter se valdè distinguantur.* The summe of that he sayth is this: (for I will not stand exactly to english his wordes:) that the vnion betweene the nature of God and Man in *CHRISTE*, in respect of that being, of actuall existence, and subsistence, wherein they are conioyned, (which is the same and common to them both, to witte, the subsistence of the Sonne of God, communicated to the nature of man, preuented that it should not haue any created or finite subsistence of it owne) is no finite or created thing, but infinite and diuine; but in respect of the attaining of the same, in time, and the relation of dependance the humane nature hath vpon the eternal word, it is finite: and therefore, wheras there are two kindes of grace in Christ, the one of vnion, the other habituall; the latter is absolutely a finite and created thing, but the former, in respect of the thing giuen, which is the personall subsistence of the Sonne of GOD, bestowed vpon the nature of man, is infinite: though the passiue mutation of the nature of man, lifted vppe to the personall beeing of the Sonne of God,

g Pag. 37.

h In 3. part. Summa. quæst. 2. art. 6.

and the relation of dependance it hath on it, be finite, and in the number of created things. From that which hath bene said, it may be concluded vnauoydably, that the humanity of Christ, in respect of personall vnion, and in that beeing of actuall existence or subsistence which it hath, which is infinite and diuine, is euery where, as God him-selfe is euery where. But saith *Higgons*, there is an vnion *Hypostatical* betweene the soule and body, and all the partes of it; yet is not the foote or hand euery where, where the soule is, which is whole and intire in euery part, because it is not in the head. The poore fellow, I see, hath yet learned but a little Diuinity, and that maketh him thus to talke at randome. For how-soeuer the comparison of the soule and body, be brought to expresse the personall vnion in Christ, yet it is very defectiue, as [l] *Bellarmine* him-selfe confesseth. First, because the body and soule are imperfit natures. Secondly, because they concurre to make one nature. Thirdly, because neyther of them draweth the other into the subsistence it hath, but both depend on a third subsistence, which is that of the whole: but in the mysterie of the incarnation, the eternall Word subsisting perfitly in it selfe, draweth vnto it the nature of man; so that the humanity of Christ, hauing the same actuall existence that the eternall Word hath, must needs bee, in respect of the same being, where-soeuer the Word is: But there is no necessity that each part of the body should bee where-soeuer the soule is, which is intirely in the whole body, and intirely in euery part, because the body, and the parts of it, haue neyther the same beeing of essence nor existence, that the soule hath.

[l] *De incarnatione. lib. 3. cap. 8.*

But, sayth *Higgons*, [k] the properties of the diuine nature are by vertue of the personall vnion, attributed to the person, *in concreto*, and not to the humane nature, *in abstracto*: so that, though the Man *CHRISTE* may bee sayd to bee euery where, yet the humanity cannot.

[k] *Pag. 38.*

For answere to this obiection wee must note, that the communication of properties is of two sortes; the first is, the attributing of the propertyes of eyther nature to the person, from which nature soeuer it bee denominated. The second, is the real communication of the properties of the Deity to the nature of man, not formally and in it self, but *in supposito*, in the Person of the sonne of God, bestowed on it; in which sence [l] *Bellarmine* confesseth, that the glory of God, and all power both in heauen and in earth, are giuen to the humane nature of Christ: *Non in ipsâ, sed in supposito, id est, per gratiam vnionis.* And so the Diuines of *Germany* do say, the humanity of CHRIST is euery where, in the being of subsistence communicated to it, and the Man CHRIST properly and formally.

[l] *De Incarnatione. li. 3. cap. 16.*

By this which hath beene sayd, the intelligent reader, I doubt not, will easily perceaue the folly of silly *Higgons*, who beeing ignorant of the very principles and rudiments of Christian Doctrine, traduceth

traduceth that as *a pseudo-theologicall* determination and heresie, which is the resolued determination of all the principal Schoole-men, and best Diuines, that euer treated distinctly of the personal vnion of the two natures in Christ.

Yet as if all were cleare for him, and against Mee, encouraged by his good succes in this particular, he proceedeth to the matter of ỹ Sacrament, perswading him-selfe, hee shall bee able to finde such and so many essentiall differences therein, as neyther I, nor any man else shall euer bee able to reconcile: whereas not-wit standing, if he had beene so much conuersant in the workes of *Zanchius*, as he pretendeth, he might haue found in him [m] a most godly and learned discourse touching this point, wherein all that hee or any of his companions can say, is answered already, and the Diuines of *Germany* and those other, in shew opposite, in such sort reconciled, that our Aduersaries, if any thing would satisfye them, might lay their hands on their mouthes and be silent.

[m] *Iudicium de dissidio Cœnæ Dominicæ in fine Miscellan.*

In this discourse, first, he sheweth that there is no question touching the preparation of them, that desire to bee worthy partakers of this heauenly banket, neyther concerning the vse of this blessed Sacrament. Secondly that it is agreed, that the very body and bloud of Christ are to be receaued by such as desire to bee made partakers of the life of grace, or being already partakers of it, to be strengthned, confirmed, and continued in the same. Thirdly, that the elements of bread and wine, presenting to our consideration the spirituall nourishing force, that is in the body and bloud of Christ, are not abolished in their substances, as the Patrons of Transubstantiation imagine, but only changed in vse, in that they do not only signifie, but exhibite and communicate vnto vs the very body and blood of Christ, with all the gratious working of the same. Fourthly, that the meaning of Christs words, whē he said, *this is my body, this is my bloud*, is, This, which outwardly & visibly I giue vnto you, is in substance, bread and wine, and in mystery and exhibitiue signification my body & bloud; but this which inuisibly, together with the visible element, I giue vnto you, is, my very body that was crucified, and my bloud that was shedde for the remission of your sinnes. Fifthly, that the body and bloud of CHRISTE, which the Sacraments do not signifie onely, but exhibite also, and whereof the faithfull are to bee partakers, are truely present in the blessed Sacrament; but the one part denyeth that they are present, *secundum suum esse naturale*, that is, in the naturall beeing, or beeing of essence, because the body of CHRISTE beeing finite, and hauing finite dimensions, cannot be in many places at one time; the other part on the contrary side answereth, that the body of Christ is finite indeed; but that, because it is personally ioyned to the Deity, it is where-soeuer the Deity is; yet doe not they of this part say it is euery where,

localiter, but *repletiuè et personaliter*; that is, not locally, but repletiuely and personally: which distinction *Zanchius* professeth hee doth not well vnderstand; but sayth, if their meaning bee, that the body of Christ is present, *secundum esse personale*, that is, in that being of diuine subsistence communicated to it, whereof I haue spoken before, they say true, and contradict not the other, who speake of the naturall beeing of Christes body, or being of essence, and not of existence or subsistence, which is infinite and Diuine. And though Christs body be euery where in that personal being, as well as in ỹ Sacrament, yet is it not any where else presented vnto vs in the nature of spirituall food. So that there is no difference betweene these men, touching the presence of Christes body in the Sacrament; neyther will there bee any sound touching the eating of it: for whereas in eating there is implyed a chewing or mastication of that which is eaten, a traiection from the mouth into the stomacke, and a turning of the substance of the meate into the substance of the eater; a bodily eating of Christs body there cannot bee, seeing it is impassible, and admitteth no such diuision, as is made in chewing: and besides, if it should bee swallowed whole, it cannot bee turned into the substance of our bodies, but rather turneth vs into the substance of it selfe: so that there is onely a spirituall eating of Christ, consisting in that chewing, that is, by meditation vppon the seuerall and distinct things, that are found in his natures, powers, actions and sufferings; a traiection from the vnderstanding part to the heart, and an incorporation of the beleeuer into him. Yet is it not to be denyed, but that *Luther* and some other did teach, that euen the wicked do in a sort eat the flesh of Christ, not as if they did corporally touch his sacred body, much lesse teare, rent, or deuide it with their teeth, or turne it into their substance; but for that they may be sayd, in a sort, to eate the flesh of Christ, though vnprofitably, and to their condemnation, in that they truly receaue the body of Christ; eating that outward substance of bread, with which it is truly present, though not locally: and to this purpose the same *Zanchius* reporteth, that a man of no vulgar note amongst the followers of *Luther*, did not feare to tell him, that he, and his, do not say that wee eate the body of Christ corporally, in such sort, as that our mouth and body should touch his sacred body, which is not locally present, but that the body of *CHRISTE* is eaten bodily, onely in respect of the Sacramentall vnion, attributing that to the bodie of *CHRISTE*, that properly agreeth to the bread, with which the body is present. These things are found in a discourse of *Zanchius* intitled: *Iudicium Hieronymi Zanchii de dissidio cœnæ dominicæ*: written by him for the satisfaction of a Bishop of *Italie*, at the request and entreaty of *Paulus Vergerius*, and *Sturmius*.

By that which hath beene sayd, wee see there is no difference in

iudgement

iudgement between them, who out of humane frailty are too much diuided in affection: *Luther* vttered many thinges very passionately against *Zuinglius*, and others, conceauing that they made the Sacraments to be nothing, but onely notes distinctiue, seruing to putte difference betweene Christians, and such as are no Christians, as a Monkes Cowle distinguisheth a Monke from him that is no Monke, or empty signes, without all presence of grace, and exhibition of the thinges they signifie. But if hee had fully vnderstood the meaning of them, he was so violently opposite vnto, hee would not haue censured them so hardly as hee did. If Maister *Higgons* had euer read this Tract of *Zanchius*, hee would not haue willed Mee to excogitate, or scanne out any reconciliation betwixt Lutherans, and Sacramentaries in the matter of the Sacrament.

The second part of the Chapter.

§. 1.

WHerefore let vs come to the next part of this Chapter; wherein [a] he vndertaketh to demonstrate, that the things alledged by Mee, to take away the offence and scandall of the seeming differences amongst Protestants, are but false and empty pretenses. The first thing that [b] I alledge is, that it is not to be maruailed at, that the *Tigurins*, *Gesnerus*, and others disliked the distempered passions of *Luther*, or that some difference were amongst them, seeing the like were in former times betweene *Epiphanius* and *Chrysostome*, *Hierome*, *Ruffinus*, *Augustine*, and others. The second, that the Papists haue their differences also, and those farre more materiall and vn-reconcileable, then any are amongst vs. The third, that our differences, grow not out of the nature and quality of our doctrine, and that wee want not a certayne rule, by the direction whereof all controuersies may bee ended.

[a] *Pag.* 43.

[b] Booke 3. chap. 52

Against the first of these my allegations, first he opposeth a diuelish vntruth, affirming, that *Gesnerus*, and the *Tigurins*, did not onely dislike the distempered passions of *Luther*, but hate him with mortall hatred, and accurse and execrate him, as possessed of a legion of Diuells; which neyther *Higgons*, into whome a lying spirit is entred, nor any of those diuells hee is growne so familiar with, shall euer proue. So that there is no cause of trembling, but at the fearefull iudgement of God, against such as Maister *Higgons* is, that forsake the loue of the Truth, whome he giueth vp into a reprobate sence. Secondly, in opposition to that which I alleadge, hee vndertaketh to proue there were no such differences betweene the Ancient, as those betweene the followers of *Luther* and *Zuinglius*; but demeaneth him-selfe like a false gamester; for whereas I place the differences and conflictes betweene *Epiphanius* and *Chrysostome* in the front as whottest and most violent; the one of them refusing to pray with the other; the one challenging the other for manyfold breaches of Canons,

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and the one professing, hee hoped the other should neuer die a Bishoppe; the other, that he should neuer returne into his country aliue (both which things fell out according to their vncharitable wishes and desires, *Epiphanius* dying by the way, as he was returning home, and *Chrysostome* being cast out of his Bishopprike, and dying in banishment) he scarse taketh any notice hereof, but saith onely, the differences betweene *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, exceeded the conflicts betweene *Chrysostome*, and *Epiphanius*: which yet I thinke hee will hardly proue. Touching *Ruffinus* and *Hierome*, it is certaine, the one of them charged the other with heresie, and vsed most bitter speaches one against another, to the great scandall of the world. The differences betweene *Augustine* & *Hierome* were carried more temperately: neither doe I say, they exceeded in passion, as *Luther* and *Zuinglius* did; yet did *Augustine* charge *Hierome* with taking on him the Patronage of lying, and affirming that the Authors of canonicall scriptures lyed in some passages of the same, the consequence whereof he thinketh to be most dangerous & damnable. Besides this, they differed about the ceasing of the legall obseruations; so that their differences were greater then those of *Luther* and *Zuinglius* if they had rightly vnderstood one another. Yet will Maister *Higgons* shew [c] a great difference betweene the differences of the Ancient, and those of *Luther*, and *Zuinglius*: First, because *Chrysostome* and *Epiphanius*, *Hierome* and *Ruffinus*, had an ordinary vocation, whereas *Luther* and *Zuinglius* are supposed to haue beene raysed vp extraordinarily. Secondly for that they quarrelled onely about the bookes of *Origen*, and the improbation thereof; but the differences betweene *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, were founded originally in matters of faith, pertayning to the necessity of saluation.

[c] Pag. 34. 35.

Thirdly in respect of extent; in that their differences were not the differences of whole Churches, as these are; and of duration, in that their diuisions were soone extinguished, but these are propagated in succession, and increased with continuall addition. To euery of these pretended differences I will breifly answer: and first to the first; that wee neuer thought, that *Luther* and *Zuinglius* had an extraordinary calling as the Apostles, and other sent immediatly of God had; but that God stirred and moued them extraordinarily with Heroicall resolution, to vse that ordinary ministeriall power, which they had receaued in the corrupt state of the Church, for the reprehending and reforming abuses in the same; and therefore they might be subiect to errors, and infirmity, as *Chrysostome* and *Epiphanius* were, not-with-standing any thing wee say or conceaue of them. To the second wee say, Maister *Higgons* sheweth him-selfe in it, either faythlesse, or ignorant. For we know, [d] *Epiphanius* was an *Anthropomorphite*; and that hee was willing for that cause to condemne the bookes of *Origen*, wherein this grosse error is condemned, and besides tooke part with *Theophilus* Bishoppe of *Alexandria*

[d] See these things at large in the fift booke of the Church, chap. 35.

andria, who, though hee were of another minde, yet fayned him-selfe to be an *Anthropomorphite*, and to condemne the bookes of *Origen*, as contrary to that conceipt, and deposed *Chrysostome*; for which his temerity, hee was *Anathematised* by the Church of *Rome*, if wee may beleeue *Nicephorus*. Neyther were these the priuate differences of particular men, but of the greatest Churches of the world, as *Chrysostome* confesseth in his Epistle to the Bishoppe of *Rome*, saying, that all the Churches euery where by reason heereof were brought vppon their knees. Touching *Ruffinus* it is euident, that he was challenged for fauouring the heresies of *Origen*, whose workes he translated: so that it was no matter of circumstance, but of substance, in highest degree, about which *Hierome* and hee calumniated one the other: and for proofe hereof, *Anastasius* Bishoppe of *Rome* writing to the Bishop of *Hierusalem* touching *Ruffinus*, saith, he had so translated the books of *Origen* out of *Greeke* into *Latin*, as that he approued the errors contayned in them, and was like a man that consenteth to the vices and faults of other men. Yea [e] *Hierome* feared not directly to pronounce him to be an Heretike, and more blinde then a Mole.

[e] *Vide Apologiã Hieronymi contra Ruffinum.*

We read, [f] that in the time of the first Councell of *Ephesus*, called for the suppressing of the heresie of *Nestorius*, there grew most bitter contentions betweene *Cyrill* of *Alexandria*, and *Iohn* of *Antioch*, so that the Churches subiect to them were deuided one from another, in such sort, that they *Anathematised* one the other, imputing heresie each to other: yet were they in truth and in deed of the same iudgement, and in the end it was found, that these contentions grew out of dislikes, mistakings, and mis-constructions of things wel meant, but not so taken. The like may bee sayd of *Theodoret*, who, not-withstanding all the conflicts betweene him and *Cyrill*, and the condemnation passed vppon him, as if hee had beene an Heretike, was in the end found to bee an Orthodox by *Leo*, and the Bishoppes of the *West*; and vppon a full and cleare declaration and profession of his fayth, receaued as a Catholike Bishoppe into the Councell of [g] *Chalcedon*. *Gregory Nazianzen*, in his oration made in the praise of *Athanasius*, sheweth, that there was a maine diuision of the Christians of the *East*, and the *Romans*, or those of the *West*: the one part suspecting the other of heresie, vpon a meere not vnderstanding one another: the *Romans* professed to beleeue, that there are three persons in the blessed Trinity, but could not be induced to acknowledge three *Hypostases*; whence the oriental Christians thought them to be *Sabellians*, who thought that there is but one person in the Godhead, called by three names: on the other side, the orientall Christians professed that they beleeued three *Hypostases* in the God-head, but would not admitte three persons; whence they of *Rome* thought them to bee *Arrians*, who beleeued, that there are three distinct substances in the God-head: the word *Hypostasis* in the Schooles of seculer

[f] *Vide actæ Concilii Ephesini.*

[g] *Actione. 1. & 8.*

learning;

learning, importing ſubſtance, as *Hierome* noteth: but *Athanaſius* perceauing that they differed not in iudgement, and that the *Greekes* ment the ſame by their *Hypoſtaſes*, that the Latines did by their name of Perſons, left them free for the manner and forme of ſpeach, and made a peace betweene them, by letting them know, they all meant one thing, though they expreſſed the ſame differently; wheras otherwiſe it was to be feared, they would haue beene diuided with endleſſe diuiſions, about theſe few Syllables. About this matter *Hierome* liuing in the eaſt parts, wrot to *Damaſus*, Biſhoppe of *Rome*; his words are theſe.[h] They vrge vs to acknowledge three *Hypoſtaſes*: we aske them what they meane by the *Hypoſtaſes* they ſpeake of, and they tell vs three perſons ſubſiſting: we anſweare, that we beleeue ſo, but the ſenſe ſatiffieth them not; they vrge vs to vſe the word it ſelfe, ſome poyſon lying hid in the very ſyllables. &c. Let it be ſufficient for vs to ſay, there is one ſubſtance in God, and three ſubſiſting Perſons, perfit, equal, and coeternal; if it ſeme good vnto you, let vs ſpeake noe more of three *Hypoſtaſes*, but let vs acknowledge one onely: there is ſome ill to be ſuſpected, when in one ſenſe diuerſity of words is found; let it ſuffice vs, to beleeue as I haue ſaid: or, if you thinke it right, that we admit three *Hypoſtaſes*, with their interpretation wee will not refuſe ſo to doe: but beleeue me, there lieth ſome poyſon hid vnder their words: the Angell of Satan hath tranſſigured himſelfe into an Angell of light.

[h] *Tomo 2. operum Hironymi.*

By this which hath beene ſaid, it is euident, that there haue beene as great and hot contentions in former times, amongſt right beleeuers, as are now betweene the profeſſors of the reformed religion, and that thoſe diuiſions were not about matters of circumſtance, or perſonall onely, as *Higgons* falſly pretendeth, but of whole Churches, diſliking, condemning, and refuſing to communicate one with another, vpon ſuppoſed differences in matters of Faith and Religion.

Wherefore to draw to a concluſion, we deny not, but that *Luther*, and ſome other adhering to him, vpon ſome miſconſtruction of the opinion of *Zuinglius*, and the reſt, were carried too farre with the violence of there ill-guided zeale: but we ſay alſo, that there were as fiery conflicts in former times beeweene *Cyrill* and *Theodoret*: betweene *Cyrill*, and *Iohn* of *Antioch*: betweene *Chryſoſtome*, and *Epiphanius*: who yet were Catholique Chriſtians all of them, as I take it, notwithſtanding the vnkindneſſes that paſſed betweene them; and as *Iohn* of *Antioch*, and *Theodoret* were reconciled to *Cyrill*, and thoſe of that ſide, vpon a more full explication of their poſitions formerly diſliked; ſo it is* reported by *Melanchthon*, that *Luther* a little before his death, confeſſed vnto him, that he had exceeded and gone too farre in the controuerſies betweene him and his oppoſits about the Sacrament; and that thereupon being wiſhed to publiſh ſome qualification of his former writings, that were too violent and bitter, he ſaid he had thought vpon that matter, and would ſo doe, but that he feared

*See touching this report of *Melanchthon*, the Admonition of the Diuines of the County Palatine, concerning the booke, entituled, *Liber Concordiæ*.

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the scandall that might grow vpon such his retractation, and that therefore he was resolued to referre all to God, and to leaue the matter to *Melanchthon*, who might doe some thing in it, after his death. This conference betweene *Luther* and him, *Melanchthon* made knowne to many, and euer constantly shewed himselfe a most godly, peaceable, and religious man, carefull to hold the vnity of the spirit, in the bond of peace; howsoeuer it pleaseth pratling *Higgons* to wrong him, and to compare him to the [i] Moone in mutability. Wherefore leauing my first allegation, let vs come to the second; which is, that there are more, and more materiall differences amongst Papists, then amongst vs, which *Higgons* saith is a *poore recrimination.* For that [k] the eye being iudge, there is a comfortable Harmony in the *Roman* Church; the same Doctrine preached, the same Sacraments ministered, and the same Gouernment established: whereas Protestants are diuided in iudgement, touching matters of faith, and haue a distinct gouernment in *England, Scotland, Heluetia,* & *Saxony.* This exception consisteth of two parts: the first, clearing the Papists from the differences and diuisions, they are charged with; The Second, charging Protestants with diuisions and differences both in matters of faith and gouernment. For answear to the former part of this exception, first I say, if there be no contradiction betweene these assertions, *the Pope is aboue Generall Councells; the Pope is not aboue Generall Councells: the Pope hath the vniuersality of all Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction in him-selfe; the Pope is but onely prime Bishoppe in order and honor before other, equal in commission with him, and, at the most, but as the duke of Venice amongst the senators of that state: the Pope may erre iudicially; the Pope cannot erre iudicially: the Pope is temporall Lord of all the world; the Pope is not temporall Lord of all the world: the Pope, if not as temporall Lord of the world, yet,* in ordine ad spiritualia *may dispose the Kingdomes of the world; the Pope may not medle with Princes states in any case; men are iustified by imputed righteousnesse; men are not iustified by imputed righteousnesse: men are iustified by speciall faith; men are not iustified by speciall faith: men may be certaine, by the certainety of faith, that they are in state of grace: men cannot be so certaine; there is merit of condignity, properly so named; there is no merit of condignity: the blessed Virgin was conceaued in sinne; the blessed Virgin was not conceaued in sinne*: then doubtlesse all the Pastors and Bishoppes of the *Roman* Church, preach the same Doctrine; otherwise let the reader assure himselfe, Maister *Higgons* hath stretched his stile, to vse his owne words, till hee forced it to breake into a vast and notable vntruth.

[i] Pag. 45.

[k] Pag. 46.

Secondly, I say the forme of ministring the Sacraments, hath not beene alwaies the same in the *Roman* Church. For, (as *Cassander* noteth in his preface before the booke called *Ordo Romanus*, published by him) the auncient formes of diuine seruice were abolished and new imposed, and prescribed, violently; so that all that resisted, were sent into banishment

and

and since that first alteration, as [l] *Platina* noteth, a number of Tautologies, and Barbarismes are crept in, making ingenuous men abhor from the celebration of the holy mysteries. Thirdly, I thinke it will easily appeare, there was no such sweete harmony in the *Roman* Church touching matters of gouernment, as Maister *Higgons* speaketh off, when the Pope was not onely resisted, but called *Antichrist*, in respect of his infinite reseruations, admittances of appeales, his prouisions, and graunting of expectatiue graces, and the like vsurpations, preiudiciall to the right of all other Bishoppes, and the liberty of the Church.

[l] *In vitâ Gregorii primi.*

For answere to the second part of his exception, first, I confidently affirme, and the proudest Papist vnder heauen shall neuer proue the contrary, that Protestants haue no reall and essentiall differences in matters of fayth and doctrine. Secondly, I say, that their differences in the forme of gouernement, are not such as our Aduersaries pretend. For [m] they that admitte gouernment by Bishoppes, make their authority to bee fatherly, not princely, directing the rest, not excluding their aduise and assistance: subordinate to Prouinciall Synodes, wherein no one hath a negatiue voyce, but the *maior* part of the voyces of the Bishoppes and Presbyters determineth all doubtes, questions, and controuersies: and [n] they that retayne not the name of Bishoppes, yet haue a president in each company of Presbyters, and thinke it a part of Gods ordinance, that there should bee such a one to goe before the rest, and to bee in a sort ouer them; who, though they giue not the name of Bishoppes, nor so much authority to these Presidents, as Antiquity did, yet is not their error in this point matchable with the errors that are amongst Papistes, contradicting one another, touching the Pope and his gouernment, in thinges most essentially concerning the power and authority of that supposed Ministeriall head of the Church.

[m] *In D. Bilson of the perpetuall gouernment of the church. Pag. 307.*

[n] *Beza de Ministrorum Euangelii gradibus.*

Wherefore, let vs come to my last allegation, excepted against by Maister *Higgons*; which is, that wee want not a most certayne rule to end all controuersies by, which is the written word of GOD, interpreted according to the rule of fayth, the practise of the Saintes from the beginning, the conference of places, and all light of direction, that eyther knowledge of tongues, or any partes of good learning can yeeld.

In excepting against this rule, Maister *Higgons* sheweth the weakenesse of his braine: for what if *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, and other complayned agaynst such as they thought to bee opposite to them in opinion, touching some particular poinctes, that they had not due regard to this rule, or that they vsed it not aright? What if al be not presently of one mind and iudgment in al things? will that improue the rule of iudging, which wee propose? and not rather argue the imperfection of such as should iudge according to it? But hee [o] craueth leaue to except against

[o] *Pag. 47.*

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the Rule proposed by Me, for three respects: first, because the principles of our religion exclude the meanes of reconciliation, to witte, the grauity of Councells, the dignity of Fathers, and the authority of the Church.

For answere where-vnto wee say, that wee exclude not the grauity of Councells; for we absolutely, without all restriction, receaue all the lawfull Generall Councells, that euer were holden touching matters of faith; & though we make God, speaking in his word, to be the only iudge authentically defining, and prescribing, what men shall beleeue, vnder paine of condemnation; yet wee thinke Councells haue a iudgement of iurisdiction, and that they may subiect all gayne-sayers to excommunication, and like censures. Neyther doth it any way derogate from the authority of Bishops assembled in Councells, that we make them indges to determine according to the word of God, & the resolutiõs of the Church frõ the beginning, & not the rule it selfe: for what man in his right wits, will attribute any more vnto them, and make them iudges at liberty, tied to the following of no rule of direction? or like God, that is a rule to himselfe in al his actions, & hath no Law pre-scribed to him by any other?

Yet because Maister *Higgons* willeth the reader to compare *Camplans* fourth reason with my assertion, I will likewise entreat him to see a worthy [p] discourse of *Clemangis*, wherein hee proueth at large that Bishops assembled in Generall Councells must proue and confirme their determinations by other arguments, then by their owne authority; and giueth many reasons, by which a man may reasonably perswade himselfe, that such Councels are not absolutely & generally free from danger of erring: whence it followeth, that they neyther are the rule, that is to be followed in determining controuersies; nor after they are determined.

[p] *Disputatio Nichol. Clemãgis habita per scriptum super materia Concilii generalis, cum quodam Scholastico Parisiensi.*

Touching the dignity of Fathers, and authority of the Church, wee esteeme them both as beseemeth vs: for what-soeuer the Fathers generally, and with one consent deliuer in matters of fayth, wee admitte and receaue as true without farther examination: as likewise, what-soeuer the Church consisting of all Christians, not noted for heresie or singularity, that are and haue beene since the Apostles times: but of particular Fathers, and partes of the Church, wee iudge according to the rule of Gods word, and the generall resolution of the Fathers, and the whole Church that hath beene since the Apostles times.

His next exception against our rule, is, [q] because wee admitte not the Pope to bee iudge of all controuersies in *CHRISTES* steed, which hee must frame in this sort: The Pope is supreame iudge of controuersies in religion: therefore the Word of GOD interpreted in sort before expressed, is not the rule that is to bee followed in determining thinges doubtfull: and then the consequence will be naught, and the antecedent false: for, though we should grant the Pope to be appointed Iudge of controuersies in Christes steed, yet I hope his Holynesse

[q] Pag. 48.

is bound to follow some rule of direction in iudging: and if any, what other then that mentioned by Me, I cannot conceaue.

But what-soeuer become of the consequence, the antecedent is false: for hee shall neuer proue, while his name is *Higgons*, that the Pope is supreame iudge of controuersies. And the ignorance, or impudency of the man, deserueth iust reproofe, in that hee seareth not to abuse the authority of *Cyprian* to that purpose; who was so farre from taking the Pope for his iudge, that hee [t] freely dissented from him, and professed that [u] one Bishoppe is not to iudge another, but that they are to be iudged of God onely, and the whole company of Bishoppes: neyther doth the place produced by him out of *Cyprians* Epistles, proue any such thing, as he would enforce: for it is most euident, that *Cyprian* speaketh of one Bishoppe in each Dioceese, and not of one Bishop in the whole Christian Church, when he saith, [x] *Heresies arise from no other cause, then that the Priest of God is not obeyed, and that men thinke not of one Priest and iudge in Christes steed*: as it will easily appeare, to any one, that will take the paines to see the place.

[t] *Cyprian. lib. 2. Epist. 1.*
[u] *Concil. Carthag. inter opera Cypriani.*
[x] *Lib. 2. Epist. 3.*

But sayth *Higgons*, [y] the Lutherans seeke to predominate, and the Caluinists will not obey: therefore, there must bee an vmpier betweene them, and consequently, the Pope must end the quarrel. Wher-vnto I answer in a word, that how-soeuer the violent humors of some men make a rent in the Church, yet there is no difference in iudgment amongst those whom hee calleth Lutherans and Caluinists, in any matter of fayth: and therefore the mediation of moderate men, interposing them-selues, or the Authority of Princes, professing the reformed Religion, may in that good time that God shall thinke fitte, easily make an end of these contentions, without seeking to the *Romish* Babylonicall Monarch.

[y] Pag. 48.

His third exception is a meere begging of that which is in controuersie, which shall neuer be graunted him. For, I say confidently as before, that the matters wherein the followers of *Luther*, and the rest, professing the reformed religion, seeme to differ, are neyther many in number, reall in euidence, nor substantiall in waygh; as he vainely [z] braggeth hee can proue out of *Luther*, *Hunnius*, and *Conradus* on the one part, and *Zuinglius*, *Sturmius*, *Clebitius*, *&c.* on the other part. And therefore heere is no reproofe of that I haue said of the reconciling of these differences, but a proofe of his vanity, in bragging of that, which he will neuer bee able to performe. That which I haue written touching the reconciling of these men, in shew so opposite, in the matter of the Vbiquitary presence, & the Sacrament, which I am well assured this Fugitiue cannot improue, nor any of his great Maisters, who haue the schooling of him, will satisfie the Reader, I doubt not, touching the possibility of a generall reconciliation. The lyes, scoffes, and fooleries of *Higgons*, in these passages, touching my pretending, that the Sacramentaries subscribe to the *Augustan* confession,

[z] Pag. 49.

my

any art of reconciling, and the like, I passe by, as not worth the thinking off, & conclude this point, with this confident asseueration, that the differences betweene those whom the Papists malice, and other mens passion, calleth *Lutherans*, & *Sacramentaries*; are eyther not reall, or not so material, but that they may be of one Church, Faith and Religion.

The Third chapter.

§. 1.

In the next chapter he chargeth Me with falshood & inciuility, in traducing *Bellarmine*, & saith I haue deuised three criminations against him. The first supposed crimination, ioined with falshood, as he saith is this; *Bellarmine* saith: [a] *Videmus omnes illas Ecclesias, quæ ab isto Capite se diuiserũt, tanquam ramos præcisos à radice, continuò aruisse*: and [b] I say hee affirmeth; *that all Churches of the world, that euer diuided themselues from the fellowship of the* Roman *Church, like boughes broken from a tree, and depriued of the nourishment they formerly receaued from the Roote, presently withered away and decayed.* Surely it is a greeuous crime that I haue committed; yet I hope if I meete with mercyful men, it wil be forgiuen Mee: for I thinke that boughes broken from a tree wil wither away. But, saith Mr. *Higgons*, Cardinal *Bellarmine* meant nothing, but that the diuided Churches, lost their glory, and splendor, and so withered, but withered not away. This I think the poore fellow wil not stand vnto: for these Churches, by the very act of their separation, in his iudgement, became heretical, & schismatical; & so lost, not only their glory, and splendor, but their beeing also, and the life they formerly had, and consequently, like boughs broken from a tree, withered away; which yet, neither he, nor the Cardinal can euer proue. For there appeared stil al signes of life in them, after their separation as before; & some of them hold a more sincere profession of Christian verity to this day, then the *Romanists* do: & we would rather ioine our selues to the *Græcians* then to thẽ, as neither erring so dangerously, nor so pertinaciously, as they do. For that which he [c] bringeth out of *Iustus Caluinus*, concerning *Hieremy* the Patriarch of *Constantinople* his renouncing our society, and alledging the Councel of S. *Paul* for his warrant, where he saith, *reiect an Heretike after the first or second admonition*, is a lye; as many other sayings of the same Author are likewise. The second crimination he speaketh off, he saith, is contriued in this manner. [d] *Bellarmine* saith, that none of the Churches diuided from *Rome*, had euer any learned men after their separation; but here he sheweth plainly that his impudency is greater then his learning. for what wil he say of *Oecumenius*, *Theophylactus*, *Damascen*, *Zonaras*, *Cedrenus*, *Elias Cretensis*, *Nilus*, *Cabasilas* & inumerable more, liuing in the *Greeke* Churches, after their separation from the Church of *Rome*? Surely these were more then match-able with the greatest *Rabbins* of the *Romish Synagoge*. Mr. *Higgons* should put a difference betweene a crimination, and a iust defence of men wronged by the vniust criminations of *Bellarmine*, from which I indeauor to cleare them. But let it be as

[a] Bellarmin. de Notis Eccles. li. 4. cap. 10.
[b] Book 3. chap. 41.
[c] Pag. 52.
[d] 3. Booke. chap. 41.

he will haue it; what hath he to say vnto it? much surely, if he could proue
[d] Pag. 53. what he saith; for he saith, [d] there ar 3. vntruths found in it; the 1. is, that, wheras I charge *Bellarmine* to affirme, that none of the Churches diuided from *Rome* had any learned men after their separation, he saith only, that none of the Churches of *Asia* or *Affrica* had any. How great a vexation it is for a man to be matched with such Trifelers as this is, the reader may easily iudge by this particular. For if neuer any of the Churches of *Asia*, and *Affrica* had any learned men, after their separation from *Rome*, neyther the *Æthiopian*, *Armenian*, *Nestorian*, nor *Greeke* Churches had any: The *Æthiopian*, and *Nestorian* Churches beeing wholy in those partes, and the greater part of the *Greeke* Church also: now if none of these had any, I thinke none had. But that these had, I shew by naming sundry particular men of great worth, in the *Greeke* Churches. This Mr. *Higgons* found to touch his Cardinall to neare, and therefore he saith, hee purposely declined the naming of the *Greeke* Church, by restrayning himselfe to the Churches of *Asia*, and *Affrica*, wheras he should haue said hee purposely inlarged him-selfe to al the Churches of *Asia*, and *Affrica*, that he might draw into the generality of his speach, not the *Græcians* only, whose greatest number of Churches are in *Asia*, but the *Armenians*, *Nestorians*, & *Æthiopians* also. Now then, see what Mr. *Higgons* hath done? he hath confessed that the *Greeke* Churches, which all men knowe to bee principally in *Asia*, & reckoned among the Churches of *Asia*, though som parts of them be in *Europe*, to haue had learned men, since their separation, whence it followeth, that the Cardinal without shame denied that any of the Churches of *Asia* had any: so that in reason hee should not bee angry with Me, in that knowing his Cardinals learning to be very great, yet to magnifie his impudency in this point, I prefer it before his learning. The 2. vntruth that Mr. *Higgons* would fasten vpon Mee, is, that I say, *Damascen* liued after the separation of the *Greeks* from the *Latins*; which thing I stil
[f] Pag. 54. affirme to be most true, & *Higgons* him-selfe in a sort confesseth as much: for [f] he saith out of *Bellarmine* that *Damascen* liued about the yeare of our Lord 740. and that the violent separation of the *Greeks* from the *Latines*, was occasioned principally about the yeare, 766. 26. yeares after. Now, as I thinke, in that he saith the violent separation was then, he insinuateth that there was a separation before; which thing if he deny, I will easily proue against him. For it appeareth that the separation betweene the *Greeks* and the *Latins*, began not in the yeare 766. but before; in that in the yeare 766. a great Councell was called at *Gentilacum*, to compose the differences betweene them, as we read in [g] *Rhegino*, [h] *Sigebertus* and others; and the matter came to a publike disputation betweene them, before *Pipin* the father of *Charles* the Great; but that *Damascen* liued after the separation betweene the *Greeks* and *Latins*, it is euident, in that the separation betweene them, beeing occasioned specially by the different opinion which they held, concerning the proceeding of the holy Ghost,

[g] *Rhegino. Chronic. lib. 2.*
[h] *Sigebert. in chronic. anni. 766.*

as

as *Higgons* telleth vs, *Damascen* was opposite to the *Latins* in that point; insomuch that he saith expresly, that * *the spirit is by the sonne, but not from the son.* The third imagined vntruth is, that I say *Damascen, Oecumenius, Theophilact*, and the rest, were more then matchable with the greatest *Rabbins* of the *Romish* Synagogue, whereas *Bernard* and some other were matchable with them.

* *Damasc. li. 3. de fide Orthodoxa, chap. 11.*

For answere where-vnto, let the Reader obserue, that I neuer call the whole *Latin* Church by the name of the *Romish* Synagogue, but the faction that preuayled in it; and therefore I meane not all the Doctors of the *Latin* Church, by the name of the *Rabbins* of the *Romish* Synagogue, but such only, as serued as vile instruments, to aduance Papal tyranny, superstition, and error. So that, though *Bernard*, *Alexander* of *Hales*, *Bonauentura*, *Scotus*, *Lyranus*, *Gerson* and some other should bee graunted to haue bene matchable with *Damascen*, *Theophilact*, and *Oecumenius*, yet will it not follow that I haue vttered any vntruth: for I deny that any of these were of the Papall faction.

The next supposed crimination, is a most iust reproofe of the grosse ouer-sight of *Bellarmine*, where he saith, *none of the Churches separated from* Rome, *or none of the Churches of* Asia *and* Affrica, as *Higgons* restrayneth his words, *could euer hold any Councel after their separation*; which cannot be auoyded by *Higgons*, though it seemeth he would willingly do the Cardinall some good seruice, that he might become fellow Chaplaine with *Mathew Tortus*. For, if the Cardinal meane General Councels, it is not to bee marualed at, seeing they are but a part: if Nationall, or Prouinciall, it is too childish, and may bee refuted by sundry instances.

Where-vnto *Higgons* hath nothing to say, but that if *Bellarmines* words be extended to the *Greeke* Church, his fault is vnexcusable; seeing that Church hath holden Prouinciall Councells, since her separation, whereof, as Maister *Higgons* thinketh hee speaketh, and not of Generall: but that his words are restrayned to the Churches of *Asia*, and *Affrica*, which could neuer hold any such after their separation. In this Apology of Maister *Higgons* there are more absurdities, then words.

For first, he can giue no reason, why the supposed Schismaticall Churches of *Asia* and *Affrica* should be lesse able to hold National, or Prouinciall Synodes, then those of *Europe*.

Secondly, the *Greeke* Church is principally in *Asia*: so that if the *Greeke* Church had the power of conuocating Prouinciall Synodes, some of the Churches of *Asia* were not excluded from partaking in it.

Thirdly, if this were not the common misery of all diuided Churches, this infelicity grewe not from their separation, but from some other cause, and then it maketh nothing for proofe of the necessity of adhering to the Church of *Rome*, as to an head, to which purpose *Bellarmine* bringeth it.

Fourthly, that other Churches may hold Prouinciall Synodes, and namely those of *Asia*, and *Affrica*, it is most euident. For first, touching the *Æthiopian* Christians, [i] *Damianus a Goes*, out of the report of a learned Bishop of those parts, sheweth, that they haue Councels, and that they make Lawes in them. Of a Synod holden by the *Nestorians*, we read in [k] *Onuphrius* in the life of *Iulius* the Third. In the Councell of *Florence* we read of certaine Orators, sent thither, from the *Armenians*, in the name of the Patriarch of *Armenia* and his Cleargy; which could not bee done without some Synodall meeting. Lastly, seeing many Councells were holden in ancient times, in shew General, by such as were Heretiks: what reason can *Higgons* giue, why these churches, hauing a subordinatiõ of inferior Cleargymen, Bishops, & Metropolitans, cannot so much as call a poore Prouincial Synod? If this be not childish trifeling, to say no more, let the Reader iudge, how partiall soeuer he be. And therefore I say now againe, as at first, that if *Bellarmine* meane Generall Councels, when hee saith, the diuided Churches could hold none, after their separation, it is not to be maruayled at; seeing they are but a part. If Nationall or Prouinciall, it is childish; seeing it is most euident they might hold such Councells: neyther can his yeares, dignity or other ornaments, Maister *Higgons* speaketh off, priuiledge him so farre, but that wee may and will taxe his wilfull ouer-sights, as they deserue, not-with-standing the boyish pratling of *Theophilus Higgons*. The conclusion of this chapter, touching our want of good manners towards *Bellarmines* grace, and other such lights of the world, as shine in the darknesse of Popish blindnesse, and superstition, sorteth so wel with the next part of this chapter, which is concerning my inciuility towards the Cardinall, that one answere may suffice for both. That I haue not wronged him by imputation of false crimes, I hope the Reader will beare Mee witnesse, vpon view of that I haue answered in my owne defence.

[i] *De moribus Aethiopum.*
[k] *In Addit. ad Platinam.*

The 2. part of the third Chapter.

§. 1.

WHerfore let vs see wherin my inciuility consisteth. It is forsooth in aggeration of base, odious, and vnworthy names, as *Cardinall Heretike*, *Heretical Romanist*, *Impious Idolater*, *Shamelesse Iesuite*, *Shamelesse Companion*, with his *idle braine*, *and senceless fooleries*. This is Maister *Higgons* proof of my inciuility. If I make it not appeare to al men that haue their sences, that I haue reason to phrase the Iesuite, as *Higgons* speakes, so as I haue done, let Mee be condemned of inciuility; But if I had iust cause to vse him as I did, let this fooliish flatterer hold his peace. Wherfore to begin with the first. Shal he [l] charge vs with twenty execrable & damnable Heresies, al which he knowes we accurse to the bottomlesse pitt of Hell, and may not I call him a *Cardinal Heretike*, or *Hereticall Romanist*, without note of inciuility? Shall hee at his pleasure, because

[l] *Lib. 4. de notis Ecclesiæ. cap. 9.*

he

he weareth a Red Hatt, [m] charge vs with Hereſie and Impiety, for impugning the adoration of Images, forbidden by Almighty God; and may not I call him an Impious Idolater? Shall it bee lawfull for him to ſay, [n] that *Elizabeth*, our late Queene of bleſſed memory, tooke vpon her, and was reputed to be chiefe Prieſt in theſe her dominions; and ſhall it not bee lawfull for me, in reproofe of ſo impudent a ſlander, and defence of my late dread Soueraigne, the Lords annointed, and the wonder of the world, to tell the Ieſuiticall Friar, that hee is a ſhameleſſe Ieſuite that durſt ſo ſay? Shal he without conſcience or feare of God, againſt his owne knowledge, [o] charge vs with the helliſh Hereſies of the *Manichēs* touching two originall cauſes of things, the one good, of things good, the other euill, of things euill; & ſhall it not be lawfull for me to aske the queſtion, whether he be not a ſhameleſſe companion in ſo charging vs? Shall a Ieſuiticall Frier be freely permitted in ſo vile ſort to wrong ſo many mighty Monarches, States, and people of the world, as profeſſe the reformed religion, & may a man ſay nothing to him without incurring the note of inciuility, & want of good manners? ſhall he [p] charge vs with palpable, groſſe and ſenſeleſſe abſurdities; & may not we tell him, the groſſe abſurdities which he vntruly imputeth vnto vs, are but the fanſies of his owne idle braine? Shall he be ſuffered to vtter ſenſeleſſe fooleries in [q] wronging *Caluine*, and other men as good as himſelfe; & may we not tell him, he doth ſo? Shall it be lawfull for *Theophi. Higgons* to vſe all words of diſgrace that he can deuiſe againſt *Luther* & *Caluin*, men of as good worth as the Cardinall; and may no man ſay any thing to the Cardinall, becauſe hee is a Cardinall? How much ſo euer he forget himſelfe, truly I am not ignorant, that theſe miniſters of Antichriſt take very much vpon them. For as [r] *Clemangis* long ſince feared not to write, their ſpirits are ſo high and lofty, their words ſo ſwelling, & their behauiour ſo inſolent, that if a Painter would paint pride, hee could not do it better then by repreſenting to the beholders the forme & figure of a Cardinall: which kinde of men, though they were originally of the inferiour cleargie, yet together with the increaſe of the pompe of the Sea of *Rome*, grew ſo great, & enlarged & ſpred out their Phylacteries in ſuch ſort, that they deſpiſe, as far inferiour to them and much below them, not Biſhops alone, whom in contempt they vſe to call petit Biſhops, but Patriarchs, Primates, & Archbiſhops alſo; almoſt ſuffring themſelues to bee adored & worſhipped of them: and yet not content therewith, [*] ſeeke to be Kings fellowes: for the maintenance of which their imagined & fained greatneſſe, like wilde Boares, they made hauock of the Vineyards of the Lord of hoaſts. Thus wrote he almoſt 200. yeares ſince: but Gods name be bleſſed for it, theſe wild Boares haue beene well hunted out of many parts of Chriſtendome ſince that time. But maiſter *Higgons*, as if he meant to make an oration in the praiſe of his Cardinall (to reproue as he ſaith, the temerity of ſuch, as ſteepe their pens in gall and wormewood, to vent malicious vntruths againſt this happy man) commendeth him for his intellectuall

[m] *Ibid.*

[n] *Ibid.*

[o] *Ibid.*

[p] *De notis Eccleſiæ. lib. cap. 12.*

[q] *Ibid. cap. 9.*

[r] *De corrupto Eccleſiaſtici.*

[*] See that which *Bellarmine* hath lately written to this purpoſe.

intellectuall and moral parts, setting them out at large in the particulars, and (as his manner is to cast in things so dainly without all cause or reason that are no way pertinent) he telleth of a crime which I lay vnto him, and though I pardon him, yet so vncourteous he is, that hee saith I do it in malice. The crime, as he will haue it called, is this. I charge *Bellarmine* that he forgetteth him-selfe very strangely in his discourse touching the notes of the Church, in that in the former part of it, hee [t] denyeth truth of profession or doctrine to bee a note of the Church, & in the latter [u] maketh Sanctity of doctrine or profession, (which he defineth to be the not contayning of any vntruth in matter of fayth, or vniust thing in matter of manners and conuersation) to be a note of the Church. Betweene which two assertions, as I thinke, there is a manifest contradiction. For if truth of doctrine and profession, and Sanctity of doctrine or profession be al one, as I thinke they will bee found to bee; then to say, truth of doctrine and profession is no note of the Church, & to say, Sanctity of Doctrine or profession is a note of the Church, as *Bellarmine* doth, is to vtter manifest contradictions. This is the want of memory I find in *Bellarmine*; for which Maister *Higgons*, (who amongst other good naturall parts [w] commendeth him highly for *tenaciousnesse of memory*) is offended with Me. But because he is become so iealous of his Cardinals Honour, I will shew him another Scape or two in this kind. In the former part of his discourse touching the notes of the Church, he [x] denieth Sanctity or purity of doctrine, free from error, to be a note of the Church, because it may bee found in a false Church, for that Schismatikes, who are only Schismatikes, pertaine not to the true Church, whose profession not-withstanding is free from al error, as was the profession of the Donatists and Luciferians in the beginning: and yet in his latter part he maketh this [y] purity from error, a note of the Church. In the former part he denyeth it to be a note, because it agreeth not inseparably to the true Church, as notes should do, seeing the Churches of the *Corinthians* had it not: and yet in the latter part hee maketh this purity of doctrine to be a Note of the Church. In the former part he will haue nothing to be a note of the Church, that may be claymed or pretended by any but the true Church, and therby excludeth purity of profession, which is claymed by all mis-beleeuers: and yet in the later admitteth it, not-with-standing any challenge, Heretikes, or Mis-beleeuers make vnto it. By this which hath beene said, I hope it doth appeare, that Mr. *Higgons* had little reason to charge Me with want of conscience in accusing *Bellarmine*: But for want of ciuility of manners, and respectiue demeanor towards his person, wherof he complaineth; let him, know that if he inuolue him-selfe in infinite contradictions, as he doth; if he wrong vs and the Princes, People, & States of our profession by hellish & diabolical slanders, as he doth: if he basely abuse *Luther*, *Caluine*, *Bucer*, *Melanthon*, & others, his equals in merit & esteeme: if he set his face against heauen, & open his mouth to the dishonor of our late Soueraigne of famous memory

[t] cap. 2.
[u] Cap. 11.
[w] p. 57.
[x] Cap. 2.
[y] Cap. 11.

memoty,& his moſt excellent Maieſty now regnant,as he doth; we wil be bold to caſt this dirt into his face againe, if he were a better man then all Mr. *Higgons* his baſe & ſlauering commendation of him can make to be.

§. 2.

HEre Maiſter *Higgons* leaueth Me,& paſſeth to D. *Morton*: yet ſo good a will he hath to ſay ſomthing againſt Mee, though neuer ſo idlely, that within two or three pages he returneth to Me againe, and [a] chargeth Me, ful wiſely, with perplexing and inuoluing my ſelfe in manifeſt contradictions. The firſt contradiction he would force vppon Mee, is this. *The Elect notwithſtanding any degree of ſinne which they runne into, retaine that grace which can & wil procure pardon for al their offences*: and yet *ſometimes there is nothing found in the Elect, that can or doth cry to God for pardon.* It is ſtrange truly, that ſuch as *Higgons* is, ſhould bee permitted to play the fooles in print as they do. But our Aduerſaries know it is good to keepe men buſied in any ſort; & that the greateſt part of their Adherents will applaud any thing, though neuer ſo ſenceleſly written againſt vs: For otherwiſe I know they cannot but laugh at the ſerious folly of this their Nouice in this paſſage. For I neuer ſay the Elect haue alwaies in them that grace that can and wil procure them pardon for al their ſins & offences, as he chargeth Mee, but that the Elect called according to purpoſe, haue that Grace that excludeth ſin from raigning, & that this Grace once had by them, is neuer totally nor finally loſt. Now what contradiction is there between theſe propoſitiõs? *The Elect at ſomtimes* (to wit before they be called) *haue nothing in them that cryeth for pardon and remiſſion of their ſins; & the Elect after they are once called according to the purpoſe of Gods wil, do euer retain that grace, that can and will procure pardon and remiſſion of al their ſins.* Surely, euen as much as there is between theſe: *Paul ſometimes was an enemy to Chriſt & Chriſtians, & a Perſecutor: And* Paul *after his calling, was neuer enemy to Chriſt nor Chriſtians, nor neuer perſecuted any of thẽ, but ſuffered perſecutiõ himſelf together with them.* The 2. ſuppoſed cõtradiction is this. *Al ſins don with ful conſẽt exclude grace. Dauid*, who was an elect & choſen ſeruant of God, *ſinned with ful conſent after his calling, & yet* Dauid *neuer fel totally frõ grace.* Here truly ther is a real & true contradiction, but one of theſe aſſertions is none of mine: for I deny that *Dauid* euer ſinned with ful conſent after his calling, though his ſins were very grieuous & highly diſpleaſing to almighty god. For the better clearing whereof, we muſt obſerue, that there are three degrees of Sinne. The firſt is of thoſe motions to euil that ariſe in men, & ſollicit them to the doing of that which is diſpleaſing vnto God: yet ſo, that no conſent is yeelded to thẽ. The ſecond is, when the violence & importunity of thoſe il motiõs is ſuch, that men chuſe rather to giue way vnto them, then to be any longer diſquieted & tormented by them, & yet wiſh they were free from ſuch ſollicitations & prouocations. In thoſe that thus ſinne, there is a deliberate conſent, but it is not abſolute, and full, but mixt. Such was the ſinne of *Peter* denying his Maiſter which proceeded frõ feare, & wher-vnto he

[a] Pag. 63. & 64.

so consented, that hee still retayned the good opinion he formerly had of him, and loue towards him, and wished, no doubt, from the depth of his Soule, there might neuer any such thing haue falleh out, that might draw him to doe that he did.

And such was the sinne of *Dauid*, who chose rather to commit that vile act with the wife of *Vriah*, then to be tormented any longer with the importunity of those burning and inflamed desires, that violently seized on him, though he wished in his heart, that neuer any such motions might in such violent sort haue arisen in him. The third degree of Sinne is in them that absolutely and fully consent to the motions of euill, as making them their cheefe delights and contentments. In them who sinne onely in the first degree, grace, not onely remaineth, but keepeth her standing, resisting against euill, and entreating for pardon of that which it cannot avoyd. In them that sinne in the second degree, it remaineth, but carried into captiuity. In the third, it hath no place at all. To the same purpose it is, that some worthy Diuines, of our profession, make three kindes of the being of sinne in vs: for first, it is inhabiting only: secondly, it is regnant, yet not as a king, who ruleth and raigneth with the loue and liking of his Subiects, but as a Tyrant, that they hate, and would depose if they knew how: Thirdly, it is regnant as a King, welcommed, and ioyfully receiued into all the powers and faculties of the Soule. In the first sort it is in them, that giue no consent to the motions of euill that arise in them. In the second, in them that giue consent, but not free and absolute, but mixt. In the third, in them that giue it the whole hart. In the first, it neither excludeth grace, nor driueth it from the standing, and command, it should haue in the Soule of a good man. In the second, though it exclude it not, yet it weakneth and hurteth it sore, scattering the forces of it, leauing it but disseuered desires, and no entire good affections: so that they are neuer able to recouer themselues againe, without forraine helpe; But when such succour commeth, these remaines of good begin to recollect themselues againe, to take hart, and to ioyne with the same; as we see in *Dauid*, reproued by *Nathan*. The third contradiction, that Maister *Higgons* would fasten on me, is, betweene that saying of mine; *The elect and chosen Seruants of God do carefully indeauour, that no sinnes may haue dominion ouer them; and therfore notwithstanding any degree of sinne they runne into, they retaine that grace, that can & will procure pardon:* and that in the Articles of religion, agreed on in the beginning of her late Maiesties raigne; that *after we haue receiued the holy Ghost, we may depart from grace giuen, and by the grace of God rise againe*. Which is no contradiction in truth and in deed, but in the misconstruction Maister *Higgons* maketh of things well ment. For when the Article saith, we may depart from grace, the meaning of it is, that the elect of God, called according to purpose, may swerue from the directions of grace, in some particular things, and fall into grieuous sinnes, but of which

a *Art. 16.*

which they are to bee raised by repentance; and not that they may totally fall from it. Neither doe I deny, but that the elect may commit sinne, yea grieuous sinnes, and such as are in their owne nature mortall, though not mortall in that (not obtaining full consent) they cannot bring death vpō the doers of them. Wherfore to conclude this point, into which Maister *Higgons* digresseth, after his idle manner and to send him back to the matter he hath in hand; I say, that there is no contradiction betweene any assertion of mine, and the Articles of Religion, agreed on in the conuocation: and farther adde, that there is no Papist of iudgment, and consideration, that can possibly dissent from vs in this point, touching the constant perseuerance of the elect and chosen seruants of God called according to purpose, and their neuer wholy falling from grace. For first, they all agree together with vs, that they cannot finally depart away. Secondly, [c] that some good motions and affections will euer remaine in them, after they haue beene once seasoned with the liquor of renuing and sanctifying grace. Thirdly, that they loose not their right to the rewards which God in the couenant of mercy promised to their former vertuous and good indeuours, nor the benefit of their repenting from dead works formerly repented of, when they fall into sinne, though they can make no vse thereof, while they continue in such an estate of sinne. For saith [d] *Scotus*, as a man that hath much owing vnto him vpon good assurances, and is possessed of things of good valew; being excommunicated or outlawed, still retaineth the interest and right to all things that formerly hee had, though he can make no vse thereof, nor by course of law force them to doe him right, that go about to do him wrong, nor recouer that which is due vnto him, if it be detained from him; but all prosecution of his right is suspended, till he procure himselfe to bee freed from the sentence of excommunication or out-lawry: So the remission of originall sinne, the right to eternall life obtained in Baptisme, the force & vertue of former repentance & conuersion from sins past, & the right to the rewards of actions of vertue formerly done, remaine stil in the elect and chosen, called according to purpose, when they fall into grieuous sinnes tyrannizing ouer them, though during the time of their being in such grieuous sinnes, the actuall claime to the benefit of these things, and the enioying of them be suspended; which vpon their repentance for those particular sinnes that caused such suspension, is reuiued and set afoote againe, in such sort, that the repentance past suffiseth for remission of former sinnes, and the good actions past shall haue their rewards. So that a man elect and chosen of God, and called according to purpose, that hath done good and vertuous actions, though they be deaded in him, for the present, by some grieuous Sinne, yet still they remaine in diuine acceptation, and hee still retaineth the right and title he had to the reward of eternall life, promised to those workes of vertue done by him, though he can make no actuall claime to the

[c] *Hugo de S. victore de Sacrament. fidei. lib. 2. part. 13. cap. 12.*

[d] *In quartum Sent. et. dist. 22. quæst 1. art. 2.*

the same, while he remaineth in such an estate of sinne: but after that such sinne shall cease and be repented of, hee recouereth not a new right or title, but a new claime by vertue of the old title. Wherefore if it bee demanded whether *Dauid* and *Peter* when they fell into those greeuous sinnes of vncleannesse, and abnegation of Christ, continued in a state of iustification? We answer, that they did in respect of the remission of their sinnes, and the title they gotte to eternall life in their first conuersion, which they lost not by those their sinnes committed afterwards: For the remission of all their former sinnes, whereof before they had repented, remained still, and Gods acceptation of them to eternall life, not-withstanding these sinnes, vpon the condition of leauing them, together with his purpose of rewarding their well-doings: but in respect of the actuall claime to eternall good things they were not, as men once iustified are, notwithstanding lesser sinnes, which though they cause a dislike, yet neither extinguish the right, nor suspend the claime to eternall life. Thus, hauing runne through all those passages of Maister *Higgons* his booke, that any way concerne Mee, I leaue him to be-thinke him-selfe, whether he had any reason to traduce Mee in such sort as hee hath done; and remit the wrongs hee hath done Mee with-out cause, to the righteous iudgment of God, to whome hee must stand or fall.

The

The ſecond part, concerning the Author of the Treatiſe of the grounds of the Old and New religion, *and ſuch exceptions as haue beene taken by him againſt the former Bookes.*

HAuing anſwered the friuolous obiections of Maiſter *Higgons*, I will leaue him; and paſſe from him to his friend and collegue, the Author of the Treatiſe of the grounds of the old and new religion; who alſo is pleaſed in his idle diſcourſes, to take ſome exceptions againſt that which I haue written. But becauſe he is a very obſcure author, and ſuch a one as the world taketh little notice of, I will not much trouble my ſelfe about him, nor take ſo much paines in diſcouering his weakneſſe, as I haue done in diſmasking the new conuert, a man, as it ſeemeth, of more eſteeme. Yet that the world may ſee what goodly ſtuffe it is, that theſe nameleſſe and Apochryphall book-makers daily vent amongſt our ſeduced country-men, I will briefly, & curſorily, take a view of all ſuch paſſages of his Treatiſe as any way concerne me. Amongſt which, the firſt that offereth it ſelfe to our view, is in his preface to the Reader, [a] where he citeth with great allowance, and approbation, that which I haue in my Epiſtle Dedicatorie: That all men muſt carefully ſeeke out which is the true Church, that ſo they may embrace her communion, follow her directions, and reſt in her iudgment: but [b] preſently chargeth Me, that in my fourth Booke following, I bereaue her of almoſt all ſuch prerogatiues as I formerly yeelded vnto her, ſo that men may not ſafely follow her directions, nor reſt in her iudgment, in that I ſay, that Generall Councels may erre in matters of greateſt conſequence, and free the Church her ſelfe from errour, onely in certaine principall points and Articles of Chriſtian religion, and not generally in all. This is a bad beginning, beeing a moſt ſhameleſſe vntruth. For in the places cited by him, I lay downe theſe propoſitions: Firſt, that the Church including in it all faithfull ones ſince Chriſt appeared in the fleſh, is abſolutely free from all error, and ignorance of diuine things. Secondly, that the Church including all thoſe beleeuers that are, and haue beene ſince the Apoſtles times, is ſimplie free from all error, though happily not from all ignorance. Thirdly, that the Church including onely the beleeuers, liuing at one time in the world, is free, not onely from error, in ſuch things as men are preciſely bound expreſſely to know and beleeue, but from pertinaciouſly erring, in any thing that any way pertaineth to Chriſtian faith and religion. Fourthly, that wee muſt ſimply and abſolutely, with-out all doubt or queſtion, follow the directions, and reſt in the iudgement of the Church, in eyther of the two former ſenſes. Fifthly, that wee muſt liſten to the determinations of the preſent Church, as to the inſtructions of our Elders, and fatherly

[a] Pag. 4.

[b] Pag. 5.

fatherly admonitions & directions; but not ſo as to the things contained in Scripture, or beleeued by the whole Vniuerſall Church that hath bene euer ſince the Apoſtles times. Becauſe, as *Waldenſis* noteth, the Church, whoſe fayth neuer fayleth, is not any particular Church, as that of *Africa*, or *Rome*, but the Vniuerſall Church; neyther that Vniuerſall Church, which may bee gathered together in a Generall Counceil, which is found ſometimes to haue erred, but that which diſperſed through the world from the Baptiſme of *Iohn* continueth to our times. Sixtly, that in the iudgement of [a] *Waldenſis*, the fathers ſucceſſiuely are more certayne iudges in matters of fayth, then a Generall Counceil of Biſhops, though it be in a ſort the higheſt Court of the Church, as the Treatiſer ſaith. All theſe propoſitions are found in *Waldenſis*, who wrote with good allowance of Pope *Martin* the Fift, and the whole Conſiſtory of Cardinalls; ſo that the Treatiſer cannot charge Mee with any wrong offered to the Church, in bereauing her of her due prerogatiues, but he muſt condemne him alſo, and blame the Pope and his Cardinals for commending the writings of ſuch a man to the world as good, profitable, and contayning nothing contrary to the Catholike verity, that forgot him-ſelfe ſo farre as to bereaue the Church of almoſt al her prerogatiues: which he cannot do, but he muſt condemne *Vincentius Lyrinenſis* likewiſe, a man beyond all exception, who abſolutely concurreth in iudgment with *Waldenſis* touching theſe points; [b] aſſuring vs, that the ſtate of the preſent Church, at ſome-times may be ſuch, as that wee muſt bee forced to flye to the iudgment of Antiquity, if we deſire to finde any certaine direction.

[a] *Doctrinal fid. lib. 2. art. 2. cap. 19.*

[b] *Contra Her. nouat. cap. 6.*

A iudgement of right diſcerning, ſaith [c] *Ockam*, there is euer found in the Church, ſeeing there are alwaies ſome right-beleeuers; but a right iudgment of men, by their power of iuriſdiction maintayning Truth, and ſuppreſſing Error, may be wanting. Nay, that ſome-times there was no ſuch iudgement in the Church, it is moſt euident. For *Vincentius Lyrinenſis* ſaith, the *Arian* hereſie infected not ſome part onely, but almoſt the whole Chriſtian world, ſo that almoſt al the biſhops of the *Latin* Church were miſled by force or fraud. Yea [d] *Athanaſius* and *Hierome* report, that *Liberius* Biſhop of *Rome* was carryed away in that tempeſtuous whirlewind, and ſubſcribed to hereſie; ſo that there was no ſette Tribunal on earth in thoſe daies, to the determinations wherof it was ſafe to ſtand.

[c] *Dialog. li. 5. part. 1. cap. 28.*

[d] *Athanaſ. in Epiſt. ad ſolitar. vit. agent. Hier. in Catol. ſcript. Eccleſiaſt. in Fortunatiano.*

§. 2.

IN the next place, the Treatiſer chargeth Me, that, wheras *Luther* defendeth that infants in Baptiſme actually beleeue, I endeauor to wreſt his words to habituall faith; which ſence, he ſaith, *Luthers* diſcourſes will not admit; and for proofe hereof referreth the Reader to certain places in *Luther*, & to the poſitions of his followers: but as *Feſtus* ſaid vnto *Paul*, [e] thou haſt appealed to *Cæſar*, to *Cæſar* ſhalt thou go; ſo ſeeing this Treatiſer referreth the Reader to *Luthers* diſcourſes, and the Doctrine of his Diſciples, to theſe I will ſend him, which will turne greatly to the Treatiſers diſaduan-

[e] Act. 25. 12.

diſaduantage. For the reader cannot but finde by *Luthers* diſcourſes, and the doctrine of his Schollers, that I haue rightly deliuered his opinion to be, that Infants are filled with habituall faith when they are regenerat, and not that they haue any ſuch acts of faith, or knowledge of God, as men of yeares haue. Let vs therfore heare what *Luther* himſelfe will ſay: Some men, ſaith [f] he, will obiect againſt that which I haue ſaid, touching the neceſſity of faith in ſuch as are to receiue the Sacraments with profit, that infants haue no faith, nor apprehenſion of Gods mercies, and that therefore either faith is not ſo neceſſarily required to the due receiuing of the Sacrament, or that infants are Baptiſed in vaine. Here I ſay, that which all ſay, that other mens faith, euen the faith of ſuch as preſent them to Baptiſme, ſteedeth little children. For as the word of God is mighty when the ſound thereof is heard, euen to the changing of the heart of a wicked man, which is no leſſe vnapt to heare the voyce of God, and to liſten vnto it, then any little babe; ſo by the prayer of the Church, which out of faith (to which all things are poſſible) preſenteth it to baptiſme, the childe is changed, cleanſed & renued by the infuſion of faith, or by faith, which is infuſed and powred into it. Thus doth *Luther* expreſſe his owne meaning touching this point. Now let vs heare what his followers will ſay. It was agreed vpon, ſaith [g] *Chemnitius*, amongſt the [h] followers of *Luther*, that when we ſay infants beleeue or haue faith, we muſt not imagine that they doe vnderſtand or feele the motions of faith. But their errour is reiected, who ſuppoſe that infants baptized pleaſe God, and are ſaued without any operation or working of the holy ſpirit in them; wheras Chriſt pronounceth, that vnleſſe a man be borne a new of water & of the ſpirit, he cannot enter into the kingdome of heauen. So that this is all that *Luther* and the reſt meant, that children cannot be made partakers of thoſe benefits that God offereth to men in Baptiſme, nor inherit eternall life, by vertue of the faith of the Church, without ſome change wrought in them by the ſpirit, fitting them to bee ioyned to God, which change or alteration in them they call faith: not meaning to attribute vnto them an actuall apprehenſion of Gods mercies; for they conſtantly deny, that they feele any ſuch motions of faith; but a kind of habituall faith onely, there being nothing in faith, but ſuch an act of beleeuing, as they deny; or the ſeed, roote, and habit, whence actuall motions in due time do flow. With whom [i] *Caluin* agreeth; for whereas the Anabaptiſts obiect againſt him, defending that infants are capable of regeneration, that the Scripture mentioneth no regeneration, but by the incorruptible ſeed of the word of God, which infants cannot heare: he anſwereth, that God by his diuine power may renue and change them by ſome other meanes. Secondly hee addeth, that it is not abſurde to thinke, that God doth ſhine into the hearts of thoſe infants, which in infancie he calleth out of this world to himſelfe, and that hee doth make himſelfe knowne vnto them in ſome ſorte; ſeeing they

[f] *De captiui. Bab. cap. de baptiſmo.*

[g] *Chem. in exam. Conc. Trident de Baptiſm. can. 13.*

[h] *Form. concord. inter Theolog. Sax. & ſuperior. German.*

[i] *Inſtit. lib. 4. cap. 16. ſect. 17. & 19.*

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are preſently after to bee receaued and admitted to the cleare and open view, and ſight of his glorious face and countenance, and yet ſaith, hee will not raſhly affirme that they are indued with the ſame faith, which we find in our ſelues, or that they haue knowledge like vnto that of faith. And in the next ſection, ſpeaking more generally, and not reſtraining himſelfe to ſuch as die in infancy, hee ſaith, that they are Baptized into future repentance, & faith: which vertues though they be not preſently formed in them yet a ſeed of either of them lieth hid in them. The Papiſts are diſtracted into contrary opinons touching this point: for ſome thinke that grace the roote of faith, and other vertues, is infuſed into children in Baptiſme, but not faith; other, that not onely grace, but the habit of faith, hope, and charity is powred into them likewiſe; which opinion as more probable was admitted in the Councell of *Vienna*, and is embraced by vs as true. Wherfore let the Reader iudge whether I haue wreſted the words of *Luther*, or the Treatiſer wronged Mee.

§ 3.

Pag. 22. 23. IN the third place, he laboureth to demonſtrate and proue, that there is a contradiction betwee the reuerend Biſhoppe of Lincolne, and Doctor *Morton*, and my ſelfe, touching the power of ordination, which that learned Biſhoppe appropriateth vnto Biſhoppes, and we communicate in ſome caſes to Preſbyters. But this ſilly obiection is eaſily anſwered, for his meaning is, that none but Biſhops regularly may ordaine, which wee confeſſe to be true; as like-wiſe none but they onely may confirme the baptized by impoſition of hands; and yet thinke, that in caſe of neceſſity, Preſbyters may performe both theſe things, though of ordinary right belonging to Biſhoppes onely.

Part 1. Sect. 1.

Pag. 50. 51. LEt vs paſſe therefore from the preface to the booke it ſelfe, the firſt thing that hee obiecteth in the booke it ſelfe, is, that I giue Apoſtolique power to the preſent Church; whence hee thinketh it may be inferred, that the Church cannot erre in matters of faith or ceremonies. That I giue Apoſtolique power to the preſent Church, hee endeuoreth to proue, becauſe I ſay, She hath authority to diſpenſe with ſome conſtitutions of the Apoſtles, touching order & comelineſſe; which he thinketh She might not doe if ſhee had not the ſame Authority, by force whereof they were made: but he could not but know that this proofe is to weake, if he were not very weake in vnderſtanding. For the Apoſtles, made theſe conſtitutiõs not preciſely in that they were Apoſtles, as they reported the precepts of Chriſt, and deliuered the Doctrine of faith, but by vertue of their paſtoral power in generall, common to them with other Paſtors of the Church; though in ỹ they were no ordinary Paſtors but Apoſtles, they had abſolute infallibilitie, and could make no lawes or conſtitutions but good & profitable, in which reſpect no other are equall to them. So that the Paſtors of

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the Church now haue that power, by which the Apoſtles made their Eccleſiaſticall conſtitutions touching order & comlineſſe, but not with like aſſurance of not erring, in making or reuerſing ſuch lawes: & therfore the Treatiſer cannot from hence infer, that the preſent Church, & the guides of it, haue infallible iudgment, touching matters of faith or ceremonies.

§. 2.

IN the next place, firſt he produceth my diſtinction of the Church, conſidered as it comprehendeth all the faithfull, that are and haue bin ſince Chriſt appeared in the fleſh; or onely ſuch as are and haue been ſince the Apoſtles times, or ſuch alone as are at one time in the world. Secondly, an aſſertion, that the preſent Church may be ſaid at all times to bee the pillar of truth, and not to erre, becauſe it euer retaineth a ſauing profeſſion of heauenly truth, that is true doctrine, concerning all ſuch principall points as are of the ſubſtance of faith, and needfull to be knowne, & beleeued expreſly by euery man. Thirdly, he addeth, that we deny ſo much as the virtuall beliefe of other things to be neceſſary; which he pronounceth to be an abſurd opinion. For the confutation of my diſtinction of the Church cõſidered, in thoſe three different ſorts, he asketh if there be now preſently any Church in the world including in it all the faithfull, that are and haue bin ſince Chriſt appeared in the fleſh, or at leaſt ſince the Apoſtles times; which is a moſt childiſh & ſenſleſſe demand. For it wil eaſily be anſwered, that ỹ Church that includeth in it all theſe faithfull ones, is now extant in the world, as he is pleaſed to ſpeake, in that ſome of her parts, betweene which and the reſt there is a connexion, are now in the world, though all be not; as time, whereof the parts are preſent, paſt, and to come, is now, though all parts of it be not now. But his inference vpon ſuppoſall of our anſwer is more ſtrange then the queſtion. For if it bee granted, that the Church, including in it all theſe holy ones, hath not all her parts in the world at one time, hee inferreth from thence, that the promiſes of Chriſt cannot be verified of it. As if Chriſts promiſes were verified of the Church only, in reſpect of thoſe parts that it hath in the world at one time; whereas [a] *Bellarmine* himſelfe teacheth, that the promiſe of the Churches being in all parts of the world, is not verified of it at one time, but ſucceſſiuely; in that though it bee not in all parts and Prouinces of the world at one time, yet at one time or other it ſpreddeth it ſelfe into euery part of it. And [b] *Stapleton* defineth the Church according to the ſtate of the New Teſtament, to bee a collectiue multitude of men, profeſſing the name of Chriſt, beginning at *Hieruſalem*, and from thence diſperſed through-out the world, increaſing and ſpredding it ſelfe through all nations, alwaues viſible, and manifeſt, mixt of good and bad, elect and reprobate, in reſpect of faith & Sacraments holy, in reſpect of origin & ſucceſſion Apoſtolique, in extent Catholique, in connexion & order of parts one, in duration and continuance perpetuall; expreſſing vnto vs that Church that includeth all faithfull

Pag. 52.

[a] *Bellar. Tom. 1. contro. 4. lib. 4. cap. 7.*

[b] *Relect. Contro. 1. de Eccleſ. in ſe quæſt 4. art. 5.*

faithfull ones ſince Chriſt till now, nay till the ende of the world. Which is no doubt a reall body, and hath many excellent promiſes made vnto it, though all the parts of it bee not in the world at one time. But let vs goe forward, and we ſhall ſee how this ſilly Treatiſer forgetteth himſelfe. For
Pag. 53. 54. firſt he confeſſeth, that the diuerſe conſiderations of the Church propoſed by me, may be in our vnderſtanding, and yet preſently addeth, that we cannot diſtinguiſh them really one from another: which hee goeth about to proue, becauſe the Church in the firſt conſideration includeth in it the ſame Church as it is taken in the ſecond and third: but the proofe is to weake; for euery child will tell him, that theſe conſiderations may be really diſtinguiſhed one from another, becauſe though the former includeth the latter, yet the latter includeth not the former. For as euery man is a liuing thing, but euery liuing thing is not a man; ſo the Church conſiſting of all faithfull ones, that are and haue beene ſince Chriſt appeared in the fleſh, includeth in it all thoſe that now preſently are in the world; but the Church conſiſting of thoſe onely that are at one time, includeth not the other, but is included in it as a part in the whole, and conſequently cannot challenge all the priuileges belonging to it, more then the part of a thing may challenge all that pertaineth to the whole; ſo that the Church in the
Pag. 54. 55. former conſideration may be free from error, though not in the later. But the Treatiſer will proue it cannot: ſeeing if the Church including in it all faithfull ones, that are or haue beene ſince Chriſt, be free from error; euery part of it muſt be free, and conſequently the preſent Church; as a man cannot bee ſaid to bee free from ſickeneſſe, vnleſſe euery part of him bee free. For anſwere where-vnto we ſay, that the Church being a collectiue body, may be ſaid to bee free from error in another ſort then a man is ſaid to be free from ſickeneſſe; for a man cannot bee ſaid to bee free from ſickeneſſe vnleſſe euery part bee free; but the Church may rightly be ſaid to be free from error, if all her parts erre not, thought ſome doe; for other wiſe I would aske of this Treatiſer, whether the Church were free from errour in the daies of [b] *Athanaſius*, when as [c] *Vincentius Lyrinenſis* ſaith, almoſt all the Biſhoppes of the Latine Church were miſled by force or fraud, and when *Liberius* Biſhop of *Rome* ſubſcribed to hereſie, as [d] *Athanaſius* and [e] *Hierome* teſtifie, If the Church were not free from errour at that time, where is the priuiledge of neuer erring? If it were, it was but in reſpect of ſome few parts: whence it will follow, that the Church may be ſaid to bee free from errour, though many parts bee not, if any continue ſound; for here the greater and more principall parts did erre. But that the Church may be ſaid to be free from errour, though all parts be not, it is euident, in that they who moſt ſtifly maintaine the not erring of the preſent Church, yet confeſſe, that ſome parts of it doe erre. For [f] *Stapleton* and *Bellarmine*, who both thinke the preſent *Romian* Church to be free from errour, yet deny that ſhee is free in all her parts, and tell vs, there are ſome who are

[b] *Aduerſus Prophanas hæreſeon nouationes. cap. 6.*
[d] *Epiſt. ad ſolitariam vitam agentes.*
[e] *Catal. ſcript. Eccleſ. in fortunatiano.*
[f] *Relect. cont. 3. quæſt. 4.*

parts

parts of this Church and Catholiques, that thinke the Pope may iudicially erre, vnleſſe a Generall Councell concur with him, which in their opinion is an error and neare to hereſie. Yea the ſame g *Bellarmine* ſaith, that the particular Romaine Church, that is, the Cleargie and people of *Rome*, ſubiect to the Pope, cannot erre, becauſe though ſome of them may, yet all cannot. It is true therefore which I haue deliuered, notwithſtanding any thing the Treatiſer can ſay to the contrary, that the Church including all the faithfull that are & haue bin ſince the Apoſtles, may be ſaid to be free from error, becauſe in reſpect of her totall vniuerſality ſhee is ſo: it being impoſſible, that any errour ſhould bee found in all her parts, at all times, though in reſpect of her ſeuerall parts ſhe be not. For ſome-times, and in ſome parts ſhe hath erred, and in this ſenſe can no more be ſaid to be free from error, then a man may be ſaid to bee free from ſickneſſe, that in ſome parts is ill affected. But as a man that hath not beene alwayes, nor in all parts ill, may be ſaid to be free from perpetuall and vniuerſall ſickneſſe; ſo the Church is free from perpetuall and vniuerſall error. This the Treatiſer ſaith is a weake priuiledge, and not anſwerable to the great & ample promiſes made by Chriſt; whereas the Fathers knew no other, what-ſo-euer this good man imagineth. For h *Vincentius Lyrinenſis* confeſſeth, that error may infect ſome parts of the Church, yea, that it may ſometimes infect almoſt the whole Church; ſo that he freeth it only from vniuerſall & perpetuall error. But, ſaith the Treatiſer, what are poore Chriſtians the nearer for this priuiledge? how ſhall ſuch a Church bee the directer of their faith? and how ſhall they know what faith was preached by the Apoſtles, what parts taught true doctrine, and when and which erred in ſubſequent ages? Surely this queſtion is eaſily anſwered. For they may know what the Apoſtles taught by their writings; & they may know what parts of the Church teach true doctrine, by comparing the doctrine each part teacheth, with the written word of God, & by obſeruing who they are that bring in priuat & ſtrange opinions, contrary to the reſolution of the reſt. But if happily ſome new contagion, endeuour to commaculate the whole Church together, they muſt looke vp into Antiquity; and if in Antiquity they find that ſome followed priuate and ſtrange opinions, they muſt carefully obſerue what all, not noted for ſingularity or hæreſie in diuerſe places and times, conſtantly deliuered, as vndoubtedly true, and receiued from ſuch as went before them. This courſe *Vincentius Lyrinenſis* preſcribeth. But the Treatiſer diſclaimeth it not, liking that all ſhould bee brought to the letter of holy Scripture, and the workes of Antiquity; which ſetting aſide the authority of the preſent Church, he thinketh, yeeld no certaine and diuine argument. So that, according to his conceipt, we muſt reſt on the bare cenſure & iudgment of the Pope: for he is the preſent Church, & Antiquity is to be contemned as little or nothing worth. Hauing iuſtified the diſtinctiõ of the diuers cõſiderations of the church impugned by the Treatiſer, that which he hath touching the two aſſertions annexed to it, will eaſily bee

g *De Roman. Pontifice. lib. 4. cap. 4.*

h *Contra. hæreſ. cap. 6.*

Part. 1. 56.

answered. For the one of them is most true, his addition of not erring, being taken away; and the other is but his idle imagination, for wee neuer deliuered any such thing.

§. 3.

Pag. 56. IN the third place he excepteth against Mee, because I say the words of the Apostle in the Epistle to *Timothy*, touching the house and Church of God, are originally vnderstood of the Church of *Ephesus*, wherein *Paul* directeth *Timothy* how to demeane and behaue him-selfe: but because I haue cleared this exception in my answer to *Higgons*, I will say nothing to him in this place, but referre him thither.

§. 4.

Pag. 64. FRom the Apostle, the Treatiser passeth to Saint *Augustine*, and chargeth Me that I wrest his words, when hee saith, hee would not beleeue the Gospell, if the authority of the Church did not moue him, to a sense neuer meant by him. These words of Saint *Augustin* are vsually alleadged by the Papists, to proue that the authority of the Church is the ground of our faith, & reason of beleeuing: in answer wherevnto I shew that the Diuines giue two explications of them. For *Ockam* & some other, vnderstand them not of the multitude of beleeuers, that now are in the world, but of the whole number of them that are and haue bin since Christ appeared in the flesh, so including the Apostles; and in this sense they confesse that the Church, because it includeth the writers of the bookes of the new Testament, is of greater authority then the bookes themselues. Other vnderstand by the name of the Church, onely the multitude of beleeuers liuing in the world at one time; and thinke the meaning of *Augustine* is, that the authority of this Church was an introduction vnto him, but not the ground of his faith, and principall or sole reason of beleeuing. The former of these explications, this graue censurer pronounceth to bee friuolous. Firſt, because, if wee may beleeue him, Saint *Augustine* neuer vsed these
Pag. 66. words, Catholique Church, after this sort in that sense. Secondly, because he speaketh of that Church, which commanded him not to beleeue *Manicheus*, which vndoubtedly was the present Church. Thirdly, because, as hee suppoſeth, I can alledge no Diuine, that so interpreted the words of *Augustine*; that which I cite out of *Ockam* being impertinent. To euery of these reasons I will briefly answer. And first that *Augustine* doth vse the words, Catholique Church in the sense specified by Me, it is euident. For
[a] Contra Faustum Manichæum. lib. 11. cap. 2. writing against *Manicheus*, he hath these words. [a] *Palàm est quantum in re dubia ad fidem & certitudinem valeat Catholica Ecclesiæ authoritas, quæ ab ipsis fundatissimis sedibus Apostolorum, vsq; ad hodiernum diem succedentibus sibimet Episcopis, et tot populorum consensione firmatur*; that is, it is apparant, what great force the authority of that Church hath, to settle the perswasion of faith, & cause certainty in things doubtful, that frō the most surely estabiished seates of the Apostles, by succession of Bishops, euen till this present, and consent of people is most firmely setled. To the second reason we answer, that the Church, including the Apostles, & all faithfull

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ones that haue beene since, comprehendeth in it the present Church, and so might command *Augustine* not to listen to *Manichæus*. Soe that this commanding proueth not that hee speaketh precisely of the present Church. To the third I say, that the Treatiser is either strangely ignorant, or strangely inpudent, when hee affirmeth, that I can alleadge no Diuine that vnderstandeth the words of *Augustine* of the Church, including in it the Apostles, and such as liued in their times. For first *Durandus* vnderstandeth them of the primitiue Church, including the Apostles. Secondly [b] *Gerson* wil tel him, that whē *Augustine* saith, he would not beleeue the Gospell, if the authority of the Church did not moue him, he vnderstandeth by the name of the Church, the primitiue congregation of those faithfull ones which saw and heard Christ, and were his witnesses. Thirdly [c] *Driedo* writeth thus; when *Augustine* saith, he would not beleeue the Gospell, if the authority of the Church did not moue him, hee vnderstandeth that Church, which hath beene euer since the beginning of the Christian faith, hauing her Bishoppes in orderly sort, succeeding one another, and growing and increasing till our times, which Church truely comprehendeth in it the blessed company of the holy Apostles, who hauing seene Christ and his miracles, and learned from his mouth the Doctrine of faith, deliuered vnto vs the Euangelicall Scriptures. And againe the same [d] *Driedo* saith, that the authority of the Scripture is greater then the authority of the Church that now is in the world, in it selfe considered. But if we speake of the vniuersall Church, including all faithfull ones that are and haue beene, the authority of the Church is in a sort greater then the Scripture, and in a sort equall. For explication whereof, he addeth, that as touching things that cannot be seene, nor knowne by vs, we beleeue the sayings and writings of men, not, as if they had in them, in them-selues considered a sufficient force to moue vs to beleeue; but because by some reasons we are perswaded of them who deliuer such things vnto vs, and thinke them worthy to be beleeued. So S[t] *Augustine* might rightly say, he would not beleeue the bookes of the Gospel, if the authority of the Church did not moue him, vnderstanding the vniuersall Church, of which he speaketh against *Manichæus*, which, including the Apostles, hath had in it an orderly course of succession of Bishoppes till our time. For the faithfulnes, truth & credit of this Church was more euident, then the truth of the books of the new Testament, which are therfore receiued as sacred & true, because written by those Apostles to whom Christ so many waies gaue testimony both by word & worke: & the Scriptures are to be proued by the authority of that Church which included the Apostles; but in the Church ỳ now is, or that includeth only such as are now liuing, God doth not so manifest himself, as he formerly did: so that this Church must demōstrate her selfe to be Orthodox, by prouing her faith out of the Scripture. With *Driedo* [e] *Ockã* concurreth; his words are these: sometimes the name of the Church cōprehendeth not only the whole congregation of catholiques liuing

[b] *Part. 3. tract. 3. de vita spirituali anima. corol. 7.*

[c] *De dogmatibus extra. canonem Scripturæ sacræ constitutis. lib. 4. cap. 4.*

[d] *De vitandæ ueritatis intelligentiæ sacræ scripturæ lib. 2. cap. 7.*

[e] *Dialog lib. 1. part. 2. ca. 4.*

liuing, but the faithfull departed alſo; and in this ſenſe bleſſed *Auguſtine* vſeth the name of the Church, in his booke againſt the *Manichees*, cited in the Decrees, 2. *diſtinct. c. palam*; where the Catholique Church importeth the Biſhops, that haue ſucceeded one another from the Apoſtles times, & the people ſubiect to them. And in the ſame ſenſe *Auguſtin* vſeth the name of the Church, when he ſaith, he would not beleeue the Goſpell, if the authority of the Church did not moue him: for this Church comprehendeth in it the writers of the bookes of the Goſpell, and all the Apoſtles; ſo that from the authority of *Auguſtine*, rightly vnderſtood, it cannot be inferred, that the Pope, the maker of the Canons, is rather & more to be beleeued, then the Goſpell; yet it may be granted, that we muſt more and rather beleeue the Church, which hath bin from the times of the Prophets & Apoſtles till now, then the Goſpell; not for that men may any way doubt of the Goſpell, but becauſe the whole is greater then the part. So that the Church, which is of greater authority then the Goſpel, is, that wherof the writer of the booke of the Goſpell is a part. Neither is it ſtrange, that the whole ſhould be of more authority then the parts. Theſe are the words of *Ockam* in the place cited by me. Wherefore let the Reader iudge, whether that I cite out of *Ockam*, be impertinent, as the Treatiſer ſaith, or not. To *Durandus*, *Gerſon*, *Driedo*, and *Ockam*, we may adde [f] *Waldenſis*; who fully agreeth with them, ſhewing at large, that it pertained to the Church only in her firſt, beſt, & primitiue eſtate and age, to deliuer a perfect direction touching the Canon of the Scripture; ſo that ſhee hath no power or authority now, to adde any more bookes to the Canon already receiued, as out of her owne immediat knowledge. But it ſufficeth to the magnifying of her authority in her preſent eſtate, that euen now, no other bookes may be receiued, but ſuch only as in her firſt and beſt eſtate ſhe propoſed. Farther adding, that the ſaying of *Auguſtine*, that hee would not beleeue the goſpell, if the authority of the Church did not moone him, is to be vnderſtood of the Church, including the primitiue Fathers & Paſtors, the Apoſtles Scholers. By this which hath bin ſaid, it is euident, as I thinke, that the former of thoſe two conſtructions which I make of *Auguſtins* words, hath bin approued by far better men then this Treatiſer. And that therefore he ſheweth himſelfe more bold then wiſe, when he pronounceth it to be friuolous. And ſurely, if we conſider well the diſcourſe of [g] Saint *Auguſtine*, I thinke it may be prooued vnanſwerably, out of the circumſtances of the ſame, that he ſpeaketh not preciſely of the preſent Church. For it is that authority of the catholique church he vrgeth, that was begun by miracles, nouriſhed by hope, increaſed by charity, and confirmed & ſtrengthned by long continuance. And of that Church he ſpeaketh, wherin there had bin a ſucceſſion of Biſhops from *Peter* till that preſent time. So ỹ he muſt needs mean the Church, including not only ſuch faithfull ones as were thẽ liuing when he wrote, but all that either then were, or had bin from the Apoſtles times. Wherfore let vs paſſe to ỹ other conſtruction of *Auguſtines* words,

[f] *Doctrin. fid. lib. 2. artic. 2. cap. 21.*

[g] *Contra. epiſt. Manichei. cap. 4.*

which

which is, that the authority of the present Church, was the ground & reason of an acquisit faith, & an introduction leading him to a more full stay, but not the reason or ground of that faith, whereby principally he did beleeue. This construction, the Treatiser saith, cannot stand, because *Augustin* saith, if the authority he speaketh of be weakned, he wil beleeue no longer. Whence it seemeth to bee consequent, that it was the cause of all the perswasion of faith that he had, then when he wrote; and not onely of an acquisite faith, preparing and fitting him to a stronger, more excellent, & farther degree or kind of faith. For the clearing of this point, we must note, that there are three [h] sorts of such men as beleeue: for there are some that beleeue out of piety onely, not discerning by reason, whether the things they beleeue, be to be beleeued as true or not: the second haue a light of diuine reason shining in them, & causing an approbation of that they beleeue: the third sort, hauing a pure heart and conscience, begin already inwardly to taste, that which hereafter more fully shall be enioied resting in the first degree, as the authority of the Church mooueth vs to beleeue. So if it be weakned, that kind and degree of faith, that staieth on it, falleth to the groũd, hauing no other sufficient stay; But if we speake of faith in respect of her two other degrees, she hath a more sure and firme ground & stay to rest vpon. And therefore [i] *Augustine* affirmeth, that the truth, clearly manifesting it selfe vnto vs, is to be preferred before all those things that commend vnto vs the authority of the Church; and that there are certaine spiritually minded men, who in this life attaine to the knowledge of heauenly truth, & sincere wisdom, without al doubt discerning it, though but in part, & weakly, in that they are mẽ. Of which number there is no question, but that *Augustine* was one; so that the authority of the Church, could not be the sole or principall motiue or reason, at that time, when he wrote of his present perswasion of the truth of heauenly mysteries, contained in the Gospel of Christ, as the Treatiser would make vs beleeue: but hauing to do with the *Manichees*, who promised the euident & cleere knowledge of truth, but failing to performe that they promised, vrged him to beleeue that, which they could not make him know to bee true; he professeth, that if he must beleeue without discerning the truth of that he beleeueth, he must rest on the authority of ỹ catholique church: For the *Manichees* had no authority sufficient to moue a man to beleeue in this sort. Now the Catholique Church commanded him not to listen to *Manicheus*, in which behalfe, if they would & cou'd weaken the authority thereof, he professeth he neither can, nor will beleeue any more, with such a kind of faith as they vrged him to; which is, without all discerning of the truth of ỹ things that are to be beleeued. Thus we see the discourse of S. *Augustine* no way proueth, that the authority of the Church was the sole or principall ground of the highest degree, or kinde of faith, he had; but it is most euident out of the same, that it serued onely as an introduction to lead to a more sure perswasion then it selfe could cause.

h *Hugo: de sancto victore in sententijs.*

i *Vbi supra.*

§. 5. & 6.

Pag.78. THe next thing the Treatiser hath, that concerneth mee, is, that I acknowledge in the Church a rule of faith, descending by tradition from the Apostles, according to which the Scriptures are to bee expounded. Where-vnto I briefly answer; that indeed I admit such a rule so descending vnto vs; but that the rule I speake of, is nothing else but a summarie comprehension of the chiefe heads of Christian doctrine, euery part whereof is found in Scripture, and from them easily to bee collected and proued, deliuered vnto vs by the guides of the Church, from hand to hand as from the Apostles. So that my words make nothing for proofe of the Papists supposed vnwritten traditions; wherfore let vs passe to that which followeth, which is the Sophisticall circulation, which I say Papists runne into, in that they beleeue that the Church is infallibly lead into all truth, because it is so contained in the Scripture; and that the Scripture is the word of God, because the Church infallibly led into all truth, telleth them it is. In this passage he saith I wrong *Stapleton*, in that I charge him, that in
Pag.83. his triplication against *Whitaker*, he affirmeth other matters to bee beleeued, because they are contained in Scripture, and the Scripture, because it is the word of God; and that it is the word of God, because the Church deliuereth it to be so: and the Church, because it is lead by the spirit; and that it is lead by the spirit, because it is so contained in the Scripture and the Creed. For that, as he saith; *Stapleton* in the last place maketh no mention of the Scripture, but of the Creed only. Wherefore let vs heare *Stapleton* himselfe speake. Whereas *D. Whitaker* obiecteth, that Papists, according to *Stapletons* opinion, beleeue whatsoeuer they beleeue, not only by, but for the Church; and that ingenuously he had confessed so much:
[a] *Triplication: pag.188.* he [a] answereth, that indeed hee had so professed, and that hee euer would so professe; and in [b] another place, whereas *D. Whitaker* saith; Papists
[b] *Pag.179.* beleeue the Church, because God commandeth them to doe so; and that God doth so command them, because the Church, whose authority is sacred, telleth them so: he answereth, that they doe not beleeue that God commandeth them to beleeue the Church, either properly or onely, because the Church telleth them so; but partly, because of the most manifest authorities of Scriptures, sending men to the Church to be taught by it; partly moued so to do by the Creed of the Apostles, wherein we professe, ỹ we beleeue the Catholique Church; that is, not onely that there is such a Church, but that we are members of it; and that God doth teach vs by it. Is heere no mention of the Scripture, but of the Creed onely? Doubtlesse the Treatiser hath a very hard fore-head, for otherwise he could not but blush, and acknowledge that he wrongeth me, and not I *Stapleton*. But to make good that which I haue written; that Papists either fall into a Sophisticall circulation, or resolue the perswasion of their faith finally into humaine motiues, and inducements: first, it is to obserued, that no man perswadeth himselfe of the truth of any thing, but because it is euident

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vnto him in it ſelfe, to be as he perſwadeth himſelfe, either in abſtractiue knowledge, or intuitie, intellectuall, or experimental, or of affection; or els becauſe it is ſo deliuered to bee, by ſome ſuch as hee is well perſwaded of, both in reſpect of their vnderſtanding diſcerning aright, and will to deliuer nothing but that they apprehend to bee true. In the former kinde, the inducement, motiue, or formall cauſe of mens aſſent to ſuch propoſitions as they aſſent vnto, is the euidence of them in themſelues, which either they haue originally as the firſt principles, or by neceſſary deduction from things ſo euident, as concluſions thence inferred. In the latter, the authority & credit of the reporter. The former kind of aſſent, is named *aſſenſus euidens*, the latter *inevidens*, of which latter ſort faith is, which is named a firme aſſent without euidence, becauſe many of the things which we are to beleeue, are not, nor cannot bee euident vnto vs originally in them-ſelues, as the firſt principles of humane knowledge, nor by deduction, from, and out of things ſo euident, in ſuch ſort as concluſions in ſciences are. Yet is not this aſſent without all euidence. For though the things beleeued be not euident in themſelues, yet the *medium*, by vertue wherof we beleeue them, muſt be euident; and the proofe of them by vertue of that *medium*. Now the *medium*, by vertue whereof wee beleeue things no way euident vnto vs in themſelues, can be nothing elſe but the report of another; neither is euery report of another a ſufficient *medium* or inducement to make vs beleeue things wee know not, but it muſt bee the report of ſuch an one as wee know cannot bee deceiued, nor will not deceiue. It muſt therefore be euident to euery one, that firmely & without doubting beleeueth things not knowne vnto him vpon the report of another, that he that reporteth them vnto him, neither is deceiued, nor can deceiue. Whence it followeth neceſſarily, that things are as he reporteth. Theſe things preſuppoſed, I demand of this *Treatiſer*, whether he and his conſorts, aſſent to the Articles of the Chriſtian faith, induced ſo to do, by the euidence of the things in them-ſelues, or by the report of another. That they aſſent not vnto them, induced ſo to doe, by the euidence of the things in them-ſelues they all profeſſe, but by the report of another. I demand therefore, who that other is? whether God, or man? if man, then haue they nothing but an humaine perſwaſion, very weakly grounded, & wherein they may be deceiued, for euery man is a lyar. If God, let them tel me, whether it be euident in it ſelfe, that God deliuereth theſe things vnto them, & pronounceth them to be as they beleeue, or not: If not, but beleeued onely, then, as before, by reaſon of authority; and that either of God, or man. Not of God, for it is not euident in it ſelfe, that God deliuereth any thing vnto them; not of men, for their report is not of ſuch credit as that wee may certainly and vndoubtedly ſtay vpon it; ſeeing they may bee deceiued, and deceiue other. They anſwere therefore, that it is no way euident vnto them in it ſelfe, that God deliuereth the things they beleeue, but that they perſwade themſelues, hee deliuered ſuch things

vpon the report of men; but ſuch men as are infallibly lead into all truth. See then if they doe not runne round in a circle, finding no ſtay. They beleeue the reſurrection of the dead, and the like things, becauſe God reuealed it; they beleeue that God reuealed it, becauſe it is ſo contained in the Scripture; and the Scripture becauſe it is the word of God; and that it is the word of God, becauſe the church ſo deliuereth; & the Church becauſe it is a multitude of men, infallibly lead into all truth; and that there is a Church infallibly lead into al truth; becauſe it is ſo conteined in Scripture; and the ſcripture becauſe it is the word of God; & ſo round without euer finding any end. Out of this circle they cannot get, vnleſſe they either ground their faith vpon the meere report of men, as men, & humaine probabilities; or confeſſe that it is euident vnto them, in it ſelfe, that God ſpeaketh in the Scripture, and reuealeth thoſe things which they beleeue; which if they do, it muſt be in reſpect either of the manner, matter, there vttered, or conſequent effects. In reſpect of the manner, there being a certaine diuine vertue, force, and maieſty, in the very forme of the words of him that ſpeaketh, in the ſcripture; in reſpect of the matter, which being ſuggeſted & propoſed to vs, findeth approbation of reaſon, inlightned by the light of grace; in reſpect of the conſequent effects, in that we finde a ſtrange and wonderfull change wrought in vs, aſſuring vs the doctrine is of God, that hath ſuch effects; which is that we ſay, and which they condemn in vs. The *Treatiſer* would make vs beleeue, that there are two opinions amongſt them touching this point; whereof the one is, as he telleth vs, that we beleeue the Church, becauſe the Scripture teacheth vs, that ſhe is to be beleeued; & the Scripture, becauſe the Church deliuereth it to vs to be the word of God. And the other, that by the aſſiſtance of God, together with the concurrence of our naturall vnderſtanding, wee produce an act of ſupernaturall faith, by which we firmly beleeue the Articles of Chriſtian faith, not for any humaine inducements, but for that they are reuealed by Almighty God, without ſeeking any further: which if it bee ſo, it muſt be euident, in it ſelfe, to them that follow this opinion; that God hath reuealed & deliuered the things they beleeue, and that by one of the three wayes before mentioned, and then they fall into our opinion; for if it bee not euident to them in it ſelfe, that God ſpeaketh in the Scriptures, & reuealeth the things they are to beleeue, they muſt go further, to be aſſured that he doth ſo ſpeake and reueale the things that are to bee beleeued, eyther to proofe of reaſon, or authority. For no man perſwadeth himſelfe of any thing, but vpon ſome inducements. Proofe of reaſon demonſtratiue, I thinke they will not ſeeke; and probable inducements they may not reſt in; therefore they muſt proceed to ſome proofe by authority, which can be no other but that of the Church, and then they ioyne with them that follow the other opinion, and beleeue the articles of Chriſtian faith, contoyned in Scripture, becauſe God hath reuealed them; and that God hath reuealed them, becauſe the Church telleth them ſo; & the Church, becauſe

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the Scripture teſtifieth of it that it is ledde into all truth; which is a very groſſe ſophiſticall circulation. This the Treatiſer did well perceaue, and therefore to help the matter, he diſtinguiſheth the cauſe of beleeuing, & the condition neceſſarily requiſite, that the cauſe may haue her working, in ſhew, making the Diuine Reuelation, the reaſon or cauſe that we beleeue, and the Churches propoſing to vs the thinges to bee beleeued, a condition onely, and not a cauſe in ſort, as the fire alone is the cauſe of the burning of the wood, but the putting of one of them to another, is a neceſſary condition, without which that cauſe can produce no ſuch effect: but this ſhift wil not ſerue the turne. For it is the fire onely that burneth the wood, though it cannot burne vnleſſe it bee put vnto it; ſo that in like ſort, if the compariſon hold, the Diuine Reuelation muſt, of, and by it ſelfe alone, moue, induce, and incline vs to beleeue the things propoſed by the Church, and being euident vnto vs, to be a Diuine Reuelation, though without the Churches propoſing, wee could take no notice of it. Euen as in naturall knowledge, it is the euidence of truth appearing vnto vs, originally found in the firſt principles, and ſecondarily in the concluſions from thence deduced, that it is the ſole and only cauſe or reaſon of our aſſent to ſuch principles and concluſions, though without the helpe of ſome men of knowledge, propoſing them to vs, and leading vs from the apprehenſiō of one of them to another, happily we ſhould not at al attaine ſuch knowledge. But this euidence of the Diuine Reuelation in it ſelfe, the Treatiſer will not admit. For it is no way euident in it ſelfe, to him, that God hath reuealed any of the thinges he beleeueth; but the only proofe, beſides humane motiues or reaſons, (which are too weake to bee the ground of Fayth) that he hath, is the authority of the Church. So that the Miniſtery of the Church, is not only a condition, but a cauſe of that perſwaſion of fayth which they haue; yea the authority of the Church is the formall cauſe of all that faith, ſeduced Papiſts haue. And therefore the diſtinction of a cauſe and condition helpeth them not: It is true indeed that the Miniſtery of the church, propoſing to men things to be beleeued, is only a condition requiſite to the producing of a ſupernaturall act of faith, in reſpect of them that haue ſome other thing to perſwade them, that that is true which the Church propoſeth, beſides the authority of the the Church; but in reſpect of ſuch as haue no other proofe of the truth thereof it is a formall cauſe. Now this is the condition of all Papiſts. For let them tel Mee whether they beleeue the Scripture to bee the Word of God, without any motiue at al or not? and if they doe not, as it is moſt certaine they do not, whether beſides ſuch as are humane they haue any other thē ỹ authority of the Church? if they haue not, as doutles they haue not, they make the authority of the Church the formal cauſe of their faith, and fal into that ſophiſtical circulation they are charged with. For they beleeue the articles of religion, becauſe reuealed; and that th ey were re-

uealed, becauſe it is ſo contayned in the Scripture; and the Scripture becauſe it is the Word of God; and that it is the Word of God, becauſe the Church telleth them it is; and the Church becauſe it is guided by the ſpirit, and that it is ſo, guided becauſe it is ſo contayned in the Scripture; this is ſuch a maze as no wiſe man will willingly enter into; and yet the Treatiſer commendeth the treading of theſe intricate pathes, and telleth vs that two cauſes may bee cauſes one of another. That the cauſe may bee proued by the effect, and the effect by the cauſe; and that ſuch a kinde of argumentation, is not a circulation, but a demonſtratiue regreſſe: that two cauſes may be cauſes eyther of other, in diuers reſpects we make no queſtion. For the end of each thing, as it is deſired, ſetteth the efficient cauſe a worke, and the efficient cauſeth the ſame to be actually enioyed. Likewiſe, we doubt not, but that the cauſe may be proued by the effect, and the effect by the cauſe in a demonſtratiue regreſſe. For the effect, as better knowne vnto vs then the cauſe, may make vs know the cauſe; and the cauſe being found out by vs, may make vs more perfitly, and in a better ſort to know the effect, then before; not only that, and what it is, but why it is alſo. So the death of little infants proueth them ſinners, and there being ſinners proueth them mortall. The bigneſſe of the foot-ſtep in the duſt or ſand, ſheweth the bigneſſe of his foote that made that impreſſion: And the bigneſſe of his foote will ſhew how bigge the impreſſion is that he maketh; but this maketh nothing for the iuſtifying of the Romiſh circulations. For heere the effect being knowne in a ſort in it ſelfe, maketh vs know the cauſe; and the cauſe being found out and knowne, maketh vs more perfectly to know the effect then at firſt we did; but the caſe is otherwiſe with the Papiſts; for with them the Scripture, which in it ſelf hath no credit with them, but ſuch onely as it is to receaue from the Church, giueth the Church credit; and the Church, which hath no credit but ſuch as it is to receaue from the Scripture, giueth the Scripture credit by her teſtimony. And they indeauor to proue the infallibility of the Churches iudgement out of the Scripture, aud the truth of the Scripture out of the determination and iudgement of the Church. Much like, as if when queſtion is made touching the quality and condition of two men, vtterly vnknowne, a man to commend them to ſuch as doubt of them, ſhould bring no other teſtimony of their good and honeſt diſpoſition, but the teſtimony of each of them of the other. It is true then which I haue ſaid, that to a man admitting the Old Teſtament, and doubting of the New, a man may vrge the authority of the Old; and to a man doubting of the Old, and admitting the New, the authority of the New; but to him that doubteth of both, a man muſt alleadge neyther of them, but muſt bring ſome other authority or proofe; ſo likewiſe, to him that admitteth the Scripture, and doubteth of the Church, a man may vrge the authority of the Scripture; but to him that doubteth

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of both,as all doe when they begin to beleeue, a man muſt alleadge ſome other proofe; or elſe hee ſhall cauſe him to runne round in a Circle for euer, and neuer to finde any way out. Wherefore to conclude this point,let our Aduerſaries know,that we admit and require humaine motiues and inducements,and amongſt them a good opinion of them that teach vs,as preparing and fitting vs to faith. Secondly,that wee require a ſupernaturall ayde, light, and habit, for the producing of an act of faith. Thirdly,that we require ſome diuine motiue and inducement. Fourthly, that this cannot be the authority of the Church, ſeeing the authority of the Church is one of the things wee are to be induced to beleeue. Fiftly, that we require the miniſtery of the Church, as a propounder of all heauenly truth; though her authority can be no proofe in generall, of all ſuch truth. Sixtly,that the Church,though not as it includeth onely the beleeuers that are in the world, at one time, yet as it comprehendeth all that are,or haue beene, is an infallible propounder of heauenly truth, and ſo acknowledged to be,by ſuch as are aſſured of the truth of the doctrine of Chriſtianity in generall. Seauenthly,that the authority of this Church is a ſufficient proofe of the truth of particular things,propoſed by her to ſuch as already are by other diuine motiues aſſured of her infallibility.

§. 7.

FRom the authority of the Scripture,which he would faine make to bee wholy dependant on the Church, the Treatiſer paſſeth to the fulneſſe & ſufficiency of it; ſeeking amongſt other his diſcourſes, to weaken thoſe proofes which are brought by Me, for confirmation thereof. Affirming, that though I make ſhew,as if it were a plain matter,that the Euangeliſts in their Goſpels,Saint *Luke* in the Acts of the Apoſtles, and Saint *Iohn* in the Apocalyps,meant to deliuer a perfect ſum of Chriſtian doctrine, and direction of faith, yet I bring no reaſon of any moment to prooue it. Whereas yet in the place cited by him,I haue theſe words, containing in them,as I ſuppoſe,a ſtrong proofe of the thing queſtioned. Who ſeeth not that the Euangeliſts,writing the hiſtory of Chriſts life & death, S^t. *Luke* in the booke of the Acts of the Apoſtles, deſcribing the cõming of the holy Ghoſt,the admirable gifts and graces powred vpon the Apoſtles,and the Churches founded and ordered by them, & Saint *Iohn* writing the Reuelations,which hee had concerning the future ſtate of things to the end of ỹ world,meant to deliuer a perfect ſum of chriſtian doctrine? if the proofe contained in theſe words bee not ſufficient,for my part I know not what may be,for what can bee neceſſary to bee knowne of Chriſtians,ouer and aboue that which is found in the old Teſtament,beſides the Incarnation of Chriſt,his words,actions,& ſufferings; the maner of the eſtabliſhment of Churches in the faith of Chriſt; and the ordaining and appointing of fit guides to take care of the gouernment of the ſame;and the future ſtate of things, to the end of the world? But hee ſaith, no one of the Euangeliſts inten-

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intended to ſet downe al that Chriſt did, and ſuffered, as it appeareth in that no one of them hath ſo done; and that it cannot be ſaid that al ioyntly haue ſo done, ſeeing that could not proceed but from ſome common deliberation, or the diſpoſition and inſpiration of the holy Ghoſt, mouing thē to write; neither of which can be ſaid. For, that there was no ſuch deliberatiō, he ſaith it is euident, in that no man mentioneth any ſuch thing; & in that it is known they wrote in diuers countries at diuers times, vppon diuers occaſions; and that the inſpiration of the holy ſpirit did not direct tēh to the writing of al things neceſſary, he ſaith it is likewiſe moſt cleare, in that I confeſſe there are ſome things wanting in their bookes, which the Church beleeueth; which could not be, if the ſpirit had moued them to write all. This obiection will ſoone be anſwered. For firſt it is certain, that ſome one of the Euangeliſts intended to write all things which Chriſt did, and ſpake; [a] S. *Luke* profeſſing that he had ſo done. Which yet is not to be vnderſtood of all thinges ſimply, but ſuch onely as hee did and ſpake in that time, within the compaſſe whereof hee confined his narration. Neyther doth this preiudice the fulneſſe of the Euangelicall hiſtory. For, as [b] *Baronius* noteth, the later Euangeliſts, taking a view of that the former had written, for the moſt part added what thinges they found omitted by them: So *Marke* and *Luke* write of the aſcenſion of Chriſt, not mentioned by S. *Mathew*; becauſe he ended his ſtory before hee came to it. And *Iohn* finding as [c] *Hierome* ſaith, that the other three had written only the hiſtory of one yeare, after *Iohn* the Baptiſt was caſt into priſon, wherein Chriſt ſuffered; approued that which they had written as true, & omitting that yeare, becauſe the things that fell out in it were reported by them, recorded ſuch things as fell out before the impriſonment of the Baptiſt, which they had not written, as not fetching the beginning of their narrations ſo farre off. If it be ſaid, by this Treatiſer, that many things that Chriſt did are ſo omitted, that they are found in none of the Euangeliſts; for that [d] *Iohn*, who wrote laſt of al, and knew well what the reſt had written, hath theſe words; *Many other ſignes alſo* Ieſus *wrought in the ſight of his Diſciples, which are not written in this booke, but theſe things are written that you may beleeue that* Ieſus *is the* Chriſt, *the Sonne of God, and that beleeuing you may haue euer-laſting life through his name*; [e] And againe, *there are alſo many other things which* Ieſus *did, which if they ſhould bee written euery one, I ſuppoſe the world would not be able to containe the Bookes which ſhould be written*; [f] *Baronius* will tell him, that the Euangeliſtes when they tooke in hand the writing of the ſacred ſtories, intended not to write all the things generally that Chriſt did; but ſuch and ſo many only, as might ſerue to confirme the faith, and to demonſtrate that Ieſus is the Sonne of God; and that the things which they haue written are ſufficient to ſaluation, that men beleeuing may haue eternal life. So that, though there were no common deliberation or conſultation

[a] Act. 1. Luk. 1.

[b] *Annal. tom.* 1. 34. 223.

[c] *Catolog ſcriptor. in Iohanne Baron. Annal. tom.* 1. 99. 5.

[d] *Cap.* 20. 30. 31.

[e] *Cap.* 24. 25.

[f] *Annal. Tom.* 1. 34. 223.

ſulcation amongſt the Euangeliſts, and though they wrote at diuers times and in diuers places, yet by the ſweet diſpoſition of the holy ſpirit that moued them to write, it might, and did ſo fall out, in that one ſaw what another had written, that the latter added ſuch things as they found omitted by the former, and ſo left vnto vs a perfect and full narration concerning Chriſt his incarnation, life, death, reſurrection and aſcenſion, as alſo the things hee did and ſpake during the time of his conuerſing amongſt men. So that the Treatiſer is not able to proue that the Euangelical hiſtorie is imperfect; but there is one thing wherein he gloryeth, as if he had gotten ſome great aduantage, which is, that I confeſſe, that there are ſome things found in the Epiſtles of the Apoſtle, occaſionally written and beleeued by the Church, that are not found in the hiſtory of the Euangeliſts, the booke of all the Acts of the Apoſtles, nor the Reuelation of Saint *Iohn*: whence he thinketh he may inferre, that eyther the Authors of thoſe books, meant not to deliuer a perfect ſumme and direction of Chriſtian faith, as I affirme; or that they miſſed of their purpoſe; which may not bee graunted. But let him knowe, that there is no conſequence of any ſuch abſurdity as he imagineth, from any thing I haue written. For the things beleeued by the Church, and not found in the former bookes, but in the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles, are nothing elſe but diſtinct and cleare determinations of doubtes ariſing touching matters of faith or manners, out of, & according to the ſum of Chriſtian Doctrine, found in the former bookes; or hiſtoricall narrations of ſuch thinges as paſſed betweene the Apoſtles them-ſelues, or betweene them and the Churches founded by them, or ſome particular perſons in them, not mentioned in the Acts of the Apoſtles; or laſtly, Apoſtolicall preſcriptions of things pertayning to decencie, order, & comelineſſe in the performance of the acts of Gods worſhip and ſeruice. Now I thinke it will not follow, that if there bee found in the Apoſtolical Epiſtles ſome more diſtinct and cleere reſolutions and determinations of doubtes out of the forme and direction of Chriſtian Doctrine, found in the former bookes, then are there found, or a preſcription of ſome outward obſeruations, that the former bookes containe not a perfect ſumme and direction of Chriſtian faith; much leſſe will it be conſequent, that theſe bookes containe not a perfect direction of Chriſtian faith, becauſe ſome hiſtoricall narrations, not found in them, are beleeued in the Church; as that *Paul* left his cloake at *Troas*, that he mediated for *Oneſimus*, and ſought to reconcile him to his Maiſter, and the like.

The Treatiſer therefore paſſeth from this exception, and aſketh how I will proue, that al things beleeued by the Church, and not contayned in the former bookes are found in the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles; to whome I anſwere, that when he ſhal giue any inſtance of things beleeued by the Church, and not found in the former books, either it ſhal be proued that they are not beleeued by the Church, or they ſhal be ſhewed him in thoſe

Epistles. Wherefore, let vs see what hee hath more to say. One of the Apostolicall Epistles he saith is lost, namely that which *Paul* wrote to the *Laodiceans*, in which there might bee something necessarily to bee beleeued that is not found in any other booke of the New Testament. Therfore it may bee thought that there is some want and imperfection in the bookes of the New Testament. This truly is a very idle and silly obiection: for though there was a certaine Epistle to the *Laodiceans* carried about and read by some in auncient times, yet, as [g] *Hierom* testifieth, it was exploded by all; and [h] *Chrysostome*, and [i] *Theodoret* are of opinion, that *Paul* neuer wrote any Epistle to the *Laodiceans*; but that the Epistle he speaketh of, was written from *Laodicea*, or by the *Laodiceans*, to informe him of the state of things amongst them-selues, or amongst the *Colossians*, by whome he would haue it read. And [k] Cardinal *Baronius* himselfe approueth their opinion, rather then the other. That which he hath, of my admitting traditions, I will answere when I come to examine his next section.

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[g] *Catal. script. Eccles. ist in Paulo.*
[h] *In Epist. ad Colos. Homil. 12.*
[i] *In Epist. ad Colos. in princ. citat à Baron. Anna'. Tom. I. 60 13.*
[k] *Ibid.*

§. 8.

IN his next section he hath these words. *Barlow* and *Field*, two famous English Protestants, admitte certaine Apostolical traditions. And farther hee addeth, that I allowe of certaine rules for the discerning of Apostolike traditions, from such as are not such. Wher-vnto we answere, that we admit sundry kindes of tradition, and yet deny, that any thing concerning faith, or the necessary direction and information of mens manners is to be beleeued and receiued, that is not written. For we say, nothing was deliuered by tradition, but the bookes of Scripture, thinges in some sort therin contained, and thence deduced; and certaine dispensable obseruations, not at al, or hardly to be discerned from Ecclesiasticall constitutions. Neither is it new, or strange, that we should admit some kinds of traditions. For [a] *Kemnitius* acknowledgeth all those kindes that I mention; which wil no way help the Papists. For the question between them and vs, is not whether there bee any traditions or not. For it is most certaine that the bookes of Scripture are deliuered by tradition. But it being presupposed, that the holy men of God, taught immediately by Christ his Sonne, recommended certaine bocks to posterities, and agreed on, which those books are, whether they containe al things necessary to be knowne, and practised by Christian men for the attaining of euer-lasting life and saluation. We say they do, they deny it. Yet wil the Treatiser proue from hence, contrary to my assertions, that according to my owne grounds, tradition is the very foundation of my faith. For if Protestantes receiue the number, names of the Authors, and integrity of the parts of bookes, diuine and canonical, as deliuered by tradition, as I say they do: and if without tradition we cannot know such diuine books, hee thinketh it consequent that tradition is the ground of our faith. But indeed there is no such consequence as hee imagineth. For it is one thing to require the tradition

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[a] *In examine concilii Tridē tini decret. prim. sessionis. 4.*

of

of the Church, as a necessary meanes, whereby the bookes of Scripture may be deliuered vnto vs, and made knowne; and another to make the same tradition the ground of our faith; seeing in the iudgement of the Treatiser him-selfe, euery thing is not the ground of our faith, builded vpon Scripture, without which we cannot know the Canonicall books of Scripture from such as are not of that ranke. As it is euident, in that hee distinguisheth the ground of our faith, and reason of our beleeuing, from the condition required to the producing of such an act of faith; denying the Churches proposing of things to bee beleeued to bee the ground of our faith, and yet requiring it, as a necessary condition, without which ordinarily men cannot beleeue. So that though we know the names of the writers of the bookes of holy Scripture by tradition, and that there were no more bookes, nor no more parts of bookes, of this kind left to posterities, by the Apostles, but such as the Church deliuereth to vs; yet it is not consequent, that we haue no other ground of our perswasion, that the bookes deliuered to vs, and the parts therof are canonicall, but tradition: for the euidence of diuine power, & maiesty, shewing it selfe in them more then in all humane compositions whatsoeuer, proueth them to haue proceeded from the immediate inspiration of the holy Ghost, breathing in them nothing but heauenly grace. The words of holy Scripture, saith [b] *Picus Mirandula*, are rude and plaine, but ful of life and soule; they haue their sting; they pierce and enter in, euen to the most secret spirit, and strangely transforme him that with due respect readeth them and meditateth on them. And besides, ther are sundry diuine & conuincing reasons, that the summe of Christian doctrine contained in these bookes, is nothing else but heauenly truth; and being without the compasse of that we naturally vnderstand, reuealed truth. So that the Treatiser doth greatly forget him-selfe, when he pronounceth it to be false, that I say, that the Scriptures winne credit of themselues, & yeeld sufficient satisfaction to all men of their diuine truth. This is the sum of all that he hath of traditions. For where hee saith, I affirme that without the Creed of the Apostles, wee cannot know the Scriptures to be of God; hee sheweth him-selfe to care little whether that he writeth be true or false. For I no where haue any such thing; but where he saith, I affirme that Papists make traditions Ecclesiastical, equall with the writtē word of God, & that this is one of my ordinary vntruths, he deserueth a sharper censure: for if the Reader be pleased to peruse the place cited by him, he shal find that I say no such thing, nor any thing that the Pope himselfe can possibly dislike. For, deliuering the opinion of Papists touching traditions, their diuers kinds, & the credit that is to bee giuen vnto them, I shew; that they make diuine traditions equall with the words, precepts and doctrines of Christ, left vnto vs in writing; apostolical, with the written precepts of the Apostles; and ecclesiastical, with the written precepts of the Pastors of the Church; confessing, that there

Part. 1. pag. 83. et seqq.

[b] *Epist. ad Nepotem.*

Pag. 96.

Booke. 4. cap. 20.

there is no reaſon why they ſhould not ſo doe, if they could proue any ſuch vnwritten traditions. Is this to ſay that Papiſts make Eccleſiaſticall traditions equall with the written Word of God? Is this one of my ordinary vntruthes? or rather is not this a bewraying of an extraordinary impudency in him that ſo ſaith? Surely I feare the Reader will haue a very ill conceipt of him, vppon the diſcerning of this his bad dealing. Yet hee goeth forward, charging Mee, that I make the baptiſme of Infants to bee an vnwritten tradition; wheras yet he knoweth right well, that howſoeuer I graunt it may bee named a tradition, in that there is no expreſſe precept or example of it in Scripture; yet I affirme that it is no vnwritten tradition, in that the groundes, reaſons, and cauſes of the neceſſity of it, are there contayned, & the benefits that follow it. Neyther doth the place alledged by him out of [c] *Auguſtine*, proue the contrary: the wordes of *Auguſtine* as commonly we read thē, are theſe; the cuſtome of the Church in baptizing infants, which is not to be deſpiſed or lightly regarded, were not to be beleeued, were it not an Apoſtolike tradition. But, who-ſoeuer ſhal conſider the place, wil ſoon perceaue that *Auguſtines* meaning is, that the cuſtome of the Church in baptizing infants, which hee ſaith is not to bee deſpiſed, or lightly regarded, is to be beleeued to be no other, but an Apoſtolical tradition; and not that it were not to beleeued, if it were not an Apoſtolical Tradition; how-ſoeuer, as it ſeemeth, *eſſet* in ſtead of *eſſe* is crept into the text.

[a] Pag. 96.

[c] *De Geneſi ad literam lib. 10. cap. 23.*

For it is ſome-thing harſh to ſay, the cuſtome of the Church in baptizing infants is not to be beleeued, vnleſſe it were an Apoſtolicall tradition. Seeing ſuch a cuſtome might bee beleeued, though it were not an Apoſtolical tradition: And beſides, the drift of *Auguſtine* in that place, is to vrge the neceſſity of this cuſtome, and to haue it beleeued to be Apoſtolicall; and not to weaken it, as if it had no ſupport, but bare tradition; which can neyther ſtand with the opinion of *Auguſtine*, the truth of the thing it ſelfe, nor the iudgement and reſolution of our Aduerſaries themſelues, who [d] think that the Baptiſme of infants may be proued vnanſwerably out of Scripture, in that Chriſt ſaith, the Kingdome of heauen belongeth to litle children, and yet pronounceth, that except a man bee borne a new of water, & of the ſpirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdome of Heauen. Wherein yet they contradict them-ſelues, as they doe likewiſe in ſome other thinges, which they produce as inſtances of vnwritten traditions, and yet goe about to proue them by Scripture.

[d] *Bellarmin. de ſacra. Baptiſm. lib. 1. cap. 8.*

Neyther will the Treatiſers euaſion ſerue the turne; that they goe not about to proue any thing, neceſſarily out of Scripture, that they pretend to be holden by vnwritten tradition, but probably only; for we know they bring *Pædobaptiſme*, as an inſtance of vnwritten traditions; and yet ſay, it may be vnauoydably proued out of Scripture, as they propoſe the teſtimonies of it.

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The like may bee ſaid of the conſubſtantiality of the Sonne of God with the father, and the proceeding of the holy Ghoſt from them both, brought by them, as inſtances of vnwritten verities, and yet prooued as ſtrongly by them, out of Scripture, as any other point of faith. For if they ſhall ſay, an Heretique will not yeeld him-ſelfe conuinced by ſuch proofes: it will bee anſwered, that no more hee will by any other, in any other point; nor by the tradition of the Church neither; which yet I ſuppoſe they will not make to be a weake proofe in that reſpect.

§. 9.

THe next exception taken againſt Mee is, that I haue not well ſayd, that a man may ſtill doubt, and refuſe to beleeue a thing defined in a Generall Councell, without Heriticall pertinacie, and that Generall Councells may erre in matters of greateſt conſequence. What I haue written, I will make good againſt the Treatiſer. For it is not ſo ſtrange a thing, as hee would make vs beleeue, to thinke, that Generall Councells may erre, and that a man may doubt of things defined in them, with-out hereticall pertinacie, ſeeing not onely our Diuines, generally, ſo thinke, but ſundry of the beſt learned in the Romaine Church, in former times, were of the ſame opinion, as I haue elſe-where ſhewed at large. Neither were it hard to anſwer the authorities hee bringeth to prooue, that Generall Councels cannot erre; if a man would inſiſt vpon the particuler examination of them. But this may ſuffice in a generality, that the Fathers produced by him, blame and condemne, in particular, the calling of things in queſtion, that had beene determined in the Councell of *Nice*, and ſome other of that ſort; and not generally the doubting of any thing determined in any Councell, how diſorderedly ſo-euer it proceeded. Pag. 99.

[a] In the ſecond Councell of *Epheſus*, there wanted not a ſufficient number of worthy Biſhops, yet becauſe hee that tooke on him the Preſidentſhip, vſed not accuſtomed moderation, neither permitted each man, freely to deliuer his opinion, it was not accepted, nor the Decrees of it receiued. [a] *Leo. epiſt. 25.*

From the not erring of Councels, the Treatiſer paſſeth to the queſtion concerning the Churches authority, in making new Articles of faith; and ſeeketh to cleere the Romaine Church from the imputation of challenging any ſuch authority by my confeſſion: my words alleadged by him to this purpoſe are theſe. Pag. 106.

Our aduerſaries confeſſe, that the approbation, and determination of the Church, cannot make that a truth which was not: nor that a Diuine or Catholique truth, that was not ſo before. But the good man hath vſed this poore ſentence of mine, [b] as *Hanun* vſed the Meſſengers of *Dauid*, [b] 2. Sam. 10. 4.

whose garments hee cutte off in the middle; a wrong afterwards seuerely, and yet most iustly, reuenged by *Dauid*.

For it followeth in the same sentence, that Papists doe thinke, that the Church, by her sole and bare determination may make that verity to bee in such sorte Catholique, that euery one must expressely beleeue it, that was not so, and in such degree Catholique before. Whereby it appeareth, that they attribute a power to the Church, in a sort, to make new Articles of faith, in that shee may make things formerly beleeued, onely *implicitè*, to bee necessary to bee expressely beleeued; not by euidence of proofe, or apparant deduction, from things expressely beleeued, but by her bare and sole authority; which not onely wee, but sundry right learned, godly, and wise, in the middest of the Church of *Rome* euer denied. Wherefore, let vs passe from this imagined aduantage, to consider the rest of his exceptions.

§. 10.

IN my third booke, and first Chapter, speaking of the Patriarche of *Constantinople*, I haue these words: In the second generall Councell holden at *Constantinople*, hee was preferred before the other Patriarches of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and set in degree of honour next vnto the Bishoppe of *Rome*; in the great Councell of *Chalcedon*, hee was made equall with him, and to haue all equall rights, priuiledges, and prerogatiues; because hee was Bishoppe of new *Rome*, as the other was of old.

Pag. 137. Heere-vpon the Treatiser breaketh out into these words: I cannot doe otherwise, but maruile, that a man of his place and learning, doth not blush to committe such a notorious vntruth, to the Print and view of the world. For not to speake of the falshood of the first part of his affirmation; because it is in some sort impertinent, that which hee saith of the Councell of *Chalcedon*, is most vntrue, repugnant to all antiquitie, and not onely contrary to all proceedings, and the history of the sayd Councell, but also to the words of the Canon by him alleadged. Who would not thinke that there were some grosse ouer-sights committed by Mee, in these passages, vppon such an out-crie? Wherefore, let vs consider the seuerall parts of this his exception against Mee.

First, hee saith, the Bishoppe of *Constantinople* was not preferred before the other two Patriarches of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and set in degree of honour next vnto the Bishoppe of *Rome*, in the first Councell of *Constantinople*, as I haue sayd; and that I say vntruly, when I say hee was

Let vs therefore, heere the words of the Canon it selfe, and then let the Reader iudge betweene vs. The words of the third Canon of that Councell are these; *Constantinopolitanus Episcopus obtineat præcipuum honorem ac dignitatem secundum ac post Episcopum Romanum, eò quòd Constantinopolis noua Roma est*, that is: Let the Bishoppe of *Constantinople*, haue the chiefest honour and dignity after the Bishoppe of *Rome*, because *Constantinople* is new *Rome*.

If the words of the Canon suffice not to iustifie my assertion, let vs heare the Treatiser himselfe; in the same page hee citeth these words, of the Bishops assembled in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, in their Synodall Epistle to *Leo* Bishoppe of *Rome*: Wee haue confirmed the rule of the hundred and fifty holy Fathers, which were gathered together at *Constantinople*, vnder *Theodosius* of happy memory, which commanded, that the See of *Constantinople*, which is ordained the second, and to haue second honour after your most holy and Apostolique Sea, &c. Is not heere as much sayd, as I haue written? Did not the holy Fathers, assembled at *Constantinople*, decree, that the Bishoppe of *Constantinople*, shall bee preferred before the Bishopps of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, and set in degree of honour next vnto the Bishoppe of *Rome*? and doe not the Fathers in the Councell of *Chalcedon* say they decreed so? Haue all these holy Fathers committed notorious vntruths to the Print and view of the world? It is well the Treatiser concealed his name, for other-wise hee must haue heard further from Me. But happily I misreported the Councell of *Chalcedon*, when I said, that in that Councell, the Bishoppe of *Constantinople*, was made equall with the Bishop of *Rome*, and to haue equall rights, priuiledges, and prerogatiues, because hee was Bishop of new *Rome*, as the other of old.

Let vs therefore heare the words of the Bishoppes assembled in that Councell.

The[a] Fathers, say the Bishoppes of that Councell, did rightly giue præeminences, and priuiledges, to the Throne of old *Rome*, because that cittie was Lady and mistresse of the world, and the hundred and fifty Bishops, most deerely beloued of God, mooued with the same respect, gaue equall præeminences, and priuiledges, to the most holy throne of new *Rome*, thinking it reasonable, that that Citty honoured with the Imperiall seate, and Senate, and enioying equall præeminences, and priuiledges, with the elder Princely cittie, should bee made great as the other, in ecclesiasticall affaires, beeing second after it. Out of this decree, [b] *Nilus*, in his booke of the Primacie of the Pope, obserueth first, that in the iudgment of these holy Bishops, the Pope hath the primacie from the Fathers, and not from the Apostles. Secondly, that hee hath it in respect of the greatnesse of his Cittie, beeing

[a] *Synodus Chalcedon. actio. 16.*

[b] *De primatu Papæ, lib. 2.*

the ſeate of the Empire, and not by reaſon of his ſucceeding *Peter*,
Pag. 123. which vtterly ouer-throweth the Papacie. And therefore this good man, after all this out-crie, raiſed againſt Mee, as if I had miſreported the Councell, is forced to denie the authority of the Canon, as not beeing confirmed by the Biſhop of *Rome*. See then how hee demeaneth himſelfe.

Firſt hee vrgeth, that the Biſhoppe of new *Rome*, or *Conſtantinople*, could not haue equall priuiledges with the Biſhop of old *Rome*; becauſe hee was to bee ſecond, and next after him; where-vnto *Nilus* anſwereth, that if that reaſon did hold, the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, could not bee equall to the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* in power and authority; nor the Biſhoppe of *Antioch* vnto him, one of theſe beeing after another in order and honour; and thence concludeth, that if the Biſhop of *Antioch*, might bee equall to the Biſhoppe of *Alexandria*, and the Biſhoppe of *Alexandria* to the Biſhoppe of *Conſtantinople*, notwithſtanding the placing of one of them, in order and honour, before another, the Biſhoppe of *Conſtantinople* might bee equall to the Biſhoppe of *Rome*, though hee were the ſecond and next after him. So that, that which this Treatiſer alledgeth, that by the confeſſion of theſe Fathers, the Biſhoppe of *Rome* had alwayes the Primacie, is to no purpoſe; ſeeing the Primacie hee had was but of order and honour, which may bee yeelded to one, amongſt them that are equall in power; in which ſenſe, the Biſhops aſſembled in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, in their relation to Pope *Leo*, call him their head.

Secondly, hee confeſſeth, it may bee gathered out of ſome Greeke copies of this Councell (hee might haue ſayd, out of all copies, Greeke and Latin) that by this Canon, the Biſhoppe of new *Rome*, or *Conſtantinople*, was ſo made ſecond, after the Biſhop of olde *Rome*, that equall priuiledges were giuen vnto him. But addeth, that they were onely concerning iuriſdiction, to ordaine certaine *Metropolitans* of the Eaſt Church, as the Biſhoppe of *Rome* had the like in the Weſt: which euaſion ſerueth not the turne.

For the Biſhoppes in this Councell (ſuppoſing that the reaſon why the Fathers gaue the preheminence to the Biſhoppe of *Rome*, was the greatneſſe of the Cittie, doe there-vpon giue him the like preheminences. So that they meant to make him equall generally, and not in ſome particular things onely. Beſides, if they did equall him in iuriſdiction, and in the ordination and confirmation of *Metropolitans*, it will follow, that they equalled him ſimply, and abſolutely. For in the power of Order, there can bee no inequalitie betweene him and any other Biſhoppe. Thirdly, hee ſaith, That the Canon of this Councell is of no authoritie: and the

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like hee must say of the Canons of the first Councell of *Constantinople*, and that in *Trullo*, and so beare downe all that standeth in his way, as [c] *Binnius*, and other of his fellowes do, who feare not to charge these holy Fathers and Bishops, with lying and falshood. But how doth hee prooue that this Canon is of no authority? Surely, the onely reason he bringeth is, because the Legates of the Bishop of *Rome*, resisted against it, and the Bishop him-selfe neuer confirmed it, which is of little force. For wee know, that not-with-standing the long continued resistance of the Romaine Bishops, yet in the end they were forced to giue way to this constitution. So that after the time of [d] *Iustinian* the Emperour, who confirmed the same, they neuer made any word about it any more: The words of *Iustinians* confirmation are these.

[c] *In notis in concilium Chalcedon.*

[d] *Nouella.* 106.

We ordaine, according to the Decrees of the holy Councells, that the most holy Bishop of old *Rome*, shall bee the first of all Bishoppes: And the most blessed Bishop of *Constantinople*, which is new *Rome*, shall haue the second place after the Sea of old *Rome*, and shall bee before all the rest, in order and honour.

Neither did *Martian* the Emperour, as the Treatiser most vntruly auoucheth, voyde the Canons of these Councells, which in this sorte were confirmed afterwards by *Iustinian*. Wherefore seeing it is euident, that almost the whole Christian world, in diuerse Generall Councels, feared not to make another Bishoppe, the Bishop of *Romes* Peere, I hope, the Reader will easily discerne, that I haue not passed the bounds of modestie, nor fallen into any vnseemely scoffing, and rayling vaine, as the Treatiser chargeth mee, when I taxe the Antichristian and Lucifer-like pride of the Romish Antichrist, who, not-with-standing the contradiction of the greatest part of the Christian world, sought to subiect all the members of Christ to him selfe; and pronounced them all to bee in state of damnation, that bowe not downe before him as *Vice*-God, and supreame commander on earth. But, it seemeth, hee had a great desire, at the least to seeme to say some-thing against Mee. For other-wise hee would not so shamelessely bee-lye Mee, as hee doth, when hee saith: I would deriue the beginning of the Popes superiority from *Phocas*, whereas in the place cited by him, I haue no such thing, but the contrary: For I affirme, that in the first Councell of *Constantinople*, the Bishop of that citty was set in degree of honour next vnto the Bishoppe of *Rome*, and before the other two Patriarches of *Alexandria* and *Antioche*, thereby confessing, that the Bishoppe of *Rome*, had the first place at that time: Which when the *Constantinopolitan* Bishop sought to haue, *Phocas* so concluded matters between these two Bishopps, that the Bishop of *Rome* should haue the first and chiefe place in the Church of GOD, and *Constantinople* the second; so that the

Pag. 139.

præeminence and chiefetie which the Pope claimeth lawfully, was ancient, and not deriued from *Phocas*, how-so-euer hee might, and happely did inlarge and extend it further then was fit, giuing him a kinde of vniuersallitie of iurisdiction.

§. 11.

Pag. 139. FRom the Primacie of the Bishoppe of Rome, the Treatiser passeth to the infallibilitie of his iudgment, and affirmeth that his Decrees, though hee define without a Generall Councell, are that firme Roeke, and sute ground, vpon which our faith is to bee builded; and that a man may well admitte his definitions, as a ground of supernaturall faith; and prudently build an act of such supernaturall faith vpon it. And yet in the same place confesseth, it is not yet authentically defined, that the Pope, in this sort, cannot erre.

Which thing also [a] *Bellarmine*, and [b] *Stapleton* acknowledge, professing expressly, that it is no matter of faith, to beleeue that the Pope cannot erre, if he define with-out a Generall Councell: In which passages, there is, as I suppose, a most grosse contradiction. For how can the infallibility of the Popes iudgement, bee to them a Rock to build an act of supernaturall faith vppon, who neither know nor beleeue, that his iudgment is infallible, but thinke so onely. Can a man certainly and vndoubtedly builde his perswasion of any thing vppon his sayings, whome hee neither knoweth, nor beleeueth to bee free from errour?

[a] *De Romano Pontifice. lib. 4. cap. 2.*
[b] *Relect. contro. 3. quæst. 4.*

Wherefore, for the cleering of this point: First the Treatiser saith; Though the Church haue not authentically defined, that the Pope cannot erre, yet the Scriptures, and other arguments, brought to proue it, are so plaine, and there are so many that thinke so, that a man may very well admitte his definitions to bee a ground of faith. Whence it will follow, that a man may build his faith vppon the Scriptures, and other, other arguments and reasons, with-out expecting the resolution of the Church, for the vnderstanding of the one, and discerning of the force and validity of the other. [c] Whereas elle-where hee professeth, that with-out the resolution of the present Church, the letter of holy Scripture, and the workes of Antiquitie, yeeld no certaine and diuine argument.

[c] Part. 1. 56.

Secondly, hee contradicteth himselfe, and denieth the supposed infallibilitie of the Popes iudgment, to be the Rock, on which the Church is builded, & maketh that rock to be onely the consenting iudgment of the

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Pope, and other Bishoppes in a Generall Councell; contrary to the opinion of allmost all learned and pious men, as hee telleth vs him-selfe, who thinke that that infallibility of iudgement, and assurance of truth, vpon which our faith is to be builded, is not partly in the Pope, and partly in other Bishops, but altogether in the Pope. Thus seeking to avoyd one contradiction, he runneth into many.

The second Part.

§. 1.

HAuing surueyed the first part of ỹ Treatise, & examined such obiections as the Author of it maketh against Me, I wil passe to the second; Pag. 38. wherin first he goeth about to proue out of that which I haue, that Bishops assembled in Generall Councells may interpret Scriptures, and by their authority, suppresse them that gaine say such interpretations, as they consent vpon, subiecting them to excomunication, & censures of like nature; that according to the prouidence and wisdome of almighty God, Generall Councells should not bee subiect to error, in such matters; for that otherwise men might be forced according to Gods ordinance, to obey General Councells, erring and propounding false Doctrine. Which is a euery silly kind of reasoning; for in the very same sort, a man may proue that particular Bishops are free from erring in their proceedings, and that they can impose and prescribe nothing vniustly, vnder paine of excommunication; for that otherwise men might be forced, and that according to Gods ordinance, to obey such Bishops, erring in their proceedings, and commaunding vniust things, whereas there is no question to be made, but that they haue power to excommunicate, who may abuse the same; and that sometimes it is a thing most pleasing vnto God, by refusing to obey them that haue power to excommunicate, but abuse the same, to run into the vttermost extremities of their censures; yea [a] Saint *Augustine* pronounceth, that the pacient enduring of wronges, in this kind, shalbe highly rewarded by almighty GOD.

[a] *De vera relig. cap. 6.*

Secondly, in the same chapter labouring to proue, that Protestantes contemne and reiect the Fathers, & to that purpose wresting some sayings of Doctor *Humfry* & others, he obiecteth, that I happely may seeme to some one, that doth not throughly looke into my words, to approue ỹ authority of the ancient Fathers, as farre forth as any Catholique; but sayeth, that Pag. 40.

in truth I doe not. For proofe whereof hee setteth downe, what I haue written touching this point: Namely, first, that wee must receiue as true, what-so-euer hath beene deliuered by all the Saints with one consent, which haue left their opinion and iudgement in writing; it not being possible, that they should all haue written of any thing, but that which was generally receiued in their times; and toucheth the very life of Christian faith.

Secondly, what-so-euer the most famous haue constantly and vniformely deliuered, as a matter of faith, no man contradicting them, though many bee found to haue sayd nothing of it.

Thirdly, what-so-euer the most famous in euery age haue constantly deliuered, as matter of faith, and receiued from them that went before them, in such sort that the gaine-sayers were in their beginnings noted for singularity, nouelty, and diuision; and in processe of time, if they persisted in such contradiction, charged with heresie; which is as much as any Papist doth say. And then insteed of shewing, that I attribute not so much to the Fathers as I should doe; or as Papists doe: hee turneth him-selfe to shew, that such consent of Fathers, as I speake of, is no sure direction for the finding out of the truth. So ouer-throwing all that which his owne Diuines haue deliuered touching this point. But yet that hee may seeme to say some-thing to the purpose, hee goeth about to prooue, that I bereaue the Fathers almost of all authority.

First, in that I reiect their testimonies touching all other matters, but onely certaine principall and substantiall points.

Secondly, in that I require such a generall consent, as can hardly bee found, touching such principall points.

Thirdly, in that I make the whole Church subiect to error.

For answer to these Allegations, I say; The first is a shameless vntruth. For I doe not limitte, or restraine, the consent of the Fathers, to certaine principall or substantiall points, as hee mis-reporteth Mee; but make the same to bee a direction in all things that may bee cleerely deduced from the rule of faith, and word of diuine and heauenlye truth, answerablie to that of [b] *Vincentius Lyrinensis*, that the consent of holy Fathers, is with great studie and care to bee sought out, and followed by vs, not in all *petite* questions, that may bee mooued, concerning the Diuine lawe, but onely, or at the least specially, in things pertaining to the rule of Faith; with whom [c] *Pererius* agreeth. To the second I say, that I require no other consent of Fathers then *Vincentius Lyrinensis* doth; who will haue vs onely to followe that doctrine of the Fathers, as certaine, which all with one consent, haue holden, written, and taught, that haue written of such things. Neyther doth this worthy Treatiser, admitte any other

[b] *Contra prophanas hæreseon nouationes cap. 39.*

[c] *In Genes. lib. 7. quæst. 7.*

other conſent then I require, for in this ſame chapter, hee hath theſe wordes. They will obiect that euery one of the Fathers was ſubiect to error. I confeſſe it; but yet God according to his promiſe, as I haue aboue declared, was ſo to direct and gouerne them, that they ſhould not all erre.

This conſent of the Fathers we make to be a Rule of direction; but yet not ſo generally and abſolutely, as if truth could not at any time be found out without it, but ſo that we muſt not neglect the knowledge of it, nor goe againſt it when we know it. Neyther is it neceſſary for the knowledge hereof, as the Treatiſer obiecteth, to read ouer all the Fathers; for the conſtant concurrence of the principal in al ages, without noted contradiction, doth ſuffice to aſſure vs of ſuch conſent.

The third allegation is partly vntrue, and partly inconſequent: it is vntrue, in that he ſaith, I thinke all the Paſtors of the preſent Church may erre in matters of greateſt moment. It is inconſequent, becauſe though the whole preſent Church may erre in ſome things, not pertayning to the rule of faith, and Generall Councels, in matters of greateſt conſequence; yet it followeth not, that all the Fathers of all times and places may bee thought to haue erred, ſeeing this ſucceſſion of Fathers is of greater authority then the company of Paſtors that now are.

Neyther is it conſequent, that if error may poſſeſſe the greateſt part, or almoſt all the preſent Church, that it may bee Catholike alſo, and ſo found euery where, and euer. The former, [a] *Vincentius Lyrinenſis* yeeldeth to bee poſſible, but diſclaymeth the latter; and therefore preſcribeth, that if error creepe into one part of the Church, we ſhould looke vnto other; that if it endeauor to ſtaine and defile all, wee ſhould looke vppe higher vnto antiquitie; and that if ſome haue erred amongſt the Auncient, wee ſhould looke what all, not noted for ſingularity, did teach.

[a] Cap. 6.

§. 2.

WHereſore let vs proceed to that which followeth in the next place; firſt hee reporteth what I haue written touching the ground of that perſwaſion, which we haue of the truth of thinges contayned in Scripture, and then taketh exceptions to it.

In the report, firſt he ſaith, that I make the principall cauſe of our beleefe of thinges contayned in the bookes of holy Scripture, to bee the habit or light of fayth.

Secondly, that beſides the habit or light of faith, I require reaſons or motiues, by force whereof the ſpirit of God may ſetle the mind of a man in the perſwaſion of the truth of thinges contayned in Scripture, that might otherwiſe

otherwiſe be doubted of. Thirdly, that I make this motiue or reaſon in ſome things, to be the euidence of the things them-ſelues in the light of grace; in other not ſo euident vnto vs, the authority of God him-ſelfe, whome wee do moſt certainly diſcerne to ſpeake in the word of faith preached vnto vs. Theſe things I confeſſe are deliuered by Me, and rightly collected by him, out of that which I haue written. Yet doth he wrong ſome other of the ſame iudgment with Me, touching this point, in that he ſaith vntruly, they reiect all ſupernatural habits, and ſo goeth about to make a difference betweene them and Mee, in this reſpect, whereas, in truth and indeed there is none. But what is that the good man doth or can diſlike in this my diſcourſe.

Pag. 54. First, he vndertaketh to proue that neyther the euidence of the things contayned in Scriptures in them-ſelues, preſuppoſing the light of grace, nor the authority of God him-ſelfe, diſcerned to ſpeake, can be ſufficient motiues whereby the ſpirit of God may ſettle vs in the perſwaſion of the truth of ſuch things as are therein contained. Wheras yet I thinke, if hee were aſked what the motiues are, by force wherof the ſpirit doth effect this worke, if theſe be not, hee would not eaſily giue any anſwere: but how doth hee demonſtrate the inſufficiency of theſe motiues? Surely very weakely, and inſufficiently. For firſt, thus he reaſoneth againſt them: if theſe motiues were of ſufficiency, euery one enlightned by the light of grace, ſhould by vertue of them bee perſwaded of the heauenly truth of al ſuch things as are contained in the books of God; which is a very bad inference. For by the like kinde of reaſoning, it may be prooued, that the euidence of things, in the light of nature, is not the motiue or inducement that cauſeth our perſwaſion touching ſuch thinges as are knowne in naturall knowledge, becauſe all that haue the light of naturall reaſon, are not rightly perſwaded, concerning all ſuch things; which no wiſe man will allow. So that as it is not to bee imputed to the defect of euidence in the things that are to be knowne in naturall knowledge, which ſhould ſettle the perſwaſion, that all men are not rightly perſwaded of them; but to the defect of the light of naturall reaſon found in them, or the want of due conſideration & right proceeding in the ſearching out of ſuch things as are ſo to be knowne: ſo likewiſe, it is not to bee imputed to the want of euidence of the truth of the thinges, or at leaſt of Gods ſpeaking in the Word of heauenly truth, that all men beleeue not all the bookes that are diuine and canonicall, and the things contayned in them, but to the defect of ſpirituall light in them that ſhould diſcerne ſuch thinges, or the want of due conſideration and right proceeding in the ſearching out of ſuch things.

Pag. 55. Secondly, he laboureth to proue, that none of the articles of fayth, or thinges beleeued by vs, are euident vnto vs in the light of fayth whereas

Whereas yet not-withstanding, [a] *Hugo de Sancto Victore* sayth expresly, that in some, the light of diuine reason causeth approbation of that they beleeue; and that in other, the purity of the heart and conscience causeth a fore-tasting of those thinges, which heere-after more fully shall bee enioyed.

[a] *In sententiis.*

And [b] *Alexander* of *Ales* pronounceth, that the thinges apprehended by vs in diuine knowledge, ar more certainly discerned by such as are spirituall in the certainty of experience, in the certainty, which is in respect of affection, and by way of spirituall taste and feeling, then any thing is discerned in the light of naturall vnderstanding, according to that of the Prophet, [c] *How sweete are thy words O Lord vnto my mouth, they are sweeter then the hony and the hony combe.*

[b] *Summæ theolog. memb. 4. art. 2.*

[c] Psalm. 118.

Wherefore, that wee may the more distinctly conceaue these thinges, wee must obserue, that there are some thinges which though without reuelation wee could not know, yet, after they are reuealed are euident vnto vs in the light of grace.

As first, that the defects and euils that are found in the nature of man, the blindnesse of his vnderstanding, the waywardnesse of his affections, and peruerse inclination of his will, were not from the beginning; that hauing beene in all the sonnes of men, the first parents of mankind fell from their originall and primatiue estate; and that seeing these euills are found in all, euen in little infants new borne, the propagation of them is naturall and not by imitation.

Secondly, that the very inclinations of our hearts, being naturally euill, in this corrupt state of nature, nothing can change them to good, but GOD by a speciall worke, aboue, and beyond the course of nature, which therefore may rightly be named grace.

Other thinges there are, which are discerned by spirituall taste and feeling, as the remission of sinnes, the ioy and exultation of heart that is there found where God is present in grace.

And a third sort of thinges there are, which beeing not discerned to bee true, eyther of these two wayes are beleeued not-withstanding, because deliuered vnto vs by God, whome wee discerne to speake in the word of heauenly truth.

Soe that the two former sortes of thinges are euident in them-selues to them that are spirituall, the latter in respect of that *Medium*, by force whereof they are beleeued, which is Diuine authority deliuering them vnto vs; which thing [d] *Hugo de Sancto Victore*, excellently expresseth. *Credit fides (saith hee) quod non videt, et non vidit quod credit, vidit tamen aliquid per quod admonita est, et excitata credere quod non vidit. Deus sic ab initio notitiam sui ab homine temperauit, vt sicut nunquam quid esset totum poterat comprehendi*

[d] *Erudit. theolog. de sacramentis fidei. lib. 7. part. 3. cap. 12.*

comprehendi, sic quod esset, nunquam prorsus posset ignorari. Oportuit vt prodere-rit se occultum deus ne totus celaretur, et prorsus nesciretur, et rursum ad aliquid proditum se et agnitum occultaret ne totus manifestaretur, vt aliquid esset quod cor hominis enutriret cognitum, et rursus aliquid quod absconditum prouocaret: That is, faith beleeueth that it neuer saw, and it neuer saw that which it doth beleeue, yet it saw something, by which it was admonished and stirred vp to beleeue that which it saw not.

God from the beginning did so temper the reueaIing of him-selfe to be knowne of men, that as it could neuer bee wholy comprehended what he was, so it might neuer be altogether vnknowne that hee was. It was fit therefore that God should manifest him-selfe formerly hid, that he might not be wholy hidden, and no knowledge had of him; and again, that hauing in some sort reuealed and made him-selfe knowne, he should so hide him-selfe, as not wholy to bee manifested; that there might bee something which being knowne, might nourish the heart of man; and againe something, which being hid, might prouoke and stir men vp to a desire of attayning some further thing.

Pag. 55. These things, it seemeth the Treatiser thought not off, and therefore denyeth that there is any motiue, sufficient to make a man beleeue the articles of the faith, setting aside the meane supernatural, by which they are Pag. 56. propounded: and ther-vpon asketh Me, what maketh me beleeue the articles of the Trinity, the two distinct natures in Christ in the Vnity of the same person, and the resurrection of the dead? Where-vnto I answere that the thing that moueth me so to beleeue, is the authority of the Scripture, which is the Word of God, and that I beleeue it to be the Word of God, because I do most certainely discerne him to speake in the same; and a certaine diuine force and maiesty to present it selfe vnto Mee, though Pag. 56. the prophane Treatiser professeth hee knoweth not what that authority and maiesty of God is, which is discerned in the sacred Scriptures, nor how we discerne it, which is not to be maruayled at, seeing blind men cannot discerne the difference of coulors, but that there is something more then humane discernable in the Scripture, all deuout and religious men will aknowledge with vs.

Beleeue Mee, saith *Picus Mirandula*, there lyeth hid in the Scripture a secret vertue, strangely altering and chaunging them, that in due sort are conuersant in the same. So that the reason that all do not discerne the maiestie of God, in all bookes that are diuine, and that some doubt of such as other admitte, is not because such a diuine power is not discernable in them, but because there is some defect in the parties not discerning the same.

To the former most weake reasons, brought to proue the insufficiency

of

of thoſe inducements, or reaſons, by which we thinke the ſpirit of GOD ſettleth vs in a perſwaſion of the truth of thinges contayned in the Scripture.

Firſt, hee addeth an vntruth, to witte that I deny thoſe partes of Scripture, which rehearſe matters of fact to bee knowne to hee diuine by the authority of GOD him-ſelfe, diſcerned to ſpeake in the Word of faith.

And ſecondly, an obiection, that men cannot know the Scripture to bee diuine, by diſcerning the Maieſty of God, ſpeaking in them, vnleſſe they read, or heare euery part of them read ouer, which is very hard to be done by euery one.

Where-vnto wee anſwere according to their owne groundes, that thoſe partes of diuine and canonicall Scripture which particularly wee haue not read, or conſidered, are only *implicitè* and virtually beleeued of vs, as likewiſe, the thinges that are contayned in them: neyther ſhould this ſeeme ſtrange to the *Romaniſts*; for they thinke it pertayneth to the faith of each Chriſtian man to beleeue all the books of holy Scripture to be vndoubtedly true, & indited by the ſpirit of God. Yet are there many amongſt them, that neyther know how many, nor which theſe books are; but beleeue them virtually only; as it appertaineth to the faith, to beleeue that *Ieſus*, *Mary*, and *Ioſeph* fledde into *Ægypt*; and that *Paul* mediated for the reconcyling of *Oneſimus* to *Philemon*; but is ſufficient, for men that neuer read or conſidered theſe particulars, to beleeue them virtually.

Thirdly, hee chargeth vs with contraryetie in our ſayings, in that wee make the Scripture to bee the ground, and rule of our faith, and yet make the light of fayth a meane whereby wee come to the knowledge of Scripture: becauſe, as hee thinketh, the Scripture cannot bee a rule of our fayth, vnleſſe it bee certaynly knowne to bee diuine, before wee beleeue. But the good man ſhould knowe that the Scripture may bee the rule of our fayth, directing vs touching ſuch particular thinges as wee are to beleeue, though it bee not knowne to bee diuine before we beleeue. For firſt, God giueth vs the eyes of fayth, and openeth our vnderſtandings, that wee may ſee and diſcerne in general, heauenly truth to be contayned in Scripture; and then it becommeth a rule of direction in all particular points of faith.

Fourthly, he imputeth to vs, that we rely vppon illuminations and inſpirations in the things wee beleeue, as if wee beleeued them without any other proofe or demonſtration, vpon bare imagined inſpirations; whereas we beleeue nothing without ſuch proofes, and motiues as all men may take notice of; and yet know right well, that none do make right vſe thereof, but ſuch as haue their vnderſtandings enlightned. *Pag. 61.*

So

So that his reasoning against the certainty of this illumination is idle, seeing wee doe not make illuminations or inspirations the ground of our perswasion touching things to be beleeued; but a disposition of the mind making vs capable of the apprehension of things that are diuine and heauenly. This illumination is in some more, & in some lesse; but in al the chosen seruants of God such as sufficeth for the discerning of al saluing truth necessary to be known of each man according to his estate & condition.

Fifthly, besides idle repetitions of things going before, wherein he referreth him-selfe; and some vntruths mingled with the same, Fifthly, hee chargeth Mee, that I am contrary to my selfe, in deliuering the opinions of Papists. The first supposed contradiction is, in that I affirme, that it is the ordinary opinion of Papists, that the articles of faith are beleeued, because God reuealeth them, and yet say in another place, that they make the authority of the Church the rule of our faith, and reason why wee beleeue.

The second, in that I charge the Papistes in one place that they giue authority to the Church to make new articles of faith, and in another place free them from the same. This latter supposed contrariety I shewed before to be none at al, but in the Treatisers imagination only, and touching the first, if he were a man of any cõmon vnderstanding, onknew what contrariety is, he would not charge Me with any such thing. For it is true, that all Papists think the articles of faith are to be beleeued, because reuealed; but they thinke also that we know not that they are reuealed, but beleeue so only, & that not by reason of any diuine reuelation, testimony, or authority, but because the church so telleth vs, and wee haue many humane inducemẽts mouing vs so to perswade our selues. So that they make the authority of the Church and humane inducements the last and final reason
Pag. 65. of beleeuing what-soeuer they beleeue. This the Treatiser knew well enough, & therfore he requireth Mee to shew how I know that God reuealeth the things beleeued by Christians; If I wil not fall into the same fault for which I blame them. Wher-vnto I answer, that I know the Scriptures to be inspired of God by the diuine force and maiesty that sheweth it self in them; in which sence I say the books of Scripture win credit of themselues, and yeeld sufficient satisfaction to al men of their diuine truth. For as the coulor in each thing maketh it visible and to be seene; so the diuine power & vertue that sheweth it self in the scripture maketh vs to beleeue that it is of God. But the Treatiser wil not thus leaue Mee, but still goeth on, adding one vniust imputation to another. For wheras we say only, the
Pag. 66. Scriptures ar not discerned to be diuine & inspired of God; vnlesse we be enlightned by grace, and not that they are proued to be diuine by the certainty of that illumination, he maketh vs, whether we wil or not, to proue the Scriptures by our inspirations, and that we are inspired by the Scriptures; whereas we proue neither the one nor the other of these things in any such sort. For touching the Scripture, I haue sufficiently shewed be-

fore

fore, how we know it to be diuine; and for the other, the Treatiser should know, that we do not proue by Scripture that we are diuinely enlightned and inspired, but that as naturall reason hath a direct act whereby she apprehendeth things without, & a reflexed act, whereby taking a view of the former direct acts she findeth out her selfe: so the light of faith first discouereth heauenly verities in the Scripture, such as naturall reason could neuer find out, and then by reflexion findeth it selfe to bee of another nature and kind, then that rationall vnderstanding that was before. Wherefore let vs go forward. Did not mine eies see, and my hands handle the palpable absurdities of this Treatiser, I would not beleeue any mans report, that one so void of al sence and reason as he euery way sheweth himself to be, should be permitted to write. For whereas I bring a most cleare sentence of *Augustine* to proue, that how-soeuer the authority of the Church serue as an introduction to bring vs to the spiritual discerning of diuine things, yet men rest not in it: he answereth, that *Augustine* in the chapter cited by Me, affirmeth onely that because all men are not capable at first to vnderstand the sincere wisedome and truth taught in the Church, God hath ordained in it a motiue which may first moue them to seeke it; to witte the authority of the Church, which partly through miracles, partly through multitudes is of force to moue, which no way taketh any thing from, but rather addeth strength to my proofes out of which motiues be necessary only at the first before men be purged & made pure in heart, & they may discern & see the light of heauenly truth, it is euident that in *Augustins* iudgment the authority of the church serueth but as an Introduction, & that ỹ things which right beleeuers rest vpõ is of a higher nature, to wit the discerning of heauenly truth. Wherfore finding him-self too weake to giue any substantial answer, he betaketh himselfe to a most silly exception, pretending that I haue not truly translated these words of *Augustine: præsto est authoritas, quæ partim miraculis, partim multitudine valere nemo abigit*; authority is ready at hand, which standeth vpon two things, the one the greatnes of miracles done, the other multitudes. Is this a false translation? hath the authority of the church, that force which it hath, to moue men to beleeue, partly by reason of miracles, & partly by reason of multitudes, and may it not be truly said, that it standeth partly vpon the greatnes of miracles wrought, & partly vpõ multitudes? but *valere* doth not signify to stand vpon; it is true, it doth not; yet what boy in the Grammer schoole will not laugh at him for thus childishly demeaning himselfe: for what man of vnderstanding would tal men to conster euery word precisely, as it importeth, by it selfe, without consideration of the coherence it hath with other in the same sentence. Besides this place of *Augustine* there is another cited by Mee out of *Hugo*; where hee maketh three sortes of beleeuers, whereof the first are such as are moued out of piety to beleeue, which yet discerne not by reason whether the thinges they beleeue are to bee beleeued or not. The second, such, who by reason approue

Pag. 66.

that

that which by faith they beleeue. The third sort are such, as by reason of the purity of their heart and conscience begin inwardly to taste, what by faith they beleeue. This place maketh strongly for the confirmation of that I say, that the euidence of sundry things in the light of faith and grace, is that formall reason which assureth vs of the truth of them.

For heere *Hugo* affirmeth, that the best sort of beleeuers do approue by reason, or by tast inwardly discerne the thinges they beleeue to bee true. So that such approbation, or spiritual tast, is the reason of their perswasion of the truth of these things.

Pag. 67. To this authority the Treatiser hath nothiug to say, but that it maketh nothing to the purpose, and that if I meant to translate the wordes of *Hugo*, I haue not exactly translated them. Whether the saying of *Hugo* bee to the purpose or not, I will leaue it to the iudgement of the Reader; but as for his other exception, I would haue him know, and any sensible Reader will very easily discerne, that I meant not exactly to translate his wordes, but at large to sette downe the intent and driftes of them, which I haue most truly performed: and therefore hee doth Mee wrong when hee saith, I deale corruptly and vntruly.

In the third place hee indeauoreth to make his Reader beleeue there is a contrariety betweene Mee and *Luther* and *Brentius*; in that *Luther*, with whome *Brentius* seemeth to agree, maketh the Scripture to bee of it selfe a most certaine, most easie, and most manifest interpreter of it selfe, prouing, iudging, and enlightning all thinges; and I acknowledge many difficulties in it.

But if the Treatiser had bene pleased to haue taken things aright, hee could not but haue seene that *Luther* also acknowledgeth manifold difficulties in the Scripture (yea hee doth see it and acknowledge it, and yet will not see it) and therefore that hee bee not contrary to him-selfe, when hee affirmeth that the Scriptures are easie, interpret them-selues, and iudge, and enlighten al things, he must be vnderstood to meane, that not-withstanding some difficulties, they are not so obscure & hard, as that Heretikes may wrest and abuse them at their pleasures, and no man bee able to conuince them, out of the euidence of those sacred writings, as the *Romanists* imagine; but that wee may bee so assured out of the Scripture it selfe, and the nature of the things therein contayned, that wee haue the true meaning of it, that wee need not altogether to rest in the authority of the Church; which explication of *Luthers* wordes, the Treatiser might haue found in the place cited by him, if he had beene pleased, and so haue omitted the vrging of this imagined contradiction.

Luth. prefat. in dissert. art. à Ieone. 10. damnatorum.

The

§ 3.

THe fourth thing that he propoſeth which concerneth me, is that I mention a rule of faith according to which the Scriptures are to be interpreted, which if we neglect, all other conſiderations are inſufficient; and the like hee alleageth out of the Harmonie of confeſſions, whence hee inferreth that we admit another guide in intepreting the Scriptures, beſides the letter of the Scripture. But he ſhould knowe, that the rule of faith mentioned by me, deliuered to vs from hand to hand by the guides of Gods church, containeth nothing in it but that which is found in Scripture, either expreſſely or by neceſſarie implication; ſo that though we admit another guide in the interpretation of Scripture, beſides the bare letter, yet we admit no other but that forme of Chriſtian doctrine, which all right beleeuing Chriſtians taught by the Apoſtles, and Apoſtolique men, haue euer receiued as contained in Scripture, and thence collected. To this hee addeth an excellent obſeruation, which is, that I ſeeme to confeſſe, that Saint *Paule* ſometimes by the workes of the Law vnderſtandeth the workes of the Law of *Moſes*, in that I ſay, that that Apoſtle pronounceth that the *Galathians* were bewitched, and that if they ſtill perſiſted to ioyne circumciſion and the workes of the Lawe with Chriſt, they were fallen from grace, and Chriſt could profit them nothing. But he needed not thus to mince the matter, for I willingly confeſſe, that *Paule* not ſometimes onely, but euer vnderſtandeth by the workes of the Lawe, the workes of *Moſes* Lawe. Pag. 82. Pag. 109.

Neither can there any thing bee inferred thence for the Papiſts, or againſt vs. For whereas by the workes of the Lawe ſome vnderſtand thoſe works which the ceremoniall Lawe preſcribed; other ſuch as the morall Lawe requireth; and a third ſort, ſuch as by terror it worketh in men, or cauſeth them to worke, without any change of the heart (which cannot be wrought but only by grace:) and the Papiſts thinke that when the Apoſtle ſayth we are iuſtified by faith without workes, he excludeth not ſuch workes as the morall Law requireth, but ſuch as the ceremoniall Law preſcribeth, and the morall Law worketh in men; we teach, that he excludeth all theſe.

So that a man repenting and beleeuing, may be ſaued, though hauing neuer done any good worke, he be taken out of this world before he can do any.

It is true indeed, that good workes do neceſſarilie followe iuſtification,

cation, if time doe ſerue, and oportunitie be offered; yet are they no meritorious cauſes of ſaluation. But the *Treatiſer* will proue out of that which I haue written, that they are meritorious, and that faith onely doth not iuſtifie: that good workes are meritorious, he endeauoreth to proue, becauſe I confeſſe, that men iuſtified freely by grace, are crowned in the world to come, for that new obedience that is found in them after iuſtification.

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But this conſequence I ſuppoſe will not be thought good, ſeeing, as [a] *Caſſander* rightly noteth out of *Bucer*, God, in reſpect of good workes, or hauing an eye to them, or for good workes, giueth not onely temporall but eternall rewards; not for the worthineſſe of the workes in themſelues, but out of his owne grace for the merit of Chriſt, firſt working ſuch good workes in them that are his, and then crowning his owne workes in them, as *Auguſtine* long ſince moſt aptly obſerued.

[a] *Conſultat. art. 6.*

Let vs ſee therefore if he can proue any better, that faith onely doth not iuſtifie; this he vndertaketh to do out of that which I haue written, that iuſtification implieth in it faith, hope, and charitie. But for the clearing of this point, let him be pleaſed to obſerue, that by the name of iuſtification ſometimes nothing is meant, but an adiudging of eternall life vnto vs: ſometimes the whole tranſlation of a man out of the ſtate of ſinne and wrath, into a ſtate of righteouſneſſe and acceptation with God, which implieth in it ſundrie things concurring in very different ſort, without any preiudice to the ſingular prerogatiue of faith.

Vide Antididay. Colon. de iuſtificatione & cauſis per quas iuſtificamur.

For firſt, it implieth in it a worke of almightie God, as the ſupreme and higheſt cauſe.

Secondly, the merits of Chriſt, as the meanes whereby God is reconciled, and induced to take vs into his fauour.

Thirdly, in him that is to be iuſtified, a certaine perſwaſion of the truth of ſuch things as are contained in the holy word of God.

Fourthly, motions of feare, contrition, hope of mercy, and the like workes of preparing grace, as cauſes diſpoſing and fitting him that is to be iuſtified, that he may be capable of Gods fauour.

Fifthly, as the ſuſceptiue cauſe, an act of faith, by which a man truely repenting of former euils, and ſeeking deliuerance, without all doubting firmely beleeueth, that all his ſinnes are remitted him for Chriſts ſake.

Laſtly, an infuſion of the habite of diuine and heauenly vertues, as a beginning of that life of God, to which he doth adiudge them whom he receiueth to fauour. So that my ſaying, that iuſtification thus taken implieth in it, *Faith, Hope, and Charitie*, contrarieth not our poſition, that faith onely iuſtifieth, in ſort before expreſſed: which the *Treatiſer* knowing right well, inſiſteth no longer vpon this cauill, but paſſeth to an vn-

Pag. 113.

truth,

truth, charging me that I ſay of S. *Auguſtine* (whom yet I pronounce to haue beene the greateſt of all the Fathers, and the worthieſt Diuine the Church of God euer had ſince the Apoſtles times) that his manner of deliuering the Article of iuſtification, is not full, perfect, and exact; as if I imputed ſome fault to him in not deliuering the point of iuſtification as it became him: whereas I haue no ſuch thing, but ſay onely, that his maner of deliuering that article was not ſo full, perfect, and exact, as we are forced to require in theſe times againſt the errours of the *Romaniſts*; in which ſaying, I no way blame that worthy Father, but ſhewe that newe errours require a more exact manner of handling of things then was neceſſary before ſuch errours ſprung vp; which I thinke no wiſe man will denie, and am well aſſured this *Treatiſer* cannot denie, vnleſſe hee will be contrarie to himſelfe.

For he ſayth expreſſely, that Saint *Auguſtine*, before ſome articles of Chriſtian Religion were ſo throughly diſcuſſed and defined in the Church, as afterwards vpon the riſing of newe hereſies, ſpake not ſo aptly and properly as was needfull in ſucceeding times, and therefore retracted ſome things which he had formerly vttered. Pag. 85.

So that the Reader will eaſily finde, that in this paſſage hee hath ſaid leſſe then nothing; neither will his next diſcourſe be found any better, wherein he laboureth to ſhewe a contrarietie betweene me, and *Luther*, *Caluine*, and others, in that I make that act of faith, which obtaineth and procureth our iuſtification, to be an act by way of petition, humbly intreating for acceptation and fauour; and not of comfortable aſſurance, conſiſting in a full perſwaſion, that through Chriſts merits we are the children of God. Pag. 114.

Whereas *Luther*, *Caluin*, and the reſt, make iuſtifying faith to be an aſſured perſwaſion, that through Chriſts merites we are the ſonnes of God.

But the Treatiſer might eaſily know if he were diſpoſed, that according to our opinion, iuſtifying faith hath ſome acts, as a cauſe diſpoſing, preparing, and fitting vs to the receipt of that gracious fauour, whereby God doth iuſtify vs; and other, as a ſuſceptiue cauſe, receiuing, embracing and enioying the ſame: in the former reſpect nether they nor I make faith to conſiſt in a perſwaſion that we are the ſonnes of God; in the latter wee both do, and ſo agree well enough, though the *Treatiſer*, it ſeemeth, could wiſh it were otherwiſe.

§ 4.

WHerefore let vs go forward, and take a view of that which followeth. The next thing which he hath, that concerneth me, is, that it may bee gathered out of my aſſertions in my third booke of the Church, that I thinke (as he ſaith, ſome other alſo do) that it is no fundamentall point of doctrine, but a thing indifferent to beleeue, or not to beleeue the reall, that is, the locall preſence of Chriſts bodie in the Sacrament. But I am well aſſured, there can no ſuch thing be gathered out of any of the places cited by him, vnleſſe it be lawfull for him to reaſon *a baculo ad angulum*, as often he doth. For in the pages 120, and 121, of his ſecond part, becauſe I confeſſe, that in the primitiue church the manner of ſome was to receiue the Sacrament in the publique aſſembly, and not be partakers of it preſently, but to carrie it home; that the Sacrament was carried by the Deacons to the ſicke; that in places where they communicated euerie day, there was a reſeruation of ſome parts of the ſanctified elements; and that the ſanctified elements thus reſerued in reference to an enſuing receiuing of them, were the bodie of Chriſt, to wit, in myſterie and exhibitiue ſignification: he goeth about to conclude, that I muſt needes confeſſe the reall, that is, the locall preſence of Chriſts bodie in the Sacrament; which conſequence is no better then if a man ſhould go about to conclude, that this *Treatiſer* hath written a good and profitable booke, becauſe he hath troubled the world with one, ſuch as it is, full of vaine, idle, and emptie diſcourſes: whereof if any man make doubt, let him conſider but the verie next words. For, whereas I confeſſed, *Calvines* diſſike of the reſeruation anciently vſed, and yet ſayd, it cannot be proued that he denied the Sacramentall elements, conſecrated and reſerued for a time in reference to an enſuing receiuing of them, to be ſacramentally the body of Chriſt, he ſaith, I labour in vaine; becauſe *Calvine* doth expreſſely condemne theſe reſeruations, which I confeſſed before, but no way goeth about to make good the conſequence which I denied, to wit, that therefore he thought the ſanctified elements ſo reſerued not to be ſacramentally the bodie of Chriſt.

For that which he hath, that *Calvine*, *Bucer*, *Melanchthon*, and almoſt all Proteſtants hold the Euchariſt to be no permanent thing, but to be the Sacrament onely when it is receiued, hath no more force of proofe then the reſt of his friuolous diſcourſes; ſeeing it is moſt euident that the Proteſtants named by him haue no ſuch meaning, that the ſanctified elements in the holy Euchariſt are no Sacrament but preciſely in the very recei-

receiuing of them, for then they ſhould be no Sacrament in the hand of the Miniſter and on the holy table, but onely in the hand or mouth of the communicant; but that they are no Sacrament but in reference to the vſe to which they were appointed by almighty God, as I haue ſhewed at large in the place againſt which this *Treatiſer* quarrelleth.

§ 5.

LEt vs therefore proceed to ſee what he hath more to ſay. In my fourth booke, writing of the things required for the attaining of the right vnderſtanding of the Scripture, I ſay, ſome things are required, as making vs capable of ſuch vnderſtanding; and other as meanes whereby wee attaine vnto it. Amongſt the things required, as making vs capable of the right vnderſtanding of Scripture, I reckon the illumination of the vnderſtanding, and a mind free from the thought of other things, depending on God, as the fountaine of illumination, and deſirous to finde out the truth, with reſolution to embrace it, although contrarie to the conceipts of naturall men. Chap. 19.

The meanes whereby we attaine to the right vnderſtanding of holy Scripture, I make to be of two ſorts; ſome diſpoſing and preparing only, as often reading, meditating and praying; ſome guiding vs in the ſearch it ſelfe, and theſe I make to bee fiue. Whereof the firſt is the knowledge of the rule of faith, and the practiſe of the Saints according to the ſame.

The ſecond, a due conſideration what will followe vpon our interpretation agreeing with, or contrarie to the things generally receiued amongſt Chriſtians. In which conſideration the conference of other places of Scripture is neceſſarie.

The third, the conſideration of the circumſtances of the places interpreted, the occaſion of the words, the things going before, and following after.

The fourth, the knowledge of all thoſe hiſtories, artes, and ſciences, which may helpe vs.

The fifth, the knowledge of the originall tongues, and the phraſes, and idiotiſmes of the ſame. In all theſe paſſages, as I thinke, there is nothing that the Diuell himſelfe dareth gaine-ſay; yet as if I had vttered ſome ſtrange paradoxes, and things neuer heard of before, the *Treatiſer* ſaith, my doctrine is commonly ſingular, in ſo much that hee profeſſeth he thinketh, he may very well in ſome ſort liken the plat-forme, or order, and faith of a church ſet downe in my bookes of that argument, Pag. 149.

to ſir *Thomas Moores Eutopia*, and that there neither is, nor euer was any ſuch Church in the world, as I deſcribe, and thereupon maketh ſhew as if he would confute euerie word that I haue in the place cited by him.

Verily I thinke it will not be ſafe for me to write or ſay that there is a God, that God made heauen and earth, or that hee ſent his ſonne into the world; for he impugneth things as cleare as any of theſe, as that an illumination of the mind is neceſſarie to the vnderſtanding of the Scripture inſpired of God, and the things contained in it: ſeeing the naturall man perceiueth not the things of God which are ſpiritually diſcerned; whereas yet we ſhall finde that hee can ſay nothing againſt the neceſſitie of ſuch diuine illumination for the vnderſtanding of the Scripture, but hee might ſay as much againſt the neceſſity of the light of naturall reaſon for the vnderſtanding of thinges naturally diſcernable. For he might aske, as now he doth, touching this illumination, how a man knoweth he hath reaſon, or the vſe of reaſon, and is not mad or drunke, ſeeing ſuch men as are ſo diſtempered, thinke they haue the vſe of reaſon as well as any other; and one kind of anſwer will ſerue for both theſe doubts.

For as men know they haue reaſon by the diſcerning of ſuch things as are not diſcernable by the ſenſes or ſenſitiue faculties, which are organicall; ſo faithfull and beleeuing men that haue their minds enlightned, know they haue receiued ſuch a new illumination, in that they diſcerne things which before by the dimme ſight of nature they could not: and as men that are ſober and in their right wits, doe certainely knowe they are ſo, though ſuch as are madde or drunke, thinke they are when they are not, and ſo deceiue themſelues. So men that haue the true illumination of grace may certainely knowe they haue it, though ſome franticke and braine-ſicke men thinke they haue it, when they haue it not.

The weakneſſe of this aſſault, it ſeemeth the *Treatiſer* did perceiue, and therefore hee aſſaileth vs another way, and vndertaketh to proue that it is not neceſſarie a man ſhould be ſpirituall before hee vnderſtandeth the Scriptures, becauſe then it would bee conſequent that our faith could not be builded vpon Scriptures, as wee thinke it is.

But I doubt he will haue as bad ſucceſſe as before. For as there muſt be a naturall light of reaſon ſhining in men before any thing naturally diſcernable can euidently appeare vnto them to bee that it is; and yet the perſwaſion men haue touching the being of ſuch things, buildeth it ſelfe vpon ſuch euidence; ſo likewiſe there muſt be a light of grace ſhining in the vnderſtanding of men, before they can vnderſtand the Scripture, and

yet

yet the perſwaſion they haue of the truth of diuine things, may, and doth builde it ſelfe vpon the Scriptures, vnderſtood through ſuch light.

Wherefore let vs ſee what hee hath yet more to ſay. Whereas beſides an illumination, I require in him that will vnderſtand the Scriptures, a minde free from the thought of other things, depending vpon God as the fountaine of illumination, and deſirous of truth, with reſolution to embrace it, though contrarie to the conceipt of naturall men; beſides his former exception already aunſwered, hee addeth theſe words. I diſlike theſe words, Deſirous of trueth with reſolution to embrace it.

The like whereunto, I proteſt, I neuer read, nor heard to come from anie man. For is it poſſible, there ſhould any ſuch man be found, that ſhould diſlike it in vs, that we require in him that will vnderſtand the Scripture, a mind deſirous of trueth, with reſolution to embrace it?

Surely it is; for we haue met with ſuch an one, but he hath taken order by concealing his name, that no man ſhall make him bluſh by looking on him.

This doubtleſſe is one of the ſonnes of *Belial*, that haue caſt off the yoake, that neither feare God, nor reuerence men. But what reaſon doth hee giue of his diſlike? theſe words, he ſaith, ſeeme to pretend a kind of doubting, or ſtaggering, which muſt not bee allowed, eſpecially in ſuch men as are ſpirituall. As if a ſpirituall man might doubt of nothing, nor bee ignorant of nothing, whereas yet all men knowe Saint *Auguſtine*, Saint *Hierome*, and other holy Fathers, who as we thinke, were ſpirituall, doubted of the meaning of ſundrie paſſages of holy Scriptures, and left many queſtions vnreſolued.

If happily hee ſay, men may not doubt of matters of faith, and that therefore they muſt not be ſayde to haue mindes deſirous of trueth, with reſolution to embrace it, it will be anſwered, that no man profeſſing himſelfe a Chriſtian ought to doubt of ſuch thinges as all Chriſtians are bound expreſſely to beleeue; yet are there many matters of faith that is ſuch as muſt be beleeued at leaſt *implicitè*, that faithfull men may doubt of and enquire after. Yea at firſt when a man beginneth to beleeue, hee doubteth of all pointes of faith, aud muſt bee ſettled in the ſame by the Scriptures interpreted vnto him, the diuine illumination of grace making him vnderſtand them.

Thirdly, whereas I reckon the knowledge of the rule of faith, and the practiſe of the Saints according to the ſame amongſt the meanes

which are neceſſarie for the vnderſtanding of the Scripture, and define that rule.

Firſt, to bee the ſummarie comprehenſion of ſuch principall articles of diuine knowledge, as are contained in the Creede of the Apoſtles, and are the Principles whence all other things are deriued.

Secondly, all ſuch things as all Chriſtians are bound to beleeue expreſſely, and which haue beene euer conſtantly beleeued by all ſuch as haue not beene noted for ſingularitie, and noueltie. He ſaith, moſt men will diſlike my doctrine, and pronounceth this rule to bee verie vncertaine; and yet preſently forgetting himſelfe, addeth, that hee hath proued in the firſt part of this Treatiſe, that in very deede the Scriptures ought to be interpreted according to the rule of faith, that is, the ſumme of Chriſtian Religion, preſerued as a depoſituum in the church.

Pag. 151. *Ibidem.*

But ſome man haply will ſay, that howſoeuer he forgetteth himſelfe, yet he hath good aduantage againſt vs.

Pag 152.

For firſt he argueth, that if the Scripture, be to bee interpreted according to the rule of faith, the rule of faith it ſelfe is not known and beleeued through the authoritie of the Scripture.

Secondly, he ſaith, the practiſe of the Saints from the beginning, to which I require men to haue an eye in interpreting Scripture, can verie hardly bee gathered out of the monuments of antiquitie, according to my grounds.

For anſwere to which obiections; Firſt, I ſay, that the particular and ſeuerall partes of Scripture muſt be interpreted according to the rule of faith, that is, the ſumme of Chriſtian doctrine receiued in the Church: and that yet the ſame ſumme of Chriſtian doctrine is no otherwiſe to be receiued by vs, but becauſe it hath beene deliuered by the Church, as gathered out of the due comparing of one part of Scripture with another, and from thence confirmed and proued.

Neither muſt we firmely reſt in the direction of it, till the Church make vs ſee and diſcerne how it is gathered out of ſeueral places of Scripture layd together.

Secondly, that the practiſe of the Saints may bee knowne out of the monuments of antiquitie, ſo farre foorth, as is neceſſarie for the helping of vs to vnderſtand the Scriptures, without any ſuch difficultie, as the *Treatiſer* imagineth.

For example, when Saint *Auguſtine* was to interprete certaine places of Scripture, touching the deriuation of ſinne from *Adam*, and to cleare the poynt, whether it were by naturall propagation, or by imitation onely, as the *Pelagians* thought; it was not hard for him to know, that the Church did euer moſt carefully preſent her new borne

infants

infants to baptiſme, before they could bee miſ-led and drawne away to euill by following the example of ADAMS diſobedience; and thence to inferre, that ſhee euer beleeued, that infants are conceiued and borne in ſinne, and conſequently, that the propagation of ſinne from ADAM is naturall, and not by imitation onely.

The fourth thing that I require in him that will take vppon him to interprete the Scripture, is a due conſideration what will follow vpon his interpretation, agreeing with, or contrary to the thinges generally receiued and beleeued amongſt Chriſtians; againſt which hee hath nothing to ſay, yet that hee might bee thought to ſay ſomething, firſt, hee challengeth LVTHER for not obſeruing this rule. And ſecondly, affirmeth, that it is inſufficient if at any time almoſt all Chriſtians may erre as I teach. Pag 152.

But firſt, concerning LVTHER, the good man ſhould know, that hee cannot iuſtly bee charged with the breach of this rule, ſeeing hee broached no new doctrine in the Church, as the Treatiſer vntruely affirmeth, but ſuch as had the teſtimony of Antiquity, and the allowance of innumerable Chriſtians in his time, as wel in the Weſt, as in the Eaſt.

And ſecondly, that the poſſibility of the erring of the greateſt part of the Church, preiudiceth not this rule, he might if he pleaſed, learne out of *Vincentius Lirinenſis*, who acknowledgeth that ſometimes error may ouerſpread almoſt all the preſent church, and preſcribeth that in ſuch a caſe, men ſhould looke vp higher into antiquity. *Contra prophanas hæreſeon. nouationes, ca. 6.*

The two other enſuing rules, to wit, conſideration of the circumſtances of the places interpreted, the occation of the words, the things going before, and following after, and the knowledge of all ſuch hiſtories, arts, and ſciences, as may helpe vs in interpreting the Scripture, hee paſſeth ouer as neceſſary, though not ſufficient of themſelues alone. Pag 152.

The knowledge of the originall tongues, hee acknowledgeth to bee profitable, but will not admit it to be neceſſary, eſpecially according to the conceipt of the *Romaniſts*. Firſt, becauſe they are ſure they haue the Scriptures rightly tranſlated.

Secondly, becauſe they make not the Scripture the propounder of their beliefe, but expound it according to the rule of faith deliuered and receiued. In which paſſages he bewraieth groſſe ignorance.

For firſt, the *Romaniſts* are not ſure that they haue the Scripture truly tranſlated, as it apppeareth by that which *Andradius* hath written: who prouethat large, that though the vulgar tranſlation were allowed of by the Councell of *Trent*, as containing nothing in it whence any hereſie or *Lib. 4. defenſionis fidei Tridentinæ.*

errour.

Loc. theolog. li. 2. errour in faith may bee inferred, yet is it not without many and great mistakings.

And secondly, if they were sure, yet as *Melchior Canus* sheweth, the knowledge of tongues is needfull for the finding out of the meaning of sundry particular places of Scripture, by reason of some ambiguity or obscurity in the translation.

Thirdly, for that though the rule of faith serue for direction in generality, so that following the same, we may be sure not to decline from the truth of doctrine; yet will not that rule secure vs from all erring and swaruing from the meaning of each place in particular, so that in this respect, the knowledge of the tongues may be, and is most necessary. After all these exceptions taken against the helps and rules proposed by me, for the finding out of the true meaning of Scripture, the *Treatiser* setteth on me a freth in fiercer manner then before, and requireth me to bring some diuine testimony, proofe, or argument, or some particular reason of the necessity, and sufficiency of these helpes, and rules. Whereunto I briefly answer, that if any Papist vnder heauen, can take any exception against any of these helpes and rules proposed by mee, or deuise any other, I will iustifie the necessity and sufficiency of them: but otherwise, I thinke it altogether needlesse, to proue that the Sunne shineth at noone, or to shew by reason or authority, that spirituall thinges cannot bee discerned but by spirituall men. The Treatiser therefore returneth and taketh new excepions against the helpes and rules proposed by me; first affirming, but most vntruly, that the greater part of my brethen will not allow them; and secondly, labouring to improue them by reason.

Pag. 153.

For first, that an illumination of the minde is not necessary for the vnderstanding of the Scripture, hee goeth about to shew, because if such illumination bee necessary, no man can bee assured of the truth of another mans interpretation, seeing no man can tell whether hee haue an illumination of the vnderstanding, and a minde disposed in such sort as is required or not.

Whereunto I answer, that it is true, that no man can assure himselfe that another mans interpretation is true and good, out of any knowledge of such personall things in the interpreter; yet may he know it to bee true out of the nature of the thing it selfe, and thence inferre, that either hee that so interpreteth, or they from whom hee receiued such interpretation, had a diuine illumination. For euen as to discourse of the nature of colours, presupposeth that the man that so discourseth, hath, or had sight; if hee speake thereof with any apprehension of that he speaketh, (though a blinde man hauing heard the discourses of other, may vse like words without all sense and apprehension of that he speaketh)

keth) So no man can interprete the Scriptures, and diſcourſe of the things therein contained, with ſence and feeling, but ſuch a one whoſe minde is enlightned, though prophane perſons, and ſuch as be voyde of all diuine illumination, may as from others, interprete the Scripture, and diſcourſe of ſuch diuine things as are therein. And as a man may aſſure himſelfe that another mans diſcourſe of colours is good, out of the nature of the thing it ſelfe, though hee know not whether hee haue, or euer had, ſuch ſence of ſeeing, as is requiſite in him that will ſpeake of colours with any apprehenſion; ſo a man may know that another mans interpretation is true, though kee know not whether hee haue ſuch an illumination of minde, as is neceſſary for the vnderſtanding of the things contained in the Scripture.

Secondly, hee vndertaketh to ſhew, that no man can either aſſure himſelfe that hee hath the true meaning of Scripture, or conuince the gaine-ſayers by following the direction of the former rules, becauſe, as hee ſuppoſeth, a man cannot certainely know, that hee hath an illumination of minde; that he hath obſerued thoſe rules; that he is diſpoſed as he ſhould be, and furniſhed with learning in ſuch ſort as is requiſite. Whereunto firſt I anſwer briefly, that it is as poſſible for a man to know whether he haue an illumination of the minde or not, as it is whether hee haue the light of naturall reaſon. Page. 153. 154.

Secondly, that the obſeruation of the rules formerly mentioned, and the diſpoſition of a mans minde reſolued to embrace the truth, may as eaſily bee knowen, as any other motions, purpoſes, and reſolutions. Neither is it more hard for a man that is ſpirituall to know whether he bee ſufficiently furniſhed with learning requiſite for the vnderſtanding of the Scripture, then for a naturall man to know whether hee haue learning enough to vnderſtand *Ariſtotle*, or any other prophane author.

Thirdly, in confutation of the former rules, hee alledgeth that they may not be admitted as neceſſary, becauſe if they be, all ſuch as haue no illumination of mind, nor willing diſpoſition to embrace the truth when it ſhall be manifeſted to them, muſt bee excluded out of the number of faithfull ones. Which if he thinke to be an abſurdity, it is no great matter what he ſaith; but he addeth, that they that are vnlearned haue not the knowledge of all thoſe arts and ſciences, that are neceſſary for the vnderſtanding of ſundry parts of Scripture, nor of thoſe originall tongues wherin they were written, without the knowledge whereof they cannot be vnderſtood; whereas yet they are to build their faith vpon the Scripture rightly vnderſtood; whence it will follow, that all ſuch muſt bee excluded out of the number of the faithfull.

This in deed is ſuch a conſequence as muſt not be admitted, neither is there any ſuch thing conſequent vpon that which we ſay. For though all

all men haue not that knowledge of arts, sciences, and tongues, that is necessary for the exact vnderstanding of all parts and passages of Scripture, yet may they vnderstand so much of the same as is necessary to saluation, without the knowledge of arts and sciences: the things that are so precisely necessary, being deliuered in very plaine, easie, and familiar termes.

Neither is it necessary that if a man will build his faith vpon the Scripture, that hee must vnderstand euery part of it. Onely one scruple remaineth, which is, that an ignorant man can haue no certaine ground of his faith, if hee build the same vpon the Scripture, because lacking the knowledge of tongues he cannot know whether it bee truely translated or not; but this scruple may easily bee remoued, seeing an ignorant man, out of the Scripture it selfe duely proposed, explaned, and interpreted vnto him, may know it to be diuine, heauenly, and inspired of God; and consequently, that in what tongue soeuer it was written, it is truly translated touching the substance, howsoeuer happily, there may be some accidentall aberrations whereof he cannot iudge.

Page. 156. After these exceptions taken against the helpes and rules proposed by me, as necessary for the finding out of the sence and meaning of the Scripture, the Treatiser obseruing no order in his writings, addresseth himselfe to proue, that wee haue no certaine meanes whereby to know that the Scriptures are of God, or which they bee; and then returneth againe to proue, that we haue no certaine rule whereby to be assured we haue the sence of them. But all that he saith to this purpose, may easily bee answered.

For first, the truth of Christian doctrine is diuinely proued vnto vs by the satisfaction wee finde in the same, touching thinges wherein naturall reason left vs vnresolued, and the effects we finde to follow vpon the receiuing of it.

Secondly, that Christian doctrine is reuealed, it is euident, because staying within the confines of the light of naturall reason, wee can discerne no such thinges as in this heauenly doctrine are manifested to vs.

Thirdly, the reuelation that is now, being mediate, and depending on a former, it must of necessity be granted, that there was a first, and immediate reuelation of the things that are beleeued.

Fourthly, that that immediate reuelation was without mixture of error, there being no imperfection found in any of GODS immediate workings.

Fifthly, that whatsoeuer bookes they wrote, to whom that immediate reuelation of heauenly truth was granted, are diuine, without mixture of error, and Canonicall.

Sixthly,

Sixthly, that all ſuch bookes as are recommended to vs by the conſenting teſtimony of all Chriſtians, not noted for ſingularity, nouelty, or hereſie, as written by thoſe who firſt learned the doctrine of heauenly truth from God himſelfe, muſt bee acknowledged to haue bene written by them. Which perſwaſion is confirmed, in that when wee reade and meditate vpon the bookes ſo commended to vs, wee finde a maieſty, vertue, and power appearing in them more then in all humane compoſitions, captiuating vs to the obedience of faith, and making vs to receiue them as vndoubtedly diuine.

Theſe are the grounds which wee build vpon. Wherefore let the Reader iudge whether the Treatiſer had any cauſe to write as he doth, that hee cannot ſufficiently maruell, that I, or any man of iudgement or learning, ſhould runne theſe courſes, and impugne their doctrine concerning theſe points, as abſurd, which indeede is moſt prudent and diuine, and yet fall into moſt groſſe abſurdities and inconueniences. How prudent and diuine their doctrine is touching the ground of their faith, I haue ſhewed before, making it moſt cleare, that if they did ſhew no more prudence in any thing elſe, their part would ſoone bee ouerthrowne. Pag 155.

But touching the abſurdities into which hee ſuppoſeth we runne, they will bee found to bee none at all. For as I haue ſhewed at large, we ground our faith in generall vpon the euidence of heauenly truth, and the authority of almighty God, whom we diſcerne to ſpeake in the holy Scriptures, and yet in ſuch ſort liſten to the church, as a Miſtreſſe of heauenly truth in all particular poynts, that wee doe not broach any new and ſtrange doctrine vnheard of in the church, nor impugne any thing that was alwaies conſtantly deliuered and receiued in the ſame.

So that it is vntrue that the Treatiſer ſaith, that I reiect all generall authority, and leaue euery man to follow his owne priuate conceite: he returneth therefore to proue, that ſuppoſing we know the letter of Scripture, yet haue wee no certaine rule to finde out the ſence of it: and muſtereth ſome obiections to this purpoſe, which I haue ſufficiently anſwered already in the defence of the rules propoſed by me, and impugned by him. Pag 156.

Neither is it ſo ſtrange as hee would make it, that wee confeſſe euery one though neuer ſo much enlightned, to bee ſubiect to errour, and yet each of vs aſſureth himſelfe hee doth not erre from the Chriſtian verity, one hauing no more aſſurance of not erring then another. For is it not ſo that in reſpect of things that may be knowne by the light of naturall reaſon, each one confeſſeth himſelfe to be ſubiect to error, and yet euery one aſſureth himſelfe he doth not erre in ſundry particular things?

Wherefore

Pag. 166. Wherefore he leaueth this point, and proceedeth to another, where hee bewrayeth the weakeneſſe of his braine, labouring ſeriouſly to proue, that hee, who buildeth his faith vpon the Engliſh Parliament, cannot firmely and vndoubtedly beleeue, nor haue any true faith; becauſe I ſay, we can neuer bee ſo well perſwaded of any man, or multitude of men, but that we may iuſtly feare, they are deceiued, or will deceiue.

Truly it had bene well that hee had applyed himſelfe to ſome other thing, rather then booke-making, vnleſſe hee had any greater facility, and felicity in it then hee hath; for who was euer ſo ſenſleſſe as to build his faith vpon the Engliſh Parliament? or why doth the Treatiſer thus fight with his owne ſhadow? But haply hee will bee better towards the end.

§ 6.

Pag. 181. IN the laſt place ſpeaking of the ſuppoſed diuiſions and diſſentions amongſt Proteſtants, hee ſayeth, ſome amongſt vs are ſo bold as to deny, that there is any great or materiall diſſention in our Churches; and that I amongſt others write, that it ſo fell out by the happy prouidence of GOD, when there was a reformation made, that there was no materiall, or eſſentiall difference amongſt them that were actors in it, but ſuch as vpon equall ſcanning will bee found rather to conſiſt in the diuers manner of expreſſing one thing, and to bee but verball vpon miſtaking, through the haſty and inconſiderate humours of ſome men, then any thing elſe. And that further I adde, that I dare confidently pronounce, that after due and full examination of each others meaning, there ſhall bee no difference found touching the matter of the Sacrament, the vbiquitary preſence, or the like, betweene the churches reformed by *Luthers* miniſtery in *Germany*, and other places; and thoſe whom ſome mens malice called Sacramentaries: that none of the differences betweene *Melancthon* and *Illyricus*, except about certaine ceremonies, were reall: that *Hoſiander* held no priuate opinion touching iuſtification, howſoeuer his ſtrange manner of ſpeaking gaue occaſion to many ſo to thinke, and conceiue: and that this ſhall bee iuſtified againſt the proudeſt Papiſt of them all: this my aſſertion he ſaith, all the world knoweth to be vntrue, and endeuoureth proue it to be ſo.

Page 182. Firſt, by mine owne ſayings elſe where, and then by ſome other proofes. By mine owne ſayings, in that I complaine of vnhappy diuiſions, in the Chriſtian world, and of infinite diſtractions of mens mindes, not knowing in ſo great variety of opinions what to thinke,

or

or to whom to ioyne themselues; and that the controuersies of Religion in our time, are growne in number so many, and in nature so intricate, that few haue time and leasure, fewer strength of vnderstanding to examine them.

But this proofe will bee found too weake. For there are many and very materiall diuisions in the Christian world, infinitely distracting the mindes of men, as those of the *Greekes* and *Latines*; those of the *Romish* faction, and such as embrace the reformed Religion; and the controuersies that are betweene these, are in number many, and in nature intricate; in respect whereof my complaint might bee most iust, though neuer any one Protestant had opened his mouth against an other. And besides, supposing my complaint of diuisions in the Christian world, to reach to the breaches that are and haue bene amongst the professors of the reformed religion, nothing can be inferred from thence contrary to any thing that I haue written touching the agreeing of these men in iudgement and opinion. For there may bee great breaches betweene such men as are of one iudgement and opinion, vpon mistaking one another: and therefore *Gregory Nazianzene* in his Oration made in the praise of *Athanasius*, sheweth, that the whole world in a sort was diuided vpon a meere mistaking, and that *Athanasius* by making either part rightly to vnderstand the other, procured a reconciliation.

Neither neede this to seeme strange; for oftentimes controuersies are multiplied, and by ill handling made intricate, that in truth and in deede are no controuersies, and might easily be cleared, if there were a due proceeding in the discussing of the same. So that the Treatiser had no reason to say, that an indifferent reader will hardly excuse me from error in this behalfe.

Wherefore let vs go forward, and see what other proofes he bringeth to proue that my assertion cannot be true.

First, whereas I say there is no difference touching the Sacrament, the vbiquitary presence, and the like, betweene the *Lutherans* and Sacramentaries, as he maketh me to speake, he saith, I may easily be conuinced of vntruth; because [a] *Caluin* auoucheth, that by the vbiquitary presence, *Marcion* an ancient hereticke is raised vp out of hell; and a thousand bookes are written about the same point, shewing how great dissentions there haue bene in the world touching the same. But this proofe is easily disproued: for though it be true that *Caluin* hath, that to imagine that the body of Christ hath no finite dimensions, but such as are extended as farre as heauen and earth, and that it is euery where by actuall position, or locall extension, is to make it a fantasticall body, and to raise vp the old hereticke *Marcion* out of hell; yet to thinke that Christs body is personally euery where, in respect of the coniunction

[a] *Institut. lib. 4. c. 17. 16. & 17.*

and

and vnion it hath with God; by reason whereof it is no where seuered from God, who is euery where, neither *Caluin* nor any other Orthodox-all Diuine euer condemned.

So that the Diuines of *Germany* condemning that kinde of vbiquitary presence that *Caluine* doth, and *Caluine* allowing that other whereof they speake, they must of necessity agree together, notwithstanding any thing the Treatiser can say to the contrary: but because I haue largely handled this matter touching the vbiquitary presence and the Sacrament in my fifth Booke of the Church, and in my answer to *Higgons*, I will no longer insist vpon it, but referre the Reader to the former places.

Secondly, whereas I affirme, that none of the differences betweene *Melancthon* and *Illyricus*, except about certaine ceremonies, were reall, hee saieth, whosoeuer readeth the acts of the Synode holden by the *Lutherans* at *Altemberge*, and the writings of the *Flaccians* against the *Synergists*, & *Adiaphorists*, shal find dissentions touching greater matters.

For the clearing of this obiection it must be obserued, that the supposed differences betweene those whom the Treatiser calleth *Flaccians*, and the other whom hee nameth *Synergists*, were touching the co-operation of the will of man with the grace of God, in her first conuersion vnto GOD, and the necessity of good works to saluation.

b *Vide disput. Vinariæ habitam inter Illyricum & Victorinum.*

b Concerning the former of these two poynts, it was euer agreed on betweene both these sorts of men, that after the first conuersion there is a co-operation of the will of man altered and renewed by the worke of Gods Spirit, with grace in all ensuing actions of piety and vertue: and in this sence both of them as defending a Synergy, or co-operation of mans will with Gods grace, might rightly bee named *Synergists*.

Secondly, it was likewise agreed on by both sorts, that man by the fall of *Adam*, and in the state of sinne, is not onely wounded in the powers of his soule, in respect of things naturall, externall, and politicall, so that he cannot performe any action so well in any of these kindes of things as before he could; but that hee is vtterly spoyled of all power, strength, and ability to do any spirituall and supernaturall actions of true vertue and piety, and is not only halfe dead, but wholly dead, hauing no more power of himself to do any thing that is good, then a dead man hath to performe the workes of life.

Thirdly, it was agreed on, that there is not left in mē corrupted by *Adams* fall, the least sparke of morall or spirituall good desire, or inclination, which being blowed vpon, & stirred, may concurre with Gods grace for the bringing forth of any good worke. So that neither of them were

Synergists

Synergiſts in this ſenſe, though *Illyricus*, *Muſeus*, and other, ſuppoſed that *Victorinus*, and ſome other, did thinke ſo. Fourthly, it was with like vnanimous conſent agreed on, that there remaineth ſtill in man after the fall, a deſire of good, and of that good, wherein there is no defect of good, no mixture of euill, no mutabilitie, nor feare of being loſt, though ſuch be the infelicitie of ſinfull man, that hauing his vnderſtanding darkned, and his will peruerſly inclined, he ſeeketh and ſuppoſeth hee may finde this good where it is not to be found. So that when God commeth to conuert and turne a ſinfull man to himſelfe, he needeth not newly to put a deſire of good into him, for that is naturally found in him; but by inlightning the vnderſtanding that it may diſcerne, and ſee what true good is, and where it is to be found, and by turning the will from deſiring that as good which is not, or not in ſuch degree as is ſuppoſed, he maketh him a good and happie man, that was euill and miſerable before. Neither doth he create a will in man, but changeth the will he findeth in him, that it may affect that which it did not, and ſo createth a new will and heart in him, that is, frameth him to the deſire of that from which he was moſt auerſe before.

There is then no ſpirituall nor morall good in man, when he is to be conuerted vnto God; no knowledge of true and ſpirituall good, nor no deſire of the ſame, which being ſtirred vp may concurre with the grace of God, and therefore no ſynergie or cooperation of any ſuch good, knowledge, or deſire of good with the grace of God in our firſt conuerſion; but that confuſed knowledge of good, and naturall inclination to deſire it, that is found in man before his conuerſion, when good deſires are to be raiſed in him, concurreth with the grace of God, directing the vnderſtanding to ſeeke that good where it is to be found, and turning, bending, and bowing the heart to the loue and liking of it. For, that man deſireth that which ſeemeth good vnto him, he hath of nature; that he deſireth that which ſeemeth and is not, he hath from the corruption of nature, and it argueth ſinfull defect: and that he deſireth the true good and rightly, it is of grace, directing the vnderſtanding, and turning the will from affecting that which before peruerſly it did deſire, to ſeeke that which it ſhould, and in ſuch ſort as it ſhould.

And ſo, in that he doth deſire, and purſue that which he thinketh to be good, out of the naturall inclination of his will; but that which indeede is, and he ſhould thinke to be good, out of the motions of the ſpirit; there is a kind of ſynergie, or cooperation of the naturall powers of man, and Gods grace euen in his firſt conuerſion. Wherefore let vs paſſe from the queſtion touching the cooperation of mans will with Gods grace, to the other concerning the neceſſitie of good workes to ſaluation. Where firſt it is [c] agreed on, that there is neceſſarily required in all that will be ſaued, a diſlike of former euils wherewith God was offended. Secondly,

[c] *Illyricus de voce & re fidei. part. 3. pag. 61. & 62.*

a ceasing to do euill. Thirdly, a desire of grace that may preserue and keepe vs from the like. Fourthly, a desire to do things pleasing vnto God in that time that remaineth. [d] Fiftly, it is acknowledged by all, that in them that are iustified, and haue title to eternall saluation, good works are so farre forth necessarie to saluation, if they haue time, that the not doing of them is sinne, which, without repentance and remission, excludeth from saluation. Sixthly, that good workes are necessary as fruits of faith, which all they that are iustified and looke for saluation are bound in duty to bring forth. Seuenthly, that they are not so absolutely necessarie, that no man can be saued without them; for a man may be saued that in the last moment disliketh sinne, and desireth pardon for it, and grace that he may not fall into it againe, without the actuall doing of any good workes. So that I protest I cannot see wherein there could be any reall difference betweene these men; neither will the *Treatiser*, I thinke, be able to shew me any such difference, either out of the acts of the Synode of *Altenberge*, or by any other meanes. For that men are bound in duty to do good works, that they necessarily follow faith, and that no man can be saued without dislike of sinne, desire of auoiding it, and purpose of doing that which is pleasing vnto God, *Illyricus* made no question; and so disliked not the saying of his opposites, that good workes are necessary to saluation, as thinking them in no sort necessarie; but because hee thought their words did import, that no man in any case can bee saued without the actuall doing of good workes, no, though he haue them in desire: and that no man may assure himselfe farther of the fauor and mercy of God towards him, then he findeth the presence of the workes of vertue in him; which things vndoubtedly they neuer meant.

d *Decret. synod. Isnatensis anno 1556. celebrat. Epist. Menij ad Melanthonem de absurditate Maioristi.*

[e] Another opinion there is that is attributed to *Illyricus* touching the nature of originall sinne, which is greatly condemned by many. For first, he is charged to haue taught, that the substance of mans soule was changed and corrupted by *Adams* fall, whence it will follow, that it is mortall. Secondly, that sinne is a substance, and sundry other like thinges, whence the impious positions of the *Manichees* may bee inferred. For the clearing of *Illyricus* from these impieties, first we must obserue, that he [f] distinguisheth two sorts of corruption, naming the one naturall, and the other spirituall; the one consisting in the abolition of the thing corrupted, the other in a transformation of it. Secondly, that this transformation of the soule is not in respect of her essence and being simply, but of her essentiall and substantiall powers and faculties. Thirdly, that this transformation of the soule in her faculties, is not in respect of all her faculties, but the best and principall onely, to wit, reason and the will. Fourthly, that there is not any transformation or transuersion of these faculties simply in respect of all obiects; for the soule by the light of naturall reason iudgeth rightly of many things still, though with some imperfe-

e *Treatis. part. 2. cap. 1. pag. 10.*

f *Quarundam impiarum sententiarum refutatio, pag. 133. De essetia imaginis Dei & diaboli, pag. 313. 318.*

perfections; but in respect of her principall obiect, to wit, God, his worship, and Law.

So that this is all that *Illyricus* sayth, that the soule of man since *Adams* fall is so transformed and changed in the best and principall of her essentiall and substantiall faculties, that they are not onely turned away from their principall obiect, and from tending to the right ende whither they should looke, but conuerted also to the desiring of such things, as they should not, or in such sort as they should not; but of the extinguishing or abolishing of any of the essentiall and naturall faculties of the soule, much lesse of the essence and being of it simply, he hath no word. Wherefore let vs come to the other part of the accusation framed against him, which is, that he maketh sinne to be a substance, and let vs heare what he will say vnto it himselfe. There are, saith *Illyricus*, certaine absurd sayings maliciously attributed vnto me; as that sinne is a substance, that it is in the predicament of substance; that it is the reasonable soule of man, and that on the contrarie side, the soule is sinne; but I neuer vsed any such speeches, neither did I euer say any more, but that some part of originall sinne is the soules essentiall facultie of reason and the will corrupted, in that they are auerted and turned away from their right obiect, and end: But for the more full clearing of him from that impious opinion which is imputed to him, we must take notice of certaine good obseruations found in him. As first, that we may speake of sinne concretiuely or abstractiuely.

g *Quorundam thematum originalem iniustitiam & iniustitiam simul, & beneficia christi extenuantium, refutatio, pag. 99.*

Secondly, that if we speake of sinne abstractiuely, that is, sinfulnesse, it is nothing but an inconformitie with the law of God.

Thirdly, that that to which such inconformitie immediatly cleaueth, and wherein want of conformitie with Gods law is found, may rightly be named sinne concretiuely.

So that if such inconformitie bee found in any action, we may safely pronounce it to be sinne; if in any habit, we may pronounce, that that habit is sinne: if in any inclination or desire, that that is sinne also: if in any the essentiall and substantiall faculties of the soule, as beeing turned from the right obiect and end, and conuerted to such obiect and end as they should not, we may safely pronounce that these faculties disordered and put out of course, are sinne, euen that originall and birth sinne, which is the fountaine whence all other do flowe.

So that to conclude this poynt, according to the opinion of *Illyricus*, if we speake formally, and abstractiuely, originall sinne is the disordering of the essentiall and substantiall faculties of the soule, consisting in an auersion from the principall obiect, and a conuersion to other in stead of it.

But if we speake concretiuely and materially, originall sinne is the substantiall facultie of the soule, which we call Free-will, turned from

seeking God, to oppose it selfe against him: in which passages, there is no impietie, nothing vnsound, or that doth not stand with the truth which we professe; but his maner of speaking was such as might giue occasion of dislike, and therefore himselfe confesseth, that hee qualified some formes of words which he had formerly vsed, vpon the aduice of *Simon Museus*; that his meaning might bee the better knowne, and no misconstruction made of that he meant well. So that it will be found, that there was no reall difference betweene *Melancthon* and *Illyricus* about originall sinne, or any other matter of faith; and therefore I may be as good as my word, and iustifie it against the proudest Papist liuing, that none of the differences betweene *Melancthon* and *Illyricus*, except about certaine ceremonies, were reall. Wherefore the *Treatiser* leaueth *Illyricus*, and commeth to *Hosiander*, whom he will proue to haue holden a priuate opinion touching iustification, because *Caluine* in his Institutions spendeth almost one whole Chapter in the confutation of his conceipt touching the same Article; which in the very entrance hee calleth, hee wotes not what monster of essentiall righteousnesse; and *Conradus Schlusselburge* placeth him and his followers in the catologue of heretickes.

But this obiection will easily be answered. For it is not to be doubted, but *Caluine* and the rest iustly disliked that which they apprehended to be his opinion, and condemned it as a monster. For they conceiued that he made iustification to be nothing else, but a transfusion of the essentiall righteousnesse of Christ into vs, and a mixture & confusion of it with vs. But *Smidelinus* sheweth at large, that he neuer had any such conceipt, but that, distinguishing three kinds of righteousnesse in Christ, whereof we are made partakers, to wit, actiue, passiue, and essentiall, in that he was the Sonne of God, he taught that iustification is not onely an acceptation and receiuing of vs to fauour vpon the imputation of the actiue and passiue righteousnesse of Christ; but an admission of vs also to the right of the participation of the diuine nature, as *Peter* speaketh, and of that essentiall righteousnes that was in him, in that he was the son of God; that so receiuing of his fulnesse, we may be filled with all diuine qualities and graces. The reason why he thus vrged the implying of the communication of the essentiall righteousnesse of Christ in our iustification, was not, as the same *Smidelinus* telleth vs, for that he thought iustification to consist wholly therein, or for that he meant to exclude the imputation of the merit & satisfaction of Christ from being causes of our iustification, or receiuing fauor with God: but because he saw many mistooke & abused the doctrine of free iustificatiō by the imputation of Christs righteousnes, to the careless neglecting of all righteousnesse in themselues; therfore he taught, that there is no remission of sin, no receiuing of any man to fauour, by vertue of the imputation of the actiue and passiue righteousnesse of Christ, vnlesse out of dislike of sinne, and desire of grace to auoide it, he be admitted

admitted to the right of the participation of that eſſentiall righteouſneſſe that dwelt in him in all fulneſſe, that ſo it may dwell in him that is to be iuſtified alſo, in ſome degree and ſort. Neither is this conſtruction of *Hoſianders* words made by *Smidelinus* onely, but by ſundrie other. For *Stapleton* ſaith, the followers of *Brentius* defended the opinion of *Hoſiander*: whereas yet neither *Brentius*, nor any of his followers euer dreamed of any transfuſion of the eſſentiall righteouſneſſe of Chriſt into vs, any mixture or confuſion of it with vs, or any other communication of it to vs, or in any other ſort, then is before expreſſed. So that the *Treatiſer* had no reaſon to write as he doth, that my proceedings are rare and ſingular, and that I feare not to affirme things apparantly falſe, and confeſſed vntrue by all my brethren: much leſſe to ſay, that euery man may eaſily perceiue by theſe my proceedings, that I had a good opinion of mine owne wit and learning. For what haue I done that ſauoureth of pride? or, wherein haue I bewrayed ſuch vanitie as he ſpeaketh of? Is it a matter of pride not haſtily to condemne other opinions, to make the faireſt and beſt conſtruction of other mens words, eſpecially ſuch as are of the ſame profeſſion with vs?

Wherefore if the *Treatiſer* be able to ſay any thing againſt this my defence of *Illyricus* and *Hoſiander*, I will heare him; otherwiſe let him not tell me of my ſchoole-diſtinctions, for I am not aſhamed of them. Neither do I vſe them as the *Romane* ſophiſters do, to auoide the euidence of that truth that is too mightie for them to encoũter; but to cleare that which the *Romaniſts* deſire to haue wrapped vp in perplexed and intricate diſputes. But, it ſeemeth, the *Treatiſer* will not accept of this condition, and therefore he paſſeth from the ſuppoſed diuiſions of our Churches, and differences of our Diuines, and proceedeth to ſhew their inconſtancie, inſtancing particularlie in *Luther*. And whereas in my former bookes I haue anſwered the obiections of Papiſts touching this ſuppoſed inconſtancie, he goeth about to refute that my anſwer, which conſiſteth of two parts. Whereof the firſt is, that in ſundry points of greateſt moment, as of the power of nature, of free-will, iuſtification, the difference of the Law and the Goſpell, faith and workes, Chriſtian libertie, and the like, *Luther* was euer conſtant.

The ſecond, that it is not ſo ſtrange as our Aduerſaries would make it, that *Luther* proceeded by degrees in diſcerning ſundrie Popiſh errours; ſeeing *Auguſtine* and their Angelicall Doctor altered their iudgement in diuerſe things, and, vpon better conſideration, diſliked what they had formerly approued. The former part of this my anſwere hee pronounceth to containe a manifeſt vntruth; for, that amongſt other things mentioned by me, *Luther* was not euer conſtant, and of one iudgement touching freewill, he endeauoureth to proue, becauſe in the defence of his Articles condemned by the Pope, he ſaith; Freewill is a forged or fained thing, *Article 36.*

thing, and a title without a ſubſtance, it being in no mans power to thinke
Luther in viſitat. Saxon. any thing good or euill, but all things falling out of abſolute neceſſitie: and elſewhere he ſaith, men of their owne proper ſtrength haue free-will to do, or not to do externall workes, ſo that they may attaine to ſecular and ciuill honeſtie. But M. *Treatiſer* ſhould knowe, that betweene theſe ſayings of *Luther*, there is no contradiction in truth and in deed, but in his fancie onely; for in the former place two things are deliuered by *Luther*. The firſt, that no man by nature hath power to turne himſelfe to God without grace, or ſo much as to prepare himſelfe to the receipt of grace, which in the latter place, ſpeaking only of externall workes and ciuill or ſecular honeſty, hee doth not contradict. The ſecond, that though men in outward things, and things that are below, haue a kind of freedome of will, and choice, and power to do, or not to do them; yet not ſo free, but that they are ſubiect to the prouidence, and diſpoſition of almightie God, bowing, bending, and turning them whither he pleaſeth, and hauing them in ſuch ſort in his hand, as that they can will nothing, vnleſſe hee permit them, which no way preiudiceth that libertie which elſewhere he attributeth to the will. For the will of man is ſayd to be free, becauſe it doth nothing but on liking and choiſe, and becauſe God permitting, it hath power to doe what pleaſeth it beſt; and not becauſe it is free and not ſubiect to diuine diſpoſition and ordering, or as if it could do any thing without Gods permiſſion and concurrence. And this is all that *Luther* hath in the former or latter of the two places, alleaged by the *Treatiſer:* for he hath no word of abſolute neceſſitie, but of Gods moſt wiſe and prouident direction of our wils, in all their choiſes, deſires and actions. And though elſewhere he approue the ſaying of *Wickliffe*, that all things fal out by a kind of abſolute neceſſitie, yet he interpreteth himſelfe to meane neither natural neceſſity, nor coaction, but infallibilitie of euent, in that all things fall out moſt certainly, as God thinketh good to diſpoſe and order them. Wherfore ſeeing the *Treatiſer* can faſten no contradictiō vpon *Luther*, touching free-will, let vs proceed to ſee what exceptions he taketh to that defence I make of his altering of his iudgment in ſome other things. My defence is, that it was not ſtrange for him, to alter his iudgement in ſome points of good moment, ſeeing Saint *Auguſtine*, the greateſt of all the Fathers, and the Angelicall Doctor did ſo before him. His
Pag. 186. 187. exception againſt this my defence conſiſteth of two parts; whereof the firſt is, that *Luthers* changing of his opinion, argueth, he was not extraordinarily and immediatly taught of God, (which we eaſily graunt) and that he built his faith vpon his owne vnconſtant reaſon, which the *Treatiſer* will neuer proue to be conſequent vpon the alteration of his iudgement in ſome points of religion; for that otherwiſe *Auguſtine* might be conuinced to haue ſo builded his faith likewiſe, who altered his iudgement touching as great matters as euer *Luther* did. For whereas formerly

ly he attributed the election of ſuch as were choſen to eternall life, to the foreſight of their future faith; after hee entred into the conflict with the *Pelagians*, he diſclaimed it as a meere *Pelagian* conceipt. The ſecond, that Saint *Auguſtine* writing, when he was yet a nouice in Chriſtian religion, and not fully inſtructed, erred in ſome points, which errors, hauing receiued better inſtruction, he diſclaimed; and that before ſome articles of Chriſtian religion were ſo throughly diſcuſſed & defined in the Church, as afterwards vpon the riſing of new hereſies, he ſpake not ſo aptly and properly as was needfull in ſucceeding times, & therefore retracted what he had vttered; but that it was not therefore lawfull for *Luther* to leape vp and downe, hither and thither, and to change his faith accordingly as his fancie lead him. For anſwer whereunto, I ſay, that *Luther* changed not his faith according to fancie, nor altered his iudgement in any point of Chriſtian doctrine generally & conſtantly agreed on in that Church wherein he liued. For, as I haue elſewhere proued at large, none of the things wherein we at this day diſſent from the preſent Church of *Rome*, were generally and conſtantly beleeued & receiued as articles of faith in the daies of our Fathers, in that Church wherein they liued and died; ſo that in this reſpect there wil be no difference betweene the caſe of *Luther* and *Auguſtine*, or *Aquinas*, who, as the *Treatiſer* confeſſeth, altered and corrected their former opinions touching ſundry points of doctrine not determined by the Church, without any note of inconſtancy, or building their faith vpon their owne vnconſtant reaſon. And thus haue I runne through both parts of the Treatiſe of the grounds of the old and new religion, ſo that I might here end; but that the Author thereof addeth in the end an appendix in confutation of a booke written by M. *Craſhaw*, concerning *Romiſh* forgeries and falſifications; wherein, among other things, he endeauoreth to proue, there could be no ſuch corruption of the Fathers writings in former times, as M. *Craſhaw* conceiueth, becauſe I ſay, the Papiſts were onely a faction in the Church, and that there were euer diuerſe in the middeſt of all the confuſions of the Papacie, agreeing with vs, who alwayes oppoſed themſelues againſt ſuch as ſought to aduance Papall tyranny and Popiſh ſuperſtition, who, he thinketh, if there were any ſuch, were carefull to preſerue the Fathers workes from corruption. For anſwer wherunto, we muſt note, that the corruptions of the Fathers writings are of three ſorts; either by putting out baſe & counterfeit ſtuffe vnder their honorable names; or by putting in ſome things into their true and indubitate workes, not well ſorting with the ſame; or by taking ſomething out of them. That many abſurd things haue bene publiſhed vnder the names of holy Fathers, no man can make any doubt, that looketh into the workes of *Auguſtine*, *Hierome*, and others, with which, many things cenſured and iudged to bee Apocryphal by our Aduerſaries themſelues, are mingled. Pag. 222.

Nowe if in their iudgement this firſt kinde of corruption of the Fathers workes might bee in former times, notwithſtanding ſuch

good men, as they thinke, were euer in the Church; who willingly and wittingly would giue no conſent to any ſuch corruption; why may not we ſay, that ſome things might be added or detracted from the indubitate writings of the Fathers, notwithſtanding any thing they could do to the contrarie, whom we ſuppoſe in the middeſt of Papall confuſions to haue oppoſed themſelues againſt error, idolatrie, and ſuperſtition then by ſome brought into the Church, and to haue giuen teſtimonie to that truth which we now maintaine? ſo that this obiection is eaſily anſwered.

What he hath againſt others, I doubt not but they will take notice of, and that he ſhall heare from them in due time, to whom I leaue him.

The end of the ſecond part.

THE

THE THIRD PART, CONTEINING A BRIEFE EXAMINATION OF SVCH PRETENDED Proofes for Romiſh Religion and Recuſancy, as are produced and violently wreſted by a late Pamphleter out of the former Bookes.

IN the Epiſtle to the Lords of the Councell, he firſt complaineth of the * long, and manifold ſuppoſed miſeries of Engliſh pſeudo-Catholiques. Secondly, he imputeth the ſame to the Puritanes, as if they had bene procured principally by them, & for their cauſe. Thirdly, he proueth, that not onely thoſe Puritanes, that refuſe external conformity, but ſuch alſo as for a faſhion follow it, are guilty of the proceedings againſt the *Romaniſts*; becauſe the greateſt number of Proteſtant Writers do teach, that there is no ſuch eſſentiall, & ſubſtantial difference betweene Proteſtants and Puritanes, but that they are of one Church, Faith, and Religion. A ſtrange kinde of proofe; yet theſe are his words: *The pennes and pulpits of Puritanes, & their Printers will ſufficiently write, preach, and publiſh to the world, by whom, and to what purpoſe, no ſmall part of theſe afflictions haue bene vrged and incited againſt vs, not only by thoſe few which refuſe your externall conformity, but ſuch as for a faſhion follow it, to retaine thẽſelues in authority. For proofe wherof, the greateſt number of the preſent Proteſtant Writers, D.* Sutcliffe, *D.* Doue, *D.* Field, *M.* Willet, Wootton, Middleton, *&c. do teach, there is no ſubſtãtial, eſſential, or materiall point of difference in religion betweene Proteſtants and Puritanes, but they are of one Church, Faith, and Religion.* His meaning, it ſeemeth, is, that all Proteſtants acknowledging Puritanes to bee of one Church with them, are Puritanes: And therefore he would haue all to know, that howſoeuer he make ſhew of blaming Puritanes onely, or principally; yet in truth he equally condemneth all; and that therfore he doth but diſſemble, or ſay he knoweth not what. But do all theſe Proteſtant writers named by him,

* In that *Watſon, Clerke*, and the helliſh contriuers of the powder-treaſon, with ſome few of their adherents haue ſuffered death, & others haue not bene permitted to warme themſelues at the fires in Smithfield, as they were wont to do.

him, teach, that there is no materiall difference betweene Proteſtants and Puritanes? Surely no. For touching my ſelfe, I neuer wrote any ſuch thing, neither in the place cited by him, nor any where elſe; ſo that he beginneth with a manifeſt and ſhameleſſe vntruth. But I do the more willingly pardon him this fault, for that it ſeemeth hee doth not conſider what hee writeth. For in the title of his booke hee profeſſeth, that hee will take the proofes of his Catholique religion and Recuſancy, onely from the writings of ſuch Proteſtant Diuines, as haue bene publiſhed ſince the reigne of his Maieſty ouer this kingdome: for that, as he ſaith, they often change their opinions, at the leaſt, at the cõming of euery new Prince. And yet page 30. hee citeth the Biſhop of *Wincheſters* ✶ booke written many yeares agoe, and Doctor *Couell* his booke in defence of M. *Hooker*, as often as any other; which yet was written in her late Maieſties time.

✶ The difference, &c. edit. anno 1586.

But what if I had written, that howſoeuer there are ſome materiall differences betweene Proteſtants and Puritanes, as it pleaſeth him to ſtyle them, yet not ſo eſſentiall or ſubſtantiall, but that they may be of one Church, faith, and religion? What abſurdity would haue followed? Would it bee conſequent from hence, as hee inferreth, that it is not materiall with vs, whether men be of a true or falſe religion, of any or none at all? Haue there not bene, nay are there not greater differences betwixt Papiſts, who yet will be angry, if they bee not eſteemed to be all of one Church, faith, and religion? Did not [a] Pope *Iohn* the two and twentith thinke, that the ſoules of the iuſt ſhall not ſee God till the generall reſurrection? and did not the *French* King that then was, with the whole vniuerſitity of *Paris* condemne the ſame opinion as hereticall, with ſound of trumpet? Did not [b] *Ambroſius Catharinus* teach, that a man may be certaine with the certainty of faith, that hee is in ſtate of grace; and *Soto* the contrary? Did not [c] *Pighius*, [d] *Contarenus*, and the Authors of the booke called *Antididagma Colonienſe*, defend imputatiue iuſtice; and other Papiſts reiect it? Did not ſome amongſt them teach the merit of condignity? do not [e] others moued with a ſober moderatiõ, think there is no ſuch merit? Do not ſome thinke the Pope is vniuerſal Biſhop? [f] others that he is not, but prime Biſhop onely? [g] Do not ſome teach, that all Biſhops receiue their iuriſdiction from the Pope, others the contrary? [h] Do not ſome think the Pope may papally erre, & others that he cannot? [i] Doe not ſome of them thinke hee is temporall Lord of all the world, and others the contrary? Doe not ſome of them thinke hee may depoſe Princes, and [k] others, that he may not? is there not a very materiall point of difference amongſt Papiſts touching predeſtination? Let them ſhew, vs if they can, ſo many & materiall differences betweene Proteſtants & Puritanes. And yet theſe were all of one Church in their iudgment; yea [l] Pope *Stephen*, who reuerſed all the acts of *Formoſus* his predeceſſor, pronounced

a *Gerſon Serm. in feſto Paſchæ.*
b *Soto contra Ambroſ.*
c *Pighius de iuſtificat.*
d *Contarenus de iuſtificatione.*
e Anſw. to *Bell.* his downfall. &c. *Vega. quæſt. 5. de meritis gloriæ ex condigno.*
f *Cuſan. concord. Cathol. l. 2. c. 13.*
g *Bellar. lib. 4. de Roman. Pont. c. 22.*
h *Stapleton. relect. controu. 3. de prim. ſubiect. pot. Eccleſ. quæſt. 4.*
i *Bellar. de Rom. Pont. l. 5. c. 1.*
k *Walden. doctr. fid. lib. 2. art. 3. quæſt. 78. Gerſon. de Pot. Eccleſ. conſid. 12.*
l *Sigebert. in Chron. nic. anno 1088. Idem in Chron.*

nounced the ordinations of all thoſe to be voide whom hee had ordained, brought his dead body out of the graue into the Councel, ſtript it out of the Papall veſture, put vpon it a lay habit, and cutting off two fingers of his right hand, caſt it into *Tiber:* Pope *Iohn* his ſucceſſour, who called a Councell of 74. Biſhops to confirme the ordinations of *Formoſus*, the Arch-biſhops of *France*, and the King being preſent at *Rauenna*, and burned the acts of the Synode which *Stephen* had called to condemne *Formoſus*: and *Sergius*, who againe condemned *Formoſus*, and pronounced all his ordinations to bee voyde, reuerſing the acts of Pope *Iohn* and his Synode, were all of one Church, of one communion, faith and religion.

Nay which is more ſtrange, when there were three Anti-popes ſitting in diuers places, accurſing one another with all their Adherents, and that for many yeares, yet ſtill they were of one Church, of one communion, faith, and religion. Yet may not wee inferre from hence againſt them, as they doe againſt vs, that it is not materiall with them, whether men bee of a true or falſe religion, of any or none at all.

Surely they are more priuiledged then other men; for [m] ſome of them may take the Oath of Allegeance, and diſclaime the Popes power and right to intermeddle with Princes ſtates; and other refuſe it, and yet ſtill bee Catholique brethren in the communion of the ſame Church: Yea a [n] Prieſt may like of this oath, and perſwade others to take it, and afterwardes goe ouer the Sea, and alter his iudgement, and returning, chooſe rather to ſuffer death, then to take it againe, yet no man muſt take notice of it. But if a Miniſter ſubſcribe, and afterwards vpon ill aduice refuſe to doe the ſame againe, then all the courſes of our Religion are ſuch, that by no outward ſignes, communion, profeſſion, proteſtation, or ſubſcription, a man can tell who is of what religion amongſt vs. But let vs paſſe from the Epiſtle to the booke it ſelfe.

m Example of *Blackwell.*

n Drury.

Chap. I.

IN the firſt Chapter, which is of the ſupreme, and moſt preeminent authority of the true Church, and how neceſſary it is to finde it, follow the directions, and reſt in the iudgement of it, hee hath theſe wordes. Doctor FIELD, *a late Proteſtant Writer, beginneth his Dedicatory Epiſtle to the Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterburie, *before his Bookes of the Church, in this manner: There is no part of heauenly doctrine more neceſſary in theſe dayes of ſo many intricate controuerſies of Religion, then diligently to ſearch out, which, amongſt all the ſocieties of men in the world, is that bleſſed company*

of

of holy ones, that houſhold of faith, that ſpouſe of Chriſt, and Church of the liuing God, which is the pillar and ground of truth, that ſo we may embrace her Communion, follow her directions, and reſt in her iudgement. And after ſome other things cited out of others, he addeth, *the ioyning with the true Church is ſo needful a thing, that D.* Field *concludeth: There is no ſaluation, remiſsion of ſinnes, or hope of eternall life out of the Church.* To what purpoſe this allegation ſerueth, I cannot conceiue: for there is nothing in any of theſe ſpeeches of mine, that euer any Proteſtant doubted of, or from which any thing may be concluded againſt vs, or for the Papiſts.

o *Caluin. Inſtit. lib. 4. cap. 1. §. 4.*

o The Church of God (ſaith M. *Caluin*) is named *the Mother of the faithfull*; neither is there any entrance into eternall life, vnleſſe ſhee conceiue vs in her wombe, vnleſſe ſhe bring vs forth, vnleſſe her pappes do giue vs ſucke, and vnleſſe ſhe keepe vs vnder her cuſtody and gouernement, till hauing put off this mortall fleſh, we become like the Angels in heauen. Adde hereunto (ſaith hee) that out of her lappe and boſome, there is no remiſſion of ſinnes, nor ſaluation to bee looked for, as both *Eſaias* and *Ioel* teſtifie; to whom *Ezekiel* ſubſcribeth, when hee denounceth, they ſhal not be reckoned amongſt the people of God, whom he excludeth from eternall life.

The onely thing that is any way doubtfull, is, how farre we are bound to reſt in the iudgement of the Church. For the clearing whereof, the Author of theſe proofes hauing taken ſo much paines to reade ouer my books of the Church, to take ſome aduantage by them againſt the truth of religion profeſſed amongſt vs, might haue bene pleaſed to remember thoſe different degrees of obedience, which we are to yeeld to them that command, and teach vs in the Church of God: Which I haue noted in the fourth booke, and fifth chapter, out of *Waldenſis*, excellently deſcribed and ſet downe by him in this ſort. p We muſt (ſaith he) reuerence and reſpect the authority of all Catholique Doctors, whoſe doctrine and writings the Church alloweth. We muſt more regard the authority of Catholique Biſhops; more then theſe, the authority of Apoſtolique Churches; amongſt them, more ſpecially the Church of *Rome*; of a generall Councell, more then all theſe: yet muſt wee not ſo liſten to the determinations of any of theſe, nor ſo certainly aſſent vnto them as to the thinges contained in Scripture, or beleeued and taught by the whole vniuerſall Church, that hath bene euer ſince the Apoſtles times; but as to the inſtructions of our elders, and fatherly admonitions, and directions, we muſt obey without ſcrupulous queſtioning, with all modeſty of minde, with all good allowance, acceptation, and repoſe in the words of them that teach vs, vnleſſe they teach any thing which the higher and ſuperiour controlleth. And yet if they do, the humble and obedient children of the Church muſt not inſolently inſult vpon them, frō whom they are forced to diſſent; but they muſt diſſent with a reuerent child-

p *Wald. doctr. fidei. lib. 2. art. 2. c. 27.*

child-like, and reſpectfull ſhamefaſtneſſe. And elſe where hee ſaith: The Church whoſe faith neuer faileth, according to the promiſe made to *Peter* (who bare the figure of the Church, when Chriſt ſaid vnto him, I haue prayed for thee, that thy faith faile not) is not any particular Church, as the Church of *Africa*, within the bounds wherof *Donatus* did include the whole; nor the particular *Romane* Church; but the vniuerſall Church; not gathered together in a generall Councell, which hath ſometimes erred, as that at *Ariminum* vnder *Taurus* the gouernor, and that at *Conſtantinople* vnder *Iuſtinian* the yonger: but it is the Catholique Church diſperſed through the whole world, from the baptiſme of Chriſt vnto our times; which doth vndoubtedly hold the true faith, and faithfull teſtimony of Ieſus. Yea the ſame author is of opinion, that though it argue great contumacy for a man to diſſent from a generall Councell without cõuincing reaſon, yet not perfidious impiety, vnleſſe he know or might know, if the fault were not in himſelfe, that in ſo diſſenting, hee diſſenteth from the Scripture, or the determination of the vniuerſall Church, that hath bene ſince the Apoſtles times, which onely is abſolutly priuiledged from erring. Thus then I hope the indifferent Reader will eaſily diſcerne, that hitherto the author of Proteſtants proofes hath found no proofe for *Romiſh* religion in any thing that I haue written; let vs come therefore to the ſecond chapter.

Chap. 2.

IN the ſecond chapter, wherein he endeuoureth to proue by the teſtimonies of Proteſtants, that the *Romane* Church euer was, and ſtill is the true Church of Chriſt, hee citeth foure things as written by me. The firſt is touching the *ſupreme, binding and commanding authority that is in the Church.* His words are theſe: Doctor *Field writeth, that the ſupreme, binding & commanding authoritie is onely in Biſhops in a generall Councell.* The ſecond, is touching the definition of the Church ſet downe in the Articles of religion, *Art.* 19. that *it is the congregation of faithfull ones, in the which the pure word of God is preached, and the Sacraments duely adminiſtred, according to Chriſts inſtitution in all thoſe thinges that of neceſſity are requiſite to the ſame,* whereunto he ſaith I agree. The third is, that *the true Church of God* is ſubiect vnto errors of doctrine which are not fũdamental. The fourth, that *the Romane Church is the true Church of God.* His words are theſe. *I thinke no man will deny the Church of* Rome *to be the ſame it was at the comming of* Luther, *and long before, and Doctor* Field *writeth, that the* Romane *and* Latine *Church continued the true Church of God euen till our time.* And againe, *we doubt not but the Church, in which the Biſhop of* Rome *exalted himſelfe with more then* Lucifer *like pride, was notwithſtanding the true Church of God, that it held a ſauing profeſſion of the truth in Chriſt, and by force thereof conuerted*

many

many countries from errour to the way of truth: and hee farther acknowledgeth with Doctor Couel *and others, that* Luther *and the reſt of his religion were baptized, receiued their Chriſtianity, ordination and power of miniſtery, in that Church, as the true viſible and apparant Church of Chriſt. He telleth farther, that diuers of the Romane Church, not onely of the ignorant, but of the beſt learned, were ſaued, and are Saints in heauen.*

Theſe are his allegations. Now let vs ſee what is to be ſaid vnto them. Touching the firſt, it is moſt vndoubtedly true, that the ſupreme, and higheſt externall binding and commanding authoritie is onely in Biſhops and others aſſembled in a generall Councell; but what will hee inferre from hence? All men, ſaith he, do know; and Doctor *Sutcliffe* with others acknowledge, that the Proteſtants haue had no ſuch Councell: and what then? therefore they are not the Churches of God. O impious and wicked concluſion. For hereby all the Churches of the world 300. yeares after Chriſt, are proued not to haue bene the true churches of Chriſt; ſeeing, as it is euident, there was no generall Councell all that while; ſo that chriſtianity was rent into factions for want of this remedy, as ¶ *Iſidorus* teſtifieth. But, ſaith he, the Proteſtant Relatour of religion teacheth, that this preheminence, meanes, and remedy, is onely in the church of *Rome*. This is moſt falſe; for howſoeuer he thinketh it not impoſſible for the *Romaniſts* to haue a general Councel of thoſe of their own faction; yet hee knoweth it lyeth not in them to procure a Councel abſolutely general or Oecumenical: Nay we ſee that for many hundred yeares there hath not bene any generall Councell of all Chriſtians, wherin a perfect conſent and agreemēt might be ſetled; but the greateſt parts of the Chriſtian world haue remained diuided from the *Romane* Church for the ſpace of 6. or 7. hundred yeares. If the Author of theſe proofes ſhall ſay, they haue all bene heretiques & ſchiſmatiques, & that they haue liued & dyed in ſtate of damnation, that haue liued and dyed in thoſe Churches euer ſince their ſeparation; and that therefore a generall Councel of the Chriſtians of the Weſt, adhering to the Pope, is abſolutely generall and Oecumenicall, repreſenting the whole vniuerſall Church; we deteſt ſo vnchriſtian and diuelliſh a cenſure: and therefore wee willingly confeſſe, that the Proteſtants being but a part of the Chriſtian church, cannot haue any Councell abſolutely general, but in a ſort onely in reſpect of thoſe of their own profeſſion. Such a generall Councell of Proteſtants to ſettle & compoſe their differences, the Proteſtant Relator of religion wiſheth for: neither doth hee euer deny the poſſibility thereof, as this Pamphleter miſ-reporteth him, but ſaith onely that as things now ſtand, there being no better correſpondence among Chriſtian Princes, nor greater deſire of making vp the breaches of the Chriſtian Church, there is little hope of any ſuch generall meeting of thoſe of the reformed religion.

¶ *Ibid. præfat. Concil.*

Out of the two next allegations nothing can be concluded; for the errours of the preſent *Romane* Church are fundamentall; neither doth it preach

preach the pure word of God, & duely administer the Sacraments, according to Christs institution, in al those things that of necessity are requisite to the same. But he saith, he hopeth *no man will deny the Church of Rome to be the same now, it was when* Luther *began, and long before; and that I confesse, the* Latine *Church continued the true Church of God euen till our times.* Because some man perhaps will thinke, that wee yeeld more vnto our Aduersaries now, then formerly we did, in that we acknowledge the *Latine* or Westerne Churches subiect to *Romish* tyranny before God raised vp *Luther*, to haue bene the true Chnrches of God, in which a sauing profession of the truth in Christ was found, and wherein *Luther* himselfe receiued his christianity, ordination, & power of ministery; I wil first shew, that al our best & most renowned Diuines did euer acknowledge as much as I haue written. Secõdly, that the *Romane* church is not the same now, that it was when *Luther* began. And thirdly, that we haue not departed from the Church wherein our Fathers liued & died, but only from the faction that was in it. Touching the first, [r] *M. Luther* confesseth, that much good, nay that all good, & the very marrow & kernell of faith, piety, and christian belieue, was by the happy prouidence of God, preserued euen in the middest of al the confusions of the Papacy. [s] *M. Caluin* in like sort, sheweth, that the true Church remained vnder the Papacie. *Cum Dominus fœdus suum* (saith hee) *in Galliâ, Italiâ, Germaniâ, Hispaniâ, & Angliâ deposuerit, vbi illæ prouinciæ Antichristi tyrannide oppressæ sunt; quò tamẽ fœdus suum inuiolabile maneret, Baptismũ primò illic cõseruauit, qui eius ore cõsecratus inuita humana impietate, vim suã retinet: deinde suâ prouidentiâ effecit, vt aliæ quoq; reliquiæ extarẽt, ne Ecclesia prorsus interiret: ac quemadmodũ ita sæpe diruuntur ædificia, vt fundamẽta & ruinæ maneant; ita non passus est Ecclesiã suam ab Antichristo vel à fundamento subuerti, vel solo æquari, vtcunq; ad puniendã hominum ingratitudinẽ, horribilẽ quassationẽ ac disiectionẽ fieri permiserit; sed ab ipsa quoq; vastatione semirutũ ædificiũ superesse voluit:* that is, the Lord hauing made his couenãt with the people of *France, Italy, Germany, Spaine, & England*, when these prouinces were oppressed by the tyranny of Antichrist, that yet still his couenant might remaine inuiolable, first he preserued the Sacrament of Baptisme amongst them, which being consecrated by his owne mouth, retaineth his force in despight of mans impiety; and besides carefully prouided, that there shold be found some other remainders also, that the Church might not altogether perish. And euen as oftentimes buildings are so thrown down that the foũdations & some ruines do remaine: so God suffered not his Church to be subuerted & ouerthrowne by Antichrist from the very foundatiõ, or be laid euen with the ground, but howsoeuer to punish the ingratitude of men, he suffered it to be horribly shaken, torne and rent, yet his pleasure was, that the building should remaine after all this waste and decay, though halfe throwne downe. Of the same opinion is *Bucer*, *Melanchthon*, and *Beza*, who saith: [t] *The Church was vnder the Papacy*, but the Papacy was not the church. [u] *We say*, (saith

r *Lib. cont. Anabaptist.*

s *Calu. Instit. lib. 4. cap. 2. §. 11.*

t *Bez. quæst.*

u *Morn. of the Church, c. 9.*

(ſaith *Philip Mornay*) that among that poore people, which was ſo long time deceiued vnder the darkneſſe of Antichriſt, there was a part of the body of the viſible Church; but that the Pope, and his maintainers were the bane of it, who ſtifled and choaked this poore people, as much as lay in them. We ſay, that this was the Church of Chriſt, but that Antichriſt held it by the throat, to the end that the ſaluation and life that floweth from Chriſt might not paſſe vnto it. To bee ſhort (ſaith hee) we ſay, that the people were of the chriſtian common-wealth, but the Pope with his faction, was a proud ſeditious *Catiline*, ſeeking to deſtroy it, and ſet all on fire; and ſo euer hee moſt aptly putteth a difference betweene them that were vnder the Papacy, and the vpholders of the Papacy; the chriſtian church and the faction that was in it.

M. *Deering* in his Lectures, ſpeaking of the orders of the Popiſh church, hath theſe words. x If any will heere obiect, that notwithſtanding all the abuſes, yet the Prieſt had that which was principall, liberty to preach and miniſter Sacraments, and that therefore their miniſtery ought not to be neglected: I anſwer; In this was the great goodneſſe of God, that in time to come his children might aſſuredly know, hee reſerued to himſelfe a church euen in the midſt of all deſolation, and that hee called them by his word, and confirmed them by his Sacraments, euen as at this day. For ſeeing there can be no ſin ſo great, but faith in Ieſus Chriſt ſcattereth it all away, it was impoſſible, that the man of ſin ſhould ſo much adulterate, either the word of God, but that it ſhould bee to the faithfull a Goſpell of ſaluation; or the Sacraments of God; but that they ſhould be pledges of eternall life to thoſe that did beleeue: and he addeth, that notwithſtanding all the prophanations in thoſe times, in reſpect whereof we haue iuſtly ſeparated our ſelues from the pertinacious maintainers of ſuch confuſions, yet God of his infinite goodneſſe, who calleth thinges that are not as though they were, euen in that miniſtery gaue grace vnto his Saints.

x *Lect. 23. in 5. ad Hebr.*

Thus doe theſe Worthies write, touching the ſtate of the Chriſtian Church in former times tyrannically oppreſſed by Antichriſt, neither is there any of our Diuines of worth and learning, for ought I know, that diſſenteth from them. Wherfore I will now proceed to ſhew, that the *Romane* Church is not the ſame now that it was when *Luther* began.

Here firſt that we be not deceiued, we muſt obſerue, y that by the name of the *Romane* Church, ſometimes we vnderſtand the Pope his clergy, and other chriſtians of the *Romane* Dioceſſe: ſometimes all Churches ſubiect to the tyranny of the Biſhop of *Rome*.

y *Cameracenſ. quæſt. veſperia. tuna.*

In this latter ſence we ſpeake of the *Romane* Church at this time, and will make it moſt cleare and euident, that it is not the ſame now, that it was when *Luther* began. For firſt, the *Romane* Church that then was, was the whole number of Chriſtians, ſubiect to Papall tyranny, where-

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of [z] a great part desired nothing more then to shake off that yoake; which as soone as he began to oppose himselfe, they presently did, accounting those that attributed that to the Pope, which is now attributed vnto him, to be but flatterers; but the *Romane* Church that now is, is the multitude of such onely as thus magnifie, admire, and adore the plenitude of Papall power, or at least, are content to bee vnder the yoake of it still.

z *Illyric. in Catal testium veritatis. Carolus Militius* being sent frō Pope *Leo* to *Fredericke*, professed, that all the way as hee came, hauing sounded mens affections, hee found three to fauour *Luther* for one that fauoured the Pope; and *Luther* professeth, that the applause of the world did support him much, all men being weary of the frauds, extortions, and wicked practises of the *Romanists*. *Præfat. oper. Lutheri.*

Secondly, the Church of *Rome* that then was, consisted of men not hauing meanes of instruction and information, like vnto those which haue bene since; and therfore not erring pertinaciously in things wherein they were deceiued: But the Church that now is, consisteth of such onely as pertinaciously resist against the cleare manifestation of the truth, and with all fury and madnesse pursue vnto death those that defend and maintaine the same, or at least of such as consent in outward communion with them that so do. So that they that liued heretofore might in their simplicitie be saued, and yet these that now are, perish in their contradiction and wilfull resistance against the truth.

Neither need this to seeme strange, seeing [a] *Vincentius Lirinensis* saith (speaking of the error of rebaptization) that the authors, deuizers, & beginners of it, are crowned in heauen; that is, *Cyprian*, and the *African* Bishops of his time: for that notwithstanding this errour they held the vnity of the Church, and condemned not, but communicated with them that were otherwise minded; and the followers of the same errour, that is, the *Donatists*, for their schisme and pertinacy were condemned into hell.

a *Contra prof. hæret. nouit.*

Thirdly, the *Romane* Church that then was, had in it all the abuses & superstitious obseruations it now hath, and such as erred in all the points of doctrine, wherein they of the *Romane* Church now erre; in which respect it may seeme to haue bene the same, as the Author of these pretended proofes vrgeth; but it had also [b] others that disliked, and desired the remouing of all those abuses, and superstitious obseruations which we haue remoued, & thought right in all those points of doctrine wherein the rest erred; in which respect it was not the same, but very different from that faction of *Romanists* that resisteth that reformation of religion which so many famous states of Christendome haue willingly embraced, So that the *Romane* Church that then was, consisted of two sorts of men: of the one as true liuing members: of the other, as pertaining to her vnity in respect of Baptisme, power of Ministery, and profession of some parts of heauenly truth; though not partaking in that degree of vnity which the principall parts thereof had amongst themselues, but diuided from them, being a dangerous faction in the midst of her seeking her destruction, which shee could neither flye from, nor driue from her; as *Bernard* somewhere speaketh; [c] *Omnes amici, omnes inimici, omnes domestici, nulli pacifici, Iesu Christi, seruiunt Antichristo*: All these were

b See the Appendix to the 3. booke of the Church, & the 12. chapter of the same booke

c *Serm. 33. in Cantica.*

in ſome general ſort the Church, in reſpect of baptiſme, the profeſſion of ſome parts of heauenly truth, and the power of miniſterie; but principally, and in ſpeciall ſort, they onely that beleeued rightly touching the moſt materiall points of Chriſtian religion, and wiſhed for the reformation of ſuperſtitious abuſes. In reſpect of the former of theſe, the *Romane* church was *verè Eccleſia*, truely a church, that is, a multitude of men profeſſing Chriſt, and baptized; but not *vera Eccleſia*, a true church, that is, a multitude of men holding a ſauing profeſſion of the truth in Chriſt, as [d] *Mornay* fitly noteth, for which *Stapleton* vniuſtly reprehēdeth him: but in reſpect of the later, it was *vera Eccleſia*, a true church, that is, a multitude of men holding a ſauing profeſſion of the truth in Chriſt. The church of the *Iewes* at the comming of Chriſt, had in it the *Scribes*, *Phariſees*, and *Saduces*, as well as *Zachary*, *Elizabeth*, *Simeon*, and *Anna*; in reſpect of the former it was *verè Eccleſia*, but not *vera Eccleſia*; in reſpect of the later, it was *vera Eccleſia*.

[d] *Morn.* of the Church, cap. 2.

Neither ſhould this ſeeme ſtrange to any man, that the ſame ſociety of Chriſtian men ſhould in reſpect of ſome parts, whereof it conſiſteth, be the true church of Chriſt, and in reſpect of ſome other, not ſo; ſeeing all men confeſſe, that the ſame viſible church and ſociety of Chriſtians may be named a garden incloſed, an orchard of pome-granates, a well ſealed vp, a fountaine of liuing waters, a paradiſe with all precious and deſireable fruite, a holy nation, a peculiar people, a royall Prieſt-hood, the ſpouſe of Chriſt, and wife of the Lambe, the loue of Chriſt, all faire, vndefiled, and without ſpot, in reſpect of her beſt and principal parts, though not in reſpect of other.

The former of theſe two ſorts of men that were found in the *Romane* church, we name a faction. Firſt, becauſe they had no part in that degree of vnity, which the beſt parts thereof had amongſt themſelues, but wandred into by-paths of errour, to their owne deſtruction, and ſought the ruine of that mother, which by baptiſme had ſacramentally regenerated them to be the ſonnes of God. Secondly, for that they brought in new and ſtrange errours, and a new kinde of tyrannicall gouernement, preiudiciall to the purity of the faith once deliuered, and the ancient liberty of the people of God. For hereby we are to iudge who are of the faction in the church, and who not; and not by multitude or paucity, as ſome fondly imagine. The diſguiſed *Arrians*, and others miſ-led by them to the condemning of *Athanaſius*, were but a faction in the church at that time, yet were they many, ſo that *Hierome* ſaith, the whole world was become an *Arrian*; and they that adhered to *Athanaſius* were few in number, and cōtemptible in reſpect of the reſt. And all they that hold & defend errors in matters of doctrine, & obſeruations in matters of practiſe and lawes, preiudicial to the ancient liberties in the ſociety of the Chriſtian church, are rightly ſaid to be a faction in the ſame, whether they be many, or few; & they

they that retaine the faith once deliuered, are moſt properly the church.

Laſtly, the errors that we condemne, were taught in the *Romane* church that was when *Luther* began, but they were not the doctrines of that church; but theſe errours are of the doctrines of the preſent *Romane* church: For the clearing of the former part, to wit, that the errours condemned by vs, were not the doctrines of that ancient *Romane* church, wherein our Fathers liued and dyed, we muſt obſerue, that the doctrines taught in that church, were of three ſorts.

The firſt, ſuch as were deliuered with ſo full conſent of all that liued in the ſame, that whoſoeuer offered to teach otherwiſe, was reiected as a damnable heretique; ſuch was the doctrine of the Trinity, the creation, fall, originall ſinne, incarnation of the Sonne of God, the vnity of his perſon, and diuerſity of the natures ſubſiſting in the ſame.

The ſecond, ſuch errours as were taught by many, in the midſt of the ſame church, as, that the Pope cannot erre, and the like.

The third, ſuch contrary true aſſertions as were by other oppoſed againſt thoſe errours.

The firſt, were abſolutely the Doctrines of that church. The third, may be ſaid to haue bene the doctrines of the church, though all receiued them not; becauſe they were the doctrines of ſuch as were ſo in the church that they were the church, according to that of *Auguſtine*: [e] Some are in ſuch ſort in the houſe of God, that they alſo are the houſe of GOD; and ſome are ſo in the houſe, that they pertaine not to the frame and fabrique of it, nor to the ſociety and fellowſhip of fruitfull and peaceable righteouſneſſe.

[e] *Aug de Baptiſm. lib. 7. c. 51.*

The ſecond kinde of doctrines, were not at all the doctrines of that church, becauſe they neither were taught with full conſent of all that liued in it, nor by them that were ſo in the church and houſe of God, that they were the church and houſe of God; but by ſuch as though they pertained to the church in reſpect of the profeſſion of ſome parts of heauenly truth, yet in reſpect of many other wherein they were departed from the ſame, ſeeking to ſubuert the faith once deliuered, were but a faction in it. Hence it followeth (which is the third thing I promiſed to ſhew) that howſoeuer we haue forſaken the communiō of the *Romane* Dioceſſe, yet wee haue not departed from the *Romane* church in the later ſenſe before expreſſed, wherein our Fathers liued and dyed, but onely from the faction that was in it. Firſt, becauſe [f] wee haue brought in no doctrine, then generally and conſtantly condemned, nor reiected any thing, then generally and conſtantly conſented on. Secondly, becauſe we haue done nothing in that alteration of thinges that now appeareth, but remoued abuſes then diſliked, and ſhaken off the yoake of tyranny, which that church in her beſt parts did euer deſire to bee freed from, howſoeuer ſhee had brought forth and nouriſhed other children that conſpired againſt her, that taught otherwiſe then we now do, and would willingly

[f] See the Appendix to the third booke of the Church.

for their aduantage haue retained many things which wee haue remoued.

Thus then (I hope) it doth appeare, that howsoeuer I confesse, that the Latine or West Churches oppressed with Romish tyranny, continued the true Churches of God, held a sauing profession of heauenly truth, turned many to God, and had many Saints that died in their communion euen till the time that *Luther* began; yet I neither dissent from *Luther*, *Caluin*, *Beza*, or any other Protestant of iudgement, nor any way acknowledge the present *Romish* Church to be that true Church of God; whose communion we must embrace, whose directions we must follow, and in whose iudgement we must rest. But will some man say, is the *Romane* Church at this day no part of the Church of God? Surely as g *Augustine* noteth, that the societies of heretiques, in that they retaine the profession of many parts of heauenly truth, and the ministration of the Sacrament of Baptisme, are so far forth stil conioyned with the Catholique Church of God, and the Catholique Church in and by them, bringeth forth children vnto God: so the present *Romane* Church, is still in some sort a part of the visible Church of God, but no otherwise then other societies of heretiques are, in that it retaineth the profession of some parts of heauenly truth, and ministreth the true Sacrament of Baptisme to the saluation of the soules of many thousand infants that die after they are baptized, before she haue poysoned them with her errours.

g *Aug. de Baptism. contra Donatist. l. 1. c. 8. & 10.*

Thus hauing spoken sufficiently for the cleering of my selfe touching this point, I will passe from this chapter to the next.

Chap. 3.

IN the third chapter he endeauoureth to shew, that the Protestants doe now teach the necessity of one supreme Spirituall head, & commander in the Church of Christ. His words are these. *Whereas heretofore some vnchristian Sermons and Bookes haue termed the Bishop of* Rome *to be the great Antichrist, wee shall now receiue a better doctrine and more religious answere. That there euer was & must be, one chiefe and supreme spirituall Head and comander of the Church of Christ on earth &c.* D. Field *citeth and approueth this as a generall and infallible rule:* Ecclesiæ salus in summi Sacerdotis dignitate pendet, &c. *The health of the Church dependeth on the dignity of the high Priest, whose eminent authority if it bee denyed there will be as many schismes in the Church as their be Priests. Then of necessity one chiefe supreme, and high Priest must be assigned in his iugdement.*

These are his words. The place he meaneth is not page one hũdred thirty eight, as he quoteth it, but page 70: Let the Reader how partial soeuer peruse it, & if he find that I haue written any thing whence it may be concluded, that I acknowlege there euer was & must be one chiefe, and supreme spirituall

ſpirituall head and commander of the whole Church of Chriſt in earth, I will fall proſtrate at the Popes feete, and be of the *Romiſh* religion for euer. But if it appeare vnto him that the author of theſe pretended prooſes hath cited this place to proue that which in his conſcience he knew it did not, let him beware of ſuch falſe and cozening companions. My words are: *The vnity of each peculiar Church, depends on the vnity of the Paſtor, who is one, to whom an eminent and particular power is giuen, and whom all muſt obey.* Heere is no word of one chiefe Paſtor of the whole vniuerſal Church of Chriſt vpon earth, but of one chiefe Paſtor in each particular Church. Who would not deteſt the impudency and falſe dealing of theſe *Romiſh* Writers. But hee ſaith, I approue the ſaying of *Hierome* before mentioned, therefore I muſt aſſigne one chiefe Paſtour of the whole church of Chriſt on earth. How will he make good this conſequence? Doth *Hierome* ſpeake in that place cited and approued by me, of one ſupreme Paſtor of the whole Church of Chriſt on earth? Surely this Pamphleter knoweth he doth not, but of the Biſhop of each particular Church or Dioceſſe.[h] If (ſaith *Hierome*) thou ſhalt aske why he that is baptized in the church doth not receiue the holy Ghoſt, but by the hands of the Biſhop, which we ſay is giuen in baptiſme: know that this obſeruation commeth from that authority, that the ſpirit deſcended vpon the Apoſtles; & in many places wee finde the ſame to haue bene done rather for the honour of prieſt-hood, then the neceſſity of any law: otherwiſe if the ſpirit deſcend not, but onely at the praier of the Biſhop, they are to be lamented, who in villages, caſtles, & remote places baptized by Prieſts or Deacons, dye before they are viſited by the Biſhop; & then follow theſe words: *The ſafety of the Church depends on the dignity of the chiefe Prieſt, to whom if an eminent power be not giuen, there will bee as many ſchiſmes in the Church as there are Prieſts.* So that this is that which he ſaith, that it is rather for the honor of the Biſhop or chiefe Prieſt of each Church, that the impoſition of hands vpon the baptized is reſerued vnto him alone, then the neceſſity of any law; becauſe if he had no ſuch preëminences, and things peculiarly reſerued vnto him, in reſpect whereof he might be greater then the reſt of the prieſts and Miniſters in the Church, there would bee as many ſchiſmes as prieſts: and hence he ſaith it commeth, that without the command of the Biſhop or chiefe prieſt, neither prieſt nor Deacon haue right to baptize.

h *Hyerony. contra Luciferia.*

So that it is manifeſt, the chiefe Prieſt hee ſpeaketh of, whoſe power is eminent and peereleſſe, is ſo named in reſpect of other prieſts in the ſame Church, that may not ſo much as baptize without his mandate; and not in reſpect of the paſtors of the whole vniuerſall Church.

Wherefore if this pamphleter would haue dealt truly and honeſtly, hee ſhould haue ſaid: Whereas heeretofore ſome vnchriſtian Sermons and bookes tearmed the Biſhop of *Rome* the great Antichriſt, wee ſhall

now receiue a better doctrine, and more religious answer, that there must be one chiefe Priest or Bishop in euery Diocesse, hauing a more eminent authority then the rest; and then whereas now men detest his falshood, they would but onely haue laughed at his folly.

But let vs come to his second allegation, and see if there be any more truth in that, then in this. His words are these. *Doctor* Field *telleth vs from Scripture, that Christ promised to build his Church vpon Saint* Peter; *then no Christian will doubt, vnlesse he will doubt of Christs truth and promises, but it was so performed.*

i Page 196. Let the Reader peruse the [i] place, and hee shall finde that I doe not tell them from Scripture, that Christ promised to build his Church vpon *Peter*, as this man adding one falshood to another, most vntruly saith I do, but onely cite a place of *Tertullian*, to proue that nothing was hid from the Apostles, that was to be reuealed to after-commers, where he hath these words: *What was hidden and concealed from* Peter, *vpon whom Christ promised to build his Church? from* Iohn *the Disciple hee so dearely loued? that leaned on his breast at the mysticall supper? and the rest of that blessed company, that should bee after manifested to succeeding generations?* But hee will say that I approue the saying of *Tertullian*, and therefore thinke the Church was built vpon *Peter*.

Truly so I doe; but I thinke also as *Hierome* doth, that it was built no more vpon him, then vpon all the rest, and therefore the supremacie of *Peters* pretended successour, will not be concluded from thence. [k] *Dicis* (saith *Hierome*) *super Petrum fundatur Ecclesia, licet idipsum in alio loco super omnes Apostolos fiat: Super omnes ex æquo Ecclesiæ fortitudo solidatur:* that is, Thou wilt say, the Church was built vpon *Peter*; It is true, it was so; but we shall finde in another place, that it was builded vpon all the Apostles. Surely the firmenesse of the Church doth equally stay and settle it selfe vpon them all.

k Hier. lib. 1. contra Iouinian.

This is so cleare and euident, that [l] *Bellarmine* himselfe confesseth, that all the Apostles may bee said to haue bene foundations of the Church, and that the Church may bee truly said to haue bene built vpon them all: First, because they preached Christ to such as had not heard of him before, and were the first that founded Christian Churches. Secondly, in respect of their doctrine which they learned by immediate reuelation from the Sonne of God, in which the Church is to rest as in the ground and rule of her faith. Thirdly, in respect of gouernement, in that they were all heads and rulers of the vniuersall Church.

l Lib. 1. de Pontif. Rom. c. 11.

Thus wee see, if I had told them out of Scripture, that Christ promised to build his Church on *Peter*, our Aduersaries could not from thence haue inferred the supremacie of the Pope, his pretended Successour.

Wherefore

Wherefore let vs come to his next allegation. His words are: *Doctor* Field, *and the reſt, doe ordinarily yeelde, that the* Romane *Church continued the true Church of God till the yeare of Chriſt ſixe hundreth and ſeuen, when* Bonifacius *the Pope there claimed, as they ſay, ſupremacie firſt in the Church.*

This is a meere imagination of his owne; for I no where ſpeake of the Church continuing till the time of *Bonifacius* the Pope, or till the yeare ſixe hundreth and ſeuen, as if it had then ceaſed, and therefore hee doth not here cite any page of my book, as in other places, but citeth it at large. But (ſaith hee) *Doctor* Field *plainly acknowledgeth, that the ſupremacy belonged to the Popes of Rome before the firſt* Nicene *Councell, and then by the rules which hee giueth to know true traditions (cuſtome of the Church, conſent of Fathers, or an Apoſtolicall Churches teſtimony) this muſt needes bee of that firſt kinde, and then of equall authority with Scripture, as hee acknowledgeth of ſuch traditions.*

Such is the intollerable impudency of this man, that I proteſt I can ſcarſe beleeue mine owne eyes, or perſwade my ſelfe that hee writeth that which I ſee he doth. For, do I any where acknowledge, the ſupremacie belonged to the Popes of *Rome* before the *Nicene* Councell? Nay, doe I not in the [m] place cited by him, ſay, that before the *Nicene* Councell, there were three principall Biſhops or Patriarches of the Chriſtian Church, to wit, the Biſhops of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioche*, as appeareth by the acts of the Councell limiting their bounds? Had theſe their bounds limited & ſet vnto them, & was there one of them an vniuerſall commander? If he ſay I acknowledge the Biſhop of *Rome* was in order and honour the firſt amongſt the Patriarches, before the *Nicene* Councell, and thereupon inferre, that I acknowledge his ſupremacy and commanding power ouer the reſt; hee may as well inferre, that I giue to the Biſhop of *Alexandria* a commanding authority ouer the Biſhop of *Antioche*, becauſe before the *Nicene* Councell hee was before him in order and honour.

[m] *Lib. 3. cap. 1.*

That which he addeth as a Corollary, that by the rules I giue to know true traditions, this muſt bee of that kinde, and conſequently of equall authority with Scripture, argueth in him a greater deſire of ſaying ſomething, then care what he ſaith.

For firſt, it no way appeareth out of any thing that I haue ſaid touching the primacy of the Pope, before the time of the *Nicene* Councel, that either cuſtome of the Church, conſent of Fathers, or the teſtimony of an Apoſtolicall Church, giue the ſupremacy to the Popes.

Secondly, it is falſe that hee ſaith, that I make cuſtome of the Church, or the teſtimony of an Apoſtolicall Church, rules whereby to finde out which are true traditions, and which are not. For firſt, I doe not ſay, that cuſtome of the Church obſeruing a thing, is a proofe that

that thing which is ſo obſerued, was deliuered from the Apoſtles, but ſuch a cuſtome, whereby a thing hath bene obſerued from the beginning. So that though the Popes had bene ſupreme in power and command before the Nicene Councell, which all the Papiſts and diuels in hell ſhall neuer proue, yet would it not follow, that this their ſupremacy were by tradition from the Apoſtles. Secondly, I do not make the teſtimony of an Apoſtolicall Church to be a rule whereby to know true traditions from falſe, as he is pleaſed to belye me, but I diſclaime it in the very place cited by him. My words are theſe. *The third rule whereby true traditions may be knowne from falſe, is the conſtant teſtimonie of the Paſtors of an Apoſtolicall Church ſucceſſiuely deliuered; to which ſome adde the preſent teſtimony of any Apoſtolicall Church; but this none of the Fathers admit, neither do I: The Churches of* Corinth, Epheſus *and* Rome, *are Apoſtolical Churches, & whatſoeuer their Paſtors haue ſucceſſiuely deliuered, as receiued from the Apoſtles, is vndoubtedly Apoſtolicall; but not euery thing, that the Paſtors of thoſe Churches that now preſently are ſhall ſo deliuer, ſeeing they are contrary the one to the other in things of great importance.*

Thirdly, whereas he ſaith, I acknowledge vnwritten traditions to be of equall authority with the Scriptures, he is like himſelfe: For I neuer acknowledge, that there is any matter of faith, of which nature the Popes ſupremacy is ſuppoſed to bee, deliuered by bare tradition, and not written; but ſay onely, if any thing may be proued to haue bene deliuered by liuely voyce by them that wrot the Scriptures, their is no reaſon but it ſhould be of as great authority, as if it had bene written.

Two more allegations there are yet behind in this chapter that concerne me.

The firſt, that I ſay, & Proteſtants generally agree with me, that the Regimēt of the weſt Churches (among which this natiō is, belonged to the Pope of *Rome*. It ſeemeth this man hath a great deſire I ſhould ſay ſo, & ſome hope I wil ſay ſo. But I proteſt as yet I neuer wrot any ſuch thing, & therfore here againe, he referreth his Reader to no page of my Booke, as in other places, but citeth it at large, wherin he ſheweth more wit thē honeſty; for it is good to put a man to ſeeke farre for that, which can no where be found. But what if I had ſaid the Biſhop of *Rome* was Patriarch of the Weſt? would that proue an vniuerſall power ouer the whole Church, or ſuch a kind of abſolute authority ouer the Churches of the Weſt, as in latter times by vſurpaon he exerciſed ouer them? Surely I thinke not. But (ſaith he) D. *Downname* ſaith, before the grant of *Phocas*, the Church of *Rome* had the ſuperioritie, and preëminence ouer all other Churches excepting that of *Conſtantinople*; and D. *Field telleth him abſolutely that the title of Conſtantinople was but intruded and vſurped, and when the firſt* Nicene *Councell gaue ſuch honour to the* Romane *Church, there was not ſo much as the name of* Conſtantinople.

This

This is the laſt allegation that concerneth me in this Chapter. The place that he citeth is neither to be found in the firſt booke of the Church quoted by him, nor any where elſe. For I no where euer ſay that the coũcell of *Nice* gaue ſupreme commanding authoritie ouer all the Churches to the Biſhop of *Rome*, but onely that it confirmed the diſtinct iuriſdictions of the three Patriarches of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioche*. And touching the title of *Conſtantinople*, whereof he ſpeaketh; if he meane the title of being vniuerſall Biſhop, it is moſt true that it was intruded and vſurped, as alſo the like is at this day, by the Biſhops of *Rome*, which [n] *Gregorie* their predeceſſour diſclaimed, thinking it intollerable that one man ſhould ſubiect to himſelfe all the members of the body of Chriſt, which is his Church.

n *Greg. lib. 4. Epiſt. 38.*

But if he meane the title of being a Patriarche in order the ſecond, hauing equall priuiledges with the Biſhop of *Rome*, farre bee it from me to thinke it was intruded or vſurped, or to condemne the acts of the Councels of *Conſtantinople* and *Chalcedon* (two of theſe foure which S. [o] *Gregorie* receiued as the foure Goſpels) as the *Romaniſts* do, becauſe they [p] gaue priuiledges to the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, equall to thoſe of the Biſhop of *Rome*. Nay, hereby it appeareth to be true that S. *Hierome* was wont to ſay, [q] *Orbis maior eſt vrbe*. For after that *Conſtantinople*, before named *Byzantium*, was enlarged by *Conſtantine*, named after his name, and made the ſeate of the Emperours, though the verie name of it was not at all heard of in the time of the *Nicene* Councell, yet in the ſecond generall Councell holden at *Conſtantinople*, the Biſhop thereof was made a Patriarche, and ſet in order and degree of honour before the other two of *Alexandria* and *Antioche*, and in the great Councell of *Chalcedon*, where there were more then 600 Biſhops aſſembled, he was againe confirmed in the dignitie of a Patriarch, and to haue equall priuiledges with the Biſhop of *Rome*.

o *Greg. lib. 1. epiſt. 24.*
p *Concil. Chalced. act. 16.*
q *Hierony. ad Euagrium.*

Againſt this decree they that ſupplied the place of *Leo* in the Councell reſiſted, and [r] *Leo* himſelfe, would by no meanes admit that the Biſhops of *Alexandria* and *Antioche* claiming from *Peter*, the one becauſe *Marke* was there placed by him, the other for that in perſon he abode there for a time, ſhould be put lower, and the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* who had not like pretence, to ſit aboue them. Yet the Fathers of the Councel, not ſo much reſpecting the claime from *Peter*, as the greatneſſe of the city, and thinking it was the greatneſſe of the city of *Rome* during the Emperours preſence there that cauſed the Fathers formerly to giue honour to the Biſhop of that city, ſuppoſed they might now for the ſame cauſe giue like honour to the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, being become equall in ſtate and magnificence to old *Rome*, and named new *Rome*, as euery way matching it; and howſoeuer the ſucceeding Biſhops of *Rome* ſtroue a long while about this matter; [ſ] yet in the end they were forced to yeeld, and to take the

r *Leo Epiſt. 53. & 54.*
ſ *Onuph. annot. in vit. Bonifac. 3. apud Platinam.*

Biſhops

Biſhops of *Conſtantinople* for Patriarches in degree of honour ſet before the other two.

Chap. 4.

IN this chapter he indeauoreth to proue by teſtimonies of Proteſtants, that all bookes receiued for Scripture by the *Romane* church, are canonicall; and herein are two things that concerne me: The firſt, that the *Romane* church beeing the ſpouſe of Chriſt, his true church and pillar of truth, whoſe communion we muſt embrace, follow her directions, reſt in her iudgement, liuing and dying therein to haue eternall life, men might here by my cenſure and aduice confine themſelues, and wade no further in ſo many intricate controuerſies of religion: the ſecond, that I am or muſt be of opinion, that all thoſe bookes which the church of *Rome* receiued for canonicall, are indeed canonicall.

For anſwer to the former of theſe allegations. Firſt, I profeſſe before God, men, and Angels, that I neither do, nor euer did thinke the preſent *Romane* church to be the true church, whoſe communion we are bound to imbrace, but an hereticall church, with which we may not communicate: Secondly, I profeſſe in like ſort, that though I did and do acknowledge the church wherein our Fathers liued before *Luthers* time, to haue beene the true church of God in reſpect of the beſt, and indeed the principall parts thereof, which held a ſauing profeſſion of the truth in Chriſt (howſoeuer many, and they greatly preuailing, erred damnably;) yet I neuer thought it to be that church, in whoſe iudgement we are to reſt without any farther doubt or queſtion: nor that it was ſafe to follow the greater part of the guides and rulers of it; but the church in whoſe iudgement we muſt abſolutely and finally reſt, is that whole and entire ſocietie of holy ones, which beginning at *Hieruſalem* and filling the world, continueth vnto this day.

To refuſe the iudgement of this church, or to reſiſt againſt any thing deliuered *ab omnibus, vbiq;, ſemper*, in all places, at all times, by all Chriſtian Paſtors and people not noted for hereſie or ſingularitie, were extreme folly and madneſſe: ſo that, as I noted in anſwer to the firſt chapter out of *Waldenſis*, it is not any particular church, as the church of *Africa*, nor the particular *Romane* church, but the vniuerſall church, not gathered together in a generall Councell, which hath ſometimes erred; but the whole catholique church diſperſed through the world from the baptiſme of Chriſt vnto our times, which doth vndoubtedly hold the true faith, and faithfull teſtimonie of Ieſus, and in whoſe iudgement we muſt abſolutely reſt without any farther queſtion or doubting; and herunto agreeth [t] *Vincentius Lirinenſis*, preſcribing this courſe to be followed in matters queſtioned, touching faith and religion.

[t] *Contra profan. hæreti. nouitates.*

If

If error creepe into one part of the church, we muſt looke vnto other that ſtill are ſound and pure; if into almoſt the whole preſent church, we muſt looke vp higher into former times, and the reſolutions of them that haue bene ſince the Apoſtles times.

Thus I hope the Reader will eaſily perceiue that this firſt allegation is friuolous: For I do not thinke the preſent church of *Rome* to be the true church of God, whoſe communion we muſt embrace, nor that the particular *Romane* church, when it was at the beſt, was that church in the iudgement whereof we are abſolutely to reſt: and therefore let no man confine himſelfe here without farther wading into particular controuerſies, but let euerie man as he tendreth the ſaluation of his owne ſoule, looke to the iudgement of other churches alſo, and to the reſolutions of former times.

Now let vs proceede to his ſecond allegation concerning canonicall and apocryphall bookes of Scripture. His wordes are; *The Proteſtant ſurueyor of the Communion-booke affirmeth plainely, that the Proteſtants of England muſt approue for Canonicall all thoſe bookes which the Romane church doth: and* D. Field *is of the ſame opinion, or muſt be; for thus he writeth: The ancient and true-beleeuing Iewes before the comming of Chriſt (eſpecially ſuch as liued in Greece and nations out of Iury, commonly called Helleniſts) receiued thoſe bookes for canonicall Scripture.*

It is well he ſaith not abſolutely that I am of that opinion, but that I am, or muſt be; for he is well aſſured I am not; but he knoweth how to force me to be, whether I will or not, by falſly reporting my words, and making me ſay that I neuer thought nor ſayd. For do I any where ſay, the ancient, and true-beleeuing Iewes before the comming of Chriſt receiued thoſe bookes for canonicall, eſpecially ſuch as were diſperſed among the Gentiles? No ſurely; but the contrary: namely, that the ancient church of the Iewes did receiue thoſe onely as diuine and canonicall which we do, and not thoſe other in queſtion. I am verily perſwaded theſe men thinke lying to be no ſinne; for otherwiſe, it were not likely that bragging ſo much of their good workes, and truſting to the merit thereof, they would wittingly runne ſo often into ſuch a ſinne, as we ſilly men thinke it to be, and as the ſpirit of God aſſureth vs it is, being of the number of thoſe that ſhut men out of the kingdome of God and Chriſt, according to that in the Reuelation, [u] *Without ſhall be dogges, and inchanters, & whore-mongers, and murtherers, and idolaters, and whoſoeuer loueth or maketh lies.* But let vs ſee if he deale not better in that which followeth: Surely no, he is conſtant and euer like himſelfe; for he ſaith, D. *Field writeth thus. The ancient & true-beleeuing Iewes before the comming of Chriſt (eſpecially ſuch as liued in Greece and nations out of Iury, commonly called Helleniſts) receiued thoſe bookes for canonicall Scripture; and to vſe his owne words, Hence it came that the Iewes deliuered a double canon of Scripture to the Chriſtian churches.*

[u] Reuel. 22. 15.

Surely

Surely this is not to vſe, but to abuſe my words: For I was not ſo ſenſeleſſe, as to ſay, the auncient and true beleeuing Iewes receiued the bookes in queſtion for Canonicall, and that thence it came that they deliuered a double Canon of Scripture to the Chriſtian churches. For if the Iewes generally had receiued all theſe bookes for canonicall, but eſpecially the Helleniſts; then they could not haue deliuered a double canon of Scripture, but one onely, Wherefore my words are not as he reporteth them, but hauing ſpoken of the 22 bookes of the old Teſtament, I adde, [x] *Theſe onely did the ancient Church of the Iewes receiue as diuine and Canonicall; and that other bookes were added vnto theſe, whoſe authoritie not being certaine and knowne, are named Apocryphall, fell out in this ſort. The Iewes in their later times, before, and at the comming of Chriſt, were of two ſorts; ſome properly named Hebrewes commoraunt at Hieruſalem and in the holy land; other named Helleniſtes, Iewes of the diſperſion, mingled with the Grecians: theſe had written ſundry bookes in Greeke, which they made vſe of together with other parts of the old Teſtament, which they had of the tranſlation of the Septuagint; but the Hebrewes receiued onely the 22 bookes before mentioned: Hence it came that the Iewes deliuered a double Canon of the Scripture to the Chriſtian Church; the one pure, indubitate and diuine, which is the Hebrew Canon; the other in Greeke inriched with, or rather adulterated by the addition of certaine other bookes written in theſe dayes, when God raiſed vp no more Prophets among his people.*

x Pag. 245. & 246.

So that the Iewes being of two ſorts, Hebrewes and Helleniſts: The Hebrewes deliuered to the Chriſtian church onely the 22 bookes of the old Teſtament, whereof there is no queſtion, to be the abſolute rule and Canon of our faith, and tooke no notice of the bookes now in queſtion: But the Helleniſts deliuered with them theſe alſo that are queſtioned, if not to be the canon of our faith, yet to be a canon and rule of direction for matters of conuerſation and manners, and to be read at leaſt *ad edificationem plebis*, for the edification of the people, though not for confirmation of matters of doctrine.

And truly I am perſwaded, it cannot be proued that the Helleniſts euer receiued theſe bookes in queſtion, as any part of the canon of faith, or abſolutely canonicall, but in a ſort onely, in that they containe a good direction of mens manners: But, ſaith he, D. *Field* ſpeaking of this volume of the Helleniſts, addeth: *Theſe bookes which are doubted of, ioyned in one volume with thoſe 22, whereof there is no queſtion, were tranſlated out of Greeke into Latine, and read by the Latine Church in that tranſlation; and intreating of Saint Auguſtine and the Latine Fathers, eſpecially in Africa, and the third Carthaginian Councell, writeth thus. They reckon the bookes of Scripture according as they found them in vſe in the Latine Church: then* D. Field *hath abſolutely granted that in the Latine Church (vnder which England is) theſe Scriptures were euer eſteemed as Canonicall.*

They

They ſeeme greatly to deſire to end the controuerſies betweene them and vs by publicke diſputation, and challenge vs in ſuch ſort, as if we durſt not ſhew our ſelues where they ſhould appeare: but ſurely if they performe no more when they come to diſputing then they do when they write, nor bring no better arguments when they oppoſe in our ſchooles, then they publiſh in their bookes, the very boyes in our Vniuerſities will hiſſe them out. For how will this conſequence euer be made good. *Auguſtine* and the *Africanes* in the third Councell of *Carthage* recken the bookes of Scripture as they found them ioyned in one volume tranſlated out of Greeke into Latine, not exactly noting the difference that is betweene them, and ſo ſeeme to admit into the canon thoſe bookes which we reiect: therefore the bookes which we reiect were euer eſteemed to be canonicall in the Latine church? ſeeing *Hierome* at the ſame time tranſlating the Scriptures out of Hebrew, and exactly learning which bookes pertained to the Hebrew canon, reiected al beſides the 22 Hebrew books, as the Grecians did before him, and as after him almoſt all men of note in the Latine church did. But he will ſay, *Auguſtine* and the *Africanes* found the bookes reiected by vs in vſe in the Latine church, as well as the other which we admit to be canonicall; therefore they were euer eſteemed to be canonicall in the Latine church, vnder which *England* is. This proofe is too weake; for as I haue noted in the place cited by him, the prayer of *Manaſſes* confeſſed by our Aduerſaries to be Apocryphall, the third and fourth of *Eſdras*, and the booke called *Paſtor*, were likewiſe in vſe in the Latine church, that is, read by them of the Latine church, cited by them in their writings, and many things tranſlated out of them into the publicke prayers and liturgie of the church; yet will it not followe that theſe bookes were euer eſteemed as canonicall in the Latine church, vnder which *England* was.

It is true indeed that *Auguſtine* when hee was blamed for citing ſome teſtimonies out of the bookes reiected by vs, defended his ſo doing by the practiſe of the church which had anciently read the ſame in her publicke aſſemblies; but not much preſſing the authoritie of them, ſaith, he can proue the things, for proofe whereof he alleaged thoſe bookes, out of other that are not doubted of. So that *Caietanes* opinion is not improbable, that *Auguſtine* did not thinke theſe bookes to be abſolutely canonicall, but in a ſort onely, in that they containe many godly inſtructions, and a good direction for mens manners. That which he addeth in the laſt place, that theſe controuerſed bookes being tranſlated out of Greeke into Latine, with the other originally written in Hebrew, were in likelihood firſt deliuered by the Helleniſts, or Iewes of the diſperſion, to the Greeke churches, as being in Greeke amongſt them, is to no purpoſe: For though we ſhould graunt they were ſo deliuered all together, yet they of the Greeke church hauing an eye to the canon of the Hebrewes, put a difference

rence betweene the one and the other; and neuer accounted these to be
y Pag.247. canonicall, as y I haue largely proued out of the testimonies of *Melito*, *Origen*, *Athanasius*, *Nazianzene*, *Cyrill*, *Epiphanius*, and *Damascene*. Thus haue we examined the allegations of this chapter, and found them verie weake and friuolous.

Chap.5.

IN the fifth chapter, hee vndertaketh to proue, that Protestants confesse the vulgar translation to be the best, and their owne the worst. But because he alleageth nothing to this purpose out of any thing that I haue written, I will passe from this to the next, not doubting, but they who are wronged by him, will make him know that he vndertaketh much, and proueth little.

Chap. 6.

IN the sixth chapter, wherein hee vndertaketh to proue by the confession of Protestants, that the true, lawfull, and iuridicall exposition of Scriptures is in the *Romane* church, and not with the Protestants, he endeauoreth to shew that I confesse so much: His words are these. D. *Field*
z Pag.235. *confesseth, that* z *neither conference of places, nor consideration of the Antecedentia and Consequentia, nor looking into the originals, are of any force, vnlesse we find the things which we conceiue to be vnderstood & meant in the places interpreted, to be consonant to the rule of faith: therefore he confesseth, that the warranted exposition of Scripture belongeth to the Romane Church.*

This consequence I deny as strange and absurd: wherefore let vs see, if he make any shew of prouing it. He addeth, that *I teach, the rule of faith must be tried either by the generall practise of the Church, the renowned of all ages, or the Pastors of an Apostolicall Church, which, as the world can witnesse, no Protestant can make claime vnto*; as if from hence it would follow (which is the thing hee goeth about to proue, or else hee doth nothing) that all warranted exposition of Scripture belongeth to the *Romane* church. Whatsoeuer become of the consequence of this argument, there are many exceptions to be taken to the antecedent of it.

For first, I do not giue these three rules whereof he speaketh, whereby to know the rule of faith, but to know true traditions from false.

Secondly, I do not say, the generall practise of the church, the renowned of all ages, and the Pastors of an Apostolique church, are the rules whereby true traditions may be knowne from false; but the generall practise of the church from the beginning, the report, and testimonie of the most renowned and famous in all ages, and the testimonie of the Pastors

of

of an Apoſtolique church, ſucceſſiuely deliuered from the beginning, not the preſent teſtimonie of an Apoſtolicall church.

Thirdly, we will neuer admit any pretended traditions, vnleſſe they may be confirmed vnto vs by one of theſe rules; and if our Aduerſaries can proue any of their ſuppoſed traditions by theſe rules, we will willingly acknowledge them, and therefore I know no reaſon why we may not make claime vnto them.

He addeth, that I condemne priuate interpretations; as if euer any Proteſtant had allowed any priuate interpetation in that ſenſe that I diſlike it, or as if our religion were grounded vpon priuate interpretations.

But the good man might haue bene pleaſed to remember, that in the [a] place cited by him I diſtinguiſh three kinds of priuate interpretations, whereof one is named priuate; for that they that ſo interprete, neglect the common rules of direction, relie vpon ſecret reuelations knowne to none but themſelues, and deſpiſe the iudgement of other men. Another, becauſe the perſon ſo interpreting is priuate, and yet preſumptuouſly taketh vpon him to force all others to embrace the ſame, hauing no authoritie ſo to do. The third is, when, as the perſon is of priuate condition: ſo he ſeeketh onely to ſatisfie himſelfe in it, and no way preſumeth to preſcribe to others to follow that he reſolueth on, farther then by reaſon and higher authoritie he can inforce the ſame.

[a] Pag. 226. & 227.

The firſt kind of priuate interpretations we deteſt and accurſe. The ſecond, we condemne as preſumptuous. The third, we approue, and ſo do our Aduerſaries too, for ought I know; & therfore I know not to what purpoſe hee citeth this ſaying of mine, that *priuate men may not ſo propoſe their interpretations, as if they would bind all other men to embrace and receiue them.*

That which followeth, that I make three kinds of interpretation, and affirme, that none haue authoritie ſo to interprete Scripture, as that they may ſubiect all that diſſent from the ſame to excommunication and cenſures of like nature, but Biſhops aſſembled in a general councel, is ſo true, that neither he, nor any other in his right wits will euer deny it. For who hath authoritie ſo to interprete Scripture, as to ſubiect them to excommunication that diſſent, but the gouernors of the church? & who ſo, as to ſubiect all that diſſent, but they that are the gouernors of the whole, as are the Biſhops of the whole Chriſtian church, aſſembled in a generall councell? But, ſaith he, Proteſtants haue neuer had any generall councell; therefore they haue no warranted interpretations of Scripture. If this conſequence be good, the Chriſtians for the ſpace of 300 yeares after Chriſt had no warranted interpretations of Scripture, for till the reigne of *Conſtantine* there was no generall councell. But the Proteſtants can haue no generall councell, therefore they haue not amongſt them the higheſt and ſupreme binding authoritie and iudgement.

Surely

Surely we confeſſe, that being but a part of the Chriſtian church, they cannot haue a Councell abſolutely generall out of themſelues alone; and therefore not hauing the higheſt binding authoritie amongſt them, it being found onely in the whole vniuerſall church, they do not take vpon them ſo to interprete Scriptures, as to ſubiect all to excommunication that refuſe their interpetations, but ſuch particular churches and perſons only as are vnder their iuriſdiction,

The Papiſts indeed in the heighth of their pride being but a part, contemning all other intereſſed in the ſupreme binding iudgement as well as themſelues, aſſume and appropriate it to themſelues alone, in which claime we may rather ſee the height of their pride, then the cleereneſſe of their right: and therefore the [b] *Grecians* impute all the diuiſions and breaches of the Chriſtian world vnto them, in that they preſumed of themſelues without them to interprete the Scriptures, and to define certaine queſtions touching the faith, in ſuch ſort that they ſubiected them to *Anathema* and excommunication, ſo caſting them all into hell as much as lay in them. Theſe inconſiderate proceedings, and raſh cenſures did ſuch harme, that the [c] wiſeſt, moſt religious, & moderate in the Latine church, wiſhed they had neuer bene paſſed, or that they were reuerſed and called backe againe. *But*, ſaith he, *let any man enter into a ſerious conſideration of Proteſtant doctrine in this point; that vnder paine of damnation we are bound to find and followe the trueth; that generall Councels as before, may ſubiect euerie man diſobeying their determinations to excommunication and cenſures of like nature, the moſt terrible and fearefull puniſhment of this world; and all iudgements Eccleſiaſticall, euen generall Councels may erre and haue erred euen in things pertaining to God, as is defined in their Articles, and is commonly taught and beleeued with them: this conſideration is able to put men not regardleſſe of ſaluation, into more then a quaking palſey.*

b *Orat. de cauſ. diſſenſ. Eccleſ. apud Nilum.*

c *Gerſon. part. 4. ſerm. de pace & vnitate Græcorũ.*

What the meaning of the good man is in this paſſage, I do not well conceiue: For I ſee not but all theſe conſiderations may well ſtand together; that the truth is to be found out and followed vpon paine of damnation, that Councels may erre, and yet haue power to ſubiect ſuch as diſobey their determinations to excommunication, the moſt terrible and fearefull puniſhment of this world, without any danger of cauſing men to fall into a quaking palſey. For, are they all in ſtate of damnation that are excommunicated, whether iuſtly or vniuſtly? or may no man ſubiect men to excommunication but he that cannot erre? Surely all men know [d] that not onely Popes and particular Biſhops, but euen generall Councels may erre in matters of fact, and excommunicate a man vniuſtly for reſiſting their determinations. And doth not [e] Saint *Auguſtine* ſhew that by the meanes of preuailing factions, men may be vniuſtly excommunicated, and neuer reſtored to the outward communion of the church againe, and yet die in ſtate of ſaluation? may be rewarded for the patient

d *Turrecrem. lib. 2. de eccleſ. c. 93. Bellar. de Pont. f. Rom. lib. 4. c. p. 11.*

e *Auguſt. de vera Relig. c. 6.*

enduring

enduring of the wrongs offered them by them, by whom they were excommunicate? It is no such absurd thing then, that they may erre, who haue authoritie to excommunicate.

But perhaps his meaning is, that if Councels may erre, there is no certaine way to find out the truth; which yet euerie man is bound vpon perill of damnation to find and follow: and that it is the consideration hereof, that is able to put a man into a quaking palsey.

Surely this man seemeth to feare where there is no feare: for are there no other meanes to find out the truth, when questions and doubts trouble the church, and distract the minds of men, but general Councels? How did the Fathers in the Primitiue church, during the time of the first three hundreth yeares, satisfie themselues, and such as depended of them, in the midst of so many, so horrible and damnable heresies as then rose vp? Doth not [f] *Bellarmine* from hence inferre, that though generall councels be a very fit, and good meanes to end controuersies, and settle the differences that may arise in the church, and so much to be desired, yet if they cannot be had, the truth may be found out by other meanes? yea haue not the Fathers in factious times complained, that they neuer saw good end of any councell? and yet were resolued in matters of the faith, and able to settle others also.

f *Lib. 1. de Concil. cap. 10.*

Chap. 7.

IN this chapter, wherein hee indeauoreth to shew that traditions are of equall authoritie with Scripture, and yet proue the *Romane* religion, he hath these words. *The dignitie and authority of vnwritten and Apostolical traditions being lawfully proued, was euer esteemed such, that M.* Wootton *affirmeth, out of all question we are bound to keepe them, and telleth, that M.* Perkins *was of the same mind.*

This is an ill beginning, for whereas he should proue, that the Apostles deliuered some matters of faith by bare tradition without writing, he bringeth foorth some that say, if it could be proued that any thing was so deliuered, it were to be receiued with no lesse regard then if it had beene written; which is, as if a man should vndertake to proue out of *Paules* Epistles, that the Angels in heauen and Apostles of Christ are to be anathematized and accursed, because he saith, [g] *If we, or an Angell from heauen preach any other doctrine then that ye haue receiued, hold him accursed.*

g Gal. 1.

Wherefore to helpe the matter, and to make some shewe at the least, whereas we say: If any thing could be proued to haue bene deliuered by the Apostles, by tradition, it were no lesse to be esteemed then things of

the same nature written by them; he citeth our words as if we confessed there were certaine vnwritten Apostolicall traditions, which were euer esteemed equall with the Scripture, but not before they were proued to be such: D. *Field*, saith he, *speaketh of such traditions in these words: There is no reason but these should be equall with Scripture: for it is not the writing that giueth these things their authoritie, but the worth and credit of him that deliuereth them, though but by word, and liuely voyce onely.*

In this allegation he wrongeth me no lesse then in other before, for these are not my words, as he vntruly affirmeth against his owne knowledge, but speaking of the diuerse kinds of vnwritten traditions imagined by the Papists, I say. h *All these in their seuerall kinds they make equall with the words, precepts and doctrines of Christ, the Apostles, and Pastors of the Church, left vnto vs in writing; neither is there any reason why they should not do so, if they could proue any such vnwritten verities: for it is not the writing that giueth things their authoritie, but the worth and credit of him that deliuereth them. The onely doubt is, whether there be any such traditions or not?* Is this to acknowledge that there are vnwritten traditions of equall authoritie with the Scriptures? If one of his fellowes should tell him, if he were Pope he could not erre, would he inferre, his fellow were so mad to thinke he could not erre, that doth nothing else but erre, and mistake all that he citeth? But he saith, I adde that *the perpetuall virginitie of our Lady was a tradition, and onely receiued by such authoritie; and so do other Protestants; and that both they and I acknowledge* Heluidius *was condemned of heresie, and iustly for deniall thereof, which could not be, except to deny the doctrine of true traditions were to deny the word of God in their iudgements.*

h Pag. 138.

This is another notable and shamelesse falsification. For, I neither say, the perpetuall virginitie of our Lady was a tradition, nor that *Heluidius* was condemned, and that iustly, for the deniall thereof, but my words are. i *The Canon of Scripture being admitted as deliuered by tradition, though the diuine truth of it be in it selfe cleare, not depending of the Churches authoritie, there is no matter of faith deliuered by bare and onely tradition, as the* Romanists *imagine. The onely cleere instance they seeme to giue, is touching the perpetuall virginitie of* Mary, *which they say cannot be proued by Scripture, and yet is necessary to be beleeued. But they should know that this is no point of Christian faith. That she was a virgine before, in, and after the birth of Christ, we are bound to beleeue as an article of our faith, and so much is deliuered in Scripture, and in the Apostles Creed; but that she continued so euer after is a seemely truth, fitting the sanctitie of the blessed virgine, and is* de pietate, *but not* de necessitate fidei.

i Pag. 140.

Neither was *Heluidius* condemned of heresie for the deniall hereof; but by such as thought it might be proued out of Scripture, or by such as detested and condemned his madnesse and desperate singularitie in

perina-

pertinaciously vrging the deniall of it vpon mis-construction of Scripture, as if the deniall of it had beene a matter of faith. And surely, whatsoeuer this man thinke to the contrarie, k *Melchior Canus* is of opinion that the perpetuall virginitie of *Marie* the mother of our Lord, is not beleeued onely or principally as deliuered by tradition, but that the very consideration of the respect that was due to so sanctified a vessell of the incarnation of the Sonne of God, as was her body, would make vs perswade our selues she neuer knew man after she was so much honored as to be the mother of God.

k *Loc theolog. lib.12.fol.445.*

This consideration no doubt moued the Fathers to be of this opinion, rather then any tradition.

In the next place he setteth downe my discourse and diuision of traditions approued by Protestants in the twentieth chapter of my fourth booke of the Church, leauing out diuerse things in setting downe the same for his most aduantage, as the reader will easily perceiue, if he peruse the place. But to what purpose he produceth this discourse and diuision of mine, I know not.

For first, if he thinke that I now yeeld more vnto them in the matter of traditions, then our Diuines heretofore haue done, as he seemeth to do, in that he saith, though vntruly, that I preuent and confute the vsuall obiections of Protestants about the doctrine of traditions, hee is greatly deceiued.

For *Chemnitius* in his *Examen* of the *Tridentine* Councel admitteth all those kinds of traditions which I haue deliuered. I will set downe his discourse in his own words, that the reader may see he saith fully as much as I haue done.

l *De tradit. ex 1. decreto 4. sessionis*

Primum genus traditionum est, quod Apostoli tradiderunt doctrinam viuâ voce, sed illa postea in scriptura literis consignata est.

Secundum genus traditionum est, quod Libri Scripturæ sacræ non interruptâ serie temporum, sicut Augustinus loquitur, & certâ connexionis successione ab Ecclesiâ custoditi, & fideliter ad posteros transmissi, nobisque quasi per manus traditi sunt.

Tertium genus traditionum constituimus illud, de quo loquuntur Irenæus *lib.3*, & Tertullianus *de Præscript: Recitant autem quid sit illud quod ex traditione probant, & sunt illi ipsi articuli fidei, quos Symbolum Apostolicum complectitur. Illos autem in scripturâ multis manifestis testimonijs tradi nullum est dubium.*

Quartum genus traditionum est, de expositione, vero sensu, seu natiuâ sententiâ scripturæ.

Quintum genus traditionum constituimus illud, quod Patres aliquando ita vocant illa dogmata quæ non totidem literis & syllabis in scripturâ ponuntur, sed bonâ, certâ, firmâ & manifestâ Ratiocinatione ex perspicuis scripturæ testimonijs colliguntur. Sextum genus traditionum constituimus

illud, quod de Catholico Patrum consensu dicitur. Septimum genus traditionum est, quod vbi Veteres mentionem faciunt traditionum non scriptarum, proprie non intelligunt dogmata fidei, extra & præter Scripturam recipienda, etiamsi nullo Scripturæ testimonio probare possunt, sed de ritibus & consuetudinibus quibusdam vetustis loquuntur, quos propter antiquitatem ad Apostolos retulerunt. Verisimile est quosdam etiam alios externos ritus, qui in scripturâ annotati non sunt, ab Apostolis traditos esse, & nullis quidem certis & firmis documentis probari potest qui sunt ritus certò ab Apostolis traditi, qui ex Scripturâ ostendi non possunt.

These are the words of *Chemnitius*, whereby it appeareth, that hee admitteth all those kinds of tradition which I do, and yet reiecteth the imagined traditions of Papists. D.[m] *Whitakers* likewise acknowledgeth, that the Apostles of Christ ordained and appointed in the churches certaine rites, and obseruations for order and comelinesse, which they did not commit to writing, because they were not of necessitie to be perpetually obserued in one and the same sort, but dispenseable according to the circumstance of times and places. This he proueth out of the first to the *Corinthians*, the 11 and 14 chapters.

m *Whitak. disp. de sacra script. quæst. 6. contro. 2. cap. 6.*

Secondly, if he thinke their erronious opinion touching traditions, may be inferred from any thing that I acknowledge, hee seemeth to be too weake in vnderstanding, and not to knowe what the state of the question is betweene them and vs; for the question is not, whether there be any traditions or not, but whether (it being first supposed, that the Prophets, Apostles, and other holy men of God left vnto posterities diuine and sacred bookes, and it being agreed vpon, which they are) they containe all things necessarie to be knowne and practised by Christian men, for the attaining of euerlasting life and saluation. We say, they do.

Neither can he proue the contrarie out of any thing writen by me. For I acknowledge nothing to haue beene deliuered by tradition but the bookes of Scripture, things therein in some sort conteined, and certaine dispenseable obseruations not at all, or hardly to be discerned from Ecclesiasticall constitutions.

Let vs see therefore what he can conclude out of any thing that I haue written for the confirmation of the *Romish* error. *To make*, saith he, *a short reflexion vpon his doctrine; by his first rule of traditions, he must graunt vnto vs which I haue proued before at large, that all those bookes which the Romane Church approueth for Scripture, together with the speciall doctrines of prayer for the dead, to Angels, &c. are traditions: for* D. *Field, and his rules do so assure vs.*

It seemeth my case is harder then I was ware of, and my danger greater then I supposed it had bin. But what are those rules assigned by me which assure vs that all the books approued by the *Romane* church are canonical?

Haue

Haue they beene euer holden to be so? Haue the most famous in all ages, or at the least, in diuerse ages constantly deliuered them vnto vs as receiued by them from those that went before them, no man doubting of them? Did the Pastors of any Apostolicall church in the world successiuely deliuer them as canonicall to their after-commers? He knoweth they did not. For as I haue [n] elsewhere proued, *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis*, *Origen*, *Athanasius*, *Hilary*, *Nazianzene*, *Cyrill*, *Epiphanius*, the councell of *Laodicea*, *Ruffinus*, *Hierome*, *Gregorie*, *Damascene*, *Hugo de Sancto Victore*, *Richardus de Sancto Victore*, *Petrus Cluniacensis*, *Lyranus*, *Dionysius Carthusianus*, *Hugo Cardinalis*, *Thomas Aquinas*, *Occham*, *Picus Mirandula*, *Waldensis*, *Armachanus*, *Driedo*, *Caietane*, and all the most famous Diuines in all ages reiect them, saue only *Augustine*, the 3 councell of *Carthage*, and some few other; who yet as *Caietane* thinketh, receiued them not as absolutely canonicall, but in a sort onely, in that they containe a conuenient good direction of manners. The Reader, I doubt not, will easily see his folly in this point. But it may be, the speciall doctrines of prayer for the dead, and to Angels, whereof he speaketh, will be found Apostolicall traditions, by those rules that I allow of. Surely no, for howsoeuer it was a most ancient and laudable custome of the church to remember the names of the dead at the holy Altar, and table of the Lord, with desire of their and our final consummation & publique acquitall in the day of Christ, and some particular men doubtfully extended the same practise and custome farther to the mitigating, suspending, or totall remouing, and taking away of the punishments of Christian men dying in the state of mortall sinne; yet the Popish opinion of Purgatorie, and prayer to deliuer men from thence, were not once heard of in the Primitiue church, nor are yet receiued by the greatest part of the Christian world.

n Page 247. & 248. of the 4. Booke of the Church.

Touching prayer to Angels, it was condemned by the Apostle Saint *Paule*, the councell of *Laodicea*, [o] *Augustine*, and [p] *Theodoret*; but that the church did inuocate Angels from the beginning, that the most famous in all ages did teach men so to do, or the Pastors of any Apostolicall church successiuely one after another, which are my rules he speaketh of, nether he, nor any Papist liuing can euer proue.

o *Aug. de vera relig. cap. 55.*

p *Theodoret. in Epist. ad Coloss. citat. Synod. Laodicen.*

The second thing he would inferre out of my words is, that we must of necessitie resort to the *Romish* church to knowe and learne the forme of Christian doctrine, the explication of the seuerall parts thereof, and the obscurities of Scripture, for that I say the Apostles deliuered the forme of Christian doctrine as a tradition to posterities, and no posterity of Protestants can be of this posteritie, because both their priorities and posterities denie traditions.

Thus then the good Author reasoneth. The Protestants are none of those posterities to which the forme of Christian doctrine hath bene deri-

ned from the Apoſtles by the line of ſucceſſion; therefore we muſt reſort to the *Romane* church to know it.

The antecedent of this argument he proueth, becauſe, as he ſaith, both priorities and poſtericies of Proteſtants deny all traditions. Surely the man committeth ſo many faults in this one ſilly argument, that I knowe not well, what firſt to except againſt: For neither is it conſequent, that if Proteſtants bee not of that poſteritie to which the forme of Chriſtian doctrine was commended and deliuered from the Apoſtles, that we muſt of neceſſitie ſeeke to the *Romane* church to learne it.

Neither do Proteſtants deny all traditions, as he vntruly affirmeth, but onely the falſe imagined, and vaine traditions of Papiſts and other hereticks. We therefore to ſilence this trifler, do profeſſe, that the forme of Chriſtian doctrine is not to be ſought in the *Romane* church alone, or the other Chriſtian churches that now preſently are in the world, but in the conſenting voice of Paſtors and people ſucceeding one another; they that went before euer reporting and deliuering to them that came after them, the things they had learned of their elders, that ſo what doctrine the Apoſtles firſt deliuered, might by their after-commers bee deliuered to all poſterities.

Of theſe poſterities we profeſſe our ſelues to be, receiuing without any doubt or queſtioning, whatſoeuer we find to haue bene deliuered in all places, at all times, by all Chriſtian men, not noted for hereſie or ſingularity, and reiecting thoſe things that haue no teſtimony of antiquitie: as the Popes not erring, his vniuerſalitie of iuriſdiction, his power and right to diſpoſe the kingdomes of the world, priuate Maſſes, halfe communions, Papall indulgences, and all ſuch things as any way carrie the marke of noueltie and ſingularitie. *But*, ſaith he, D. Field *in the fourth and fifth kinds of traditions ſpeaketh of them in the plurall number, and yet giueth no example of the fourth, but the baptiſme of infants, nor of the fifth and laſt, but the obſeruation of Lent, and Sonday, or the Lords day: therefore he muſt ſeeke for more then he remembreth, and conſequently, in all equall iudgement, as many articles of Catholique religion, as we claime by tradition.*

The anſwer hereunto is eaſie; for touching the fourth kinde of tradition I define it to be the continued practiſe of ſuch things, as are neither contained in Scripture expreſſely, nor the example of ſuch practiſe there clearely, and expreſſely deliuered, though the grounds, reaſons and cauſes of the neceſſitie of ſuch practiſe be there contained, and the benefit or good that followeth of it.

The onely example I giue of this kind of tradition, is the baptiſme of infants; yet may I ſpeake in the plurall number, as I doe, becauſe not onely the baptiſme of infants is of this ſort, but many very materiall things belonging thereunto; as that in time of danger of death, they are to bee baptiſed with all poſſible ſpeede, leſt wee ſeeme to contemne

or

or neglect the Sacrament: that this may bee done in priuate houſes, either by dipping, or ſprinckling, as well before as after the eighth daye.

If this Author can tell vs of any more examples of things of this kind, the neceſſitie whereof may be proued out of Scripture, though the practiſe of them be not there expreſſed, we will admit them, but they will make nothing for the confirmation of Popiſh vnwritten traditions, ſeeing ſuch things are written in reſpect of the cauſes and grounds of the neceſſitie of obſeruing them, though not by way of expreſſe precept, or report of practiſe; and therefore it will not followe from any thing that I haue ſayd in the iudgement of any man, though not indifferent nor equall, that I muſt admit ſo many articles of religion, as Papiſts ſhall be pleaſed to claime by tradition.

Of the fifth and laſt kind of traditions, which he deuideth into two, though I make but one. I giue but onely one example; which is the obſeruation of the Lords day, which yet appeareth by [q] Scripture to haue bene in vſe euen in the Apoſtles times. q Reuel.1,10.

For touching the Lent faſt, I do not giue it for an example, as hee vntruely reporteth, but onely hauing deſcribed the fifth kind of traditions, ſay, that ſome thinke the Lent faſt, and the faſt of the fourth & ſixth dayes of the weeke, to be of this kind.

The next thing which he vrgeth in his reflexion vpon my doctrine, as he termeth it, is, that if the traditions of the laſt kinde bee confounded with Eccleſiaſticall conſtitutions, as I ſay they are, that wee might the more reuerence the conſtitutions of the church, we muſt at laſt recant our contempt and diſlike againſt them.

For anſwere hereunto, I will firſt ſhew that the traditions of the laſt ſort, are ſo confounded with Eccleſiaſticall conſtitutions, that it can hardly be certainely knowne which they are. Secondly, that we neuer diſliked the ancient conſtitutions of the primitiue and firſt church, and therefore need not recant any ſuch diſlike. That Apoſtolicall traditions of the laſt kinde are confounded with Eccleſiaſticall conſtitutions, it is moſt cleare and euident, in that ſome reckon one thing, and ſome another; and our aduerſaries dare not peremptorily ſay, which amongſt thoſe traditions diuerſely and differently mentioned by the Fathers, are Apoſtolicall, and which not. [r] *Tertullian* accounteth all theſe following to be Apoſtolicall traditions; thriſe dipping of them that are baptized; the interrogatories, reſpondes, and words of ſacred ſtipulation vſed in Baptiſme; the renouncing of the Diuell, his Angels, and the pompe of the world when wee come to the water of Baptiſme; and before in the preſence of the Biſhop; the fore taſting of milke and honey, and the abſtaining from bathing and waſhing a whole weeke after; the taking, or receiuing of the holie Sacrament in the time of r *Tertul. de corona militis.*

ordinarie repaſt, oblations for the dead, and for their birth-dayes euery yeare the ſame day they died, ſtanding at prayers on the Lords day, and from Eaſter to Whitſontide, and the ſigning of mens fore-heads with the ſigne of the croſſe, *Harum*, ſaith he, *& aliarum eiuſmodi diſciplinarum ſi legem expoſtules Scripturarum, nullam inuenies: traditio tibi prætendetur auctrix, conſuetudo confirmatrix, fides obſeruatrix:* that is, Of theſe and the like obſeruations if thou ſeeke for any written law or precept, thou ſhalt find none. Tradition wil be alleaged vnto thee, as author of them, cuſtome as the confirmer, and faith as the obſeruer. Hereunto ſome [s] adde, praying towards the Eaſt, [t] baptiſing at Eaſter and Whitſontide onely; *Hierome* accounteth the Lent faſt amongſt traditions of this ſort. His words are. [u] *Nos vnam quadrageſimam ſecundum traditionem Apoſtolorum toto anno, tempore nobis congruo, ieiunamus:* We faſt one Lent according to the tradition of the Apoſtles in the whole yeare, at a fit and ſeaſonable time; to whom [x] *Ianſenius* agreeth, ſaying, that the obſeruation of the Lent faſt ſeemeth to haue proceeded from the tradition of the Apoſtles, which though perhaps it did not bind all by any expreſſe precept from the beginning; yet being kept in all ages, and in all parts of the world, had the ſtrength and force of a law.

s *Baſil. de Spiritu Sancto, cap. 27.*
t *Leo epiſt. 4. vniuerſ. Epiſc. per Siciliam.*
u *Hieronym. ad Marcell. aduerſ. Montan.*
x *In concord. Euang. c. 15.*

I thinke there is no Papiſt will ſay certainely that all theſe were Apoſtolicall traditions, but whether they do or not, it is moſt certaine they thinke themſelues no more bound to keepe them then meere Eccleſiaſticall conſtitutions, which are eſtabliſhed by the authoritie of the church, and may by the ſame bee abrogated and reuerſed againe, in that the moſt part of all theſe are out of vſe in the *Romane* church. For they thinke not thriſe dipping neceſſarie, following therein the authoritie of [y] Saint *Gregorie*; they fore-taſte not milke and honey, nor milke and wine when they are baptized; they abſtaine not from bathing a whole weeke after baptiſme; they ſtand not at their prayers from Eaſter to Whitſontide, nor on the Lords dayes; they keepe not the Lent faſt, as the Primitiue church did, and as all other churches of *Greece*, *Armenia* and *Æthiopia* do to this day by eating nothing till night, and by abſtaining from wine, ſtrong drinke, and whatſoeuer is pleaſing; but they make a meere mocke of God and men in their obſeruation of Lent, and other faſts, in ſaying a part of their Euen-ſong in the morning, that ſo after the ending thereof, at dinner time men may be thought to go to ſupper, and to do as the Fathers did, that did eate nothing on their faſting daies, till the euening; they faſt not the Wedneſday, which in the primitiue church was faſted as preciſely as Friday, but in ſteed hereof they faſte on Saturday, which anciently was not faſted in many churches, nor yet is in the churches of the Eaſt; they baptize at any time in the yeare; If they haue diſuſed and left off theſe obſeruations, as no doubt they will profeſſe

y *Greg. lib. 1. epiſt. 41.*

feſſe they haue, let them not thinke that we contemne or condemne all thoſe ancient cuſtoms which we vſe not, but haue a due reſpect to circumſtances of times, and the different ſtates of things.

Tertullian and the ancient, thought it *Nefas*, an vnlawfull thing to kneele at prayers on the Lords day: wee thinke it very lawfull, fit, and ſeemely; yet are we not contrary to the Fathers. They ſuffered none to be baptized, but only at *Eaſter* and *Whitſontide*, we admit men to baptize at all times; they dipped thoſe whom they baptized, thriſe; we but once: they ſigned themſelues with the ſigne of the croſſe, when they went out, and when they came in, when they put on, and when they put off their apparell; we by reaſon of the abuſe of this harmeleſſe ceremony, in that it was vſed by the *Romaniſts*, not as an outward profeſſion of their faith in him that was crucified, or a ſilent innocation of his name, but to driue away Diuels, ſtill tempeſts, cure diſeaſes, and remit veniall ſinnes, *ex opere operato*, vſe this ceremony more ſparingly; yet do we not wholly neglect it, but ſigne our new baptized infants with this glorious marke and character of the crucified Sauiour of the world: they mingled water with that wine which they conſecrated in the bleſſed Sacrament, becauſe euen in ordinary vſe their wines being hot, were wont ſo to be allayed; we not hauing the like reaſon of mixture, mingle not water with wine in the Sacrament, as likewiſe the *Armenians* do not, yet are we not contrary to the ancient Chriſtians, nor contemners of old obſeruations.

So that to conclude this poynt, we approue the ſaying of *Hierome*, anſwering the queſtion whether it were lawfull to faſt on the Saturday, or not. His words are: [z] *Ego illud te breuiter admonendum puto, traditiones Eccleſiaſticas, præſertim quæ fidei non officiant, ita obſeruandas vt à maioribus traditæ ſunt, nec aliorum conſuetudinem aliorum contrario more ſubuerti: atque vtinam omni tempore ieiunare poſſemus, quod in Actibus Apoſtolorum diebus Pentecoſtes & die Dominico Apoſtolum Paulum, & cum eo credentes feciſſe legimus: nec tamen Manichææ hæreſeos accuſandi ſunt, cum carnalis cibus præferri non debeat ſpirituali, nec hoc dico quod Dominicis diebus ieiunandum putem, & contextas ſexaginta Diebus ferias auferam, ſed vnaquæq; prouincia abundet in ſenſu ſuo, et præcepta maiorum leges Apoſtolicas arbitretur.* Wherefore let vs proceed to ſee if hee haue any thing elſe to ſay in this his reflection, as he calleth it, vpon my doctrine.

z Hierony. ad Lucinium.

His fourth allegation is, that the rules I aſſigne cannot tell of any traditions to aduantage Proteſtants which deny traditions; but that both traditions and rules to know them, muſt of neceſſitie belong to the church Apoſtolique of *Rome*, being in this queſtion a rule of it ſelfe, as I haue declared.

Surely it ſeemeth the good man knoweth not what he ſaith: for in the beginning of this chapter hee affirmeth, though falſly, that I acknowledge the perpetuall virginitie of our Lady to be a tradition, and onely

receiued

receiued by ſuch authority, and other Proteſtants do ſo likewiſe. And in the end of the chapter, he bringeth in his Maieſty, the Biſhop of *Winchester*, and Doctor *Couell*, admitting diuers traditions; and yet heere he ſaith, Proteſtants admit no traditions. If hee ſay, that they now admit them, but formerly did not, he is refuted by *Brentius* & *Chemnitius* before cited; who though they deny, as we do, that there is any article of faith, or materiall & ſubſtantiall poynt of Chriſtian doctrine deliuered by bare tradition, and not written, yet acknowledge all thoſe kindes of traditions that we now do.

In that which he hath, that the rules aſſigned by me, can tell of no traditions that aduantage Proteſtants, and that therefore both traditions and rules to know them, muſt of neceſſity belong to the church Apoſtolique of *Rome*, there are not a few, but very many and groſſe faults committed: For firſt, the conſequence is naught:

The rules to know true traditions from falſe, can tell of none to aduantage Proteſtants; therefore they belong to the *Romiſh* church: and is no leſſe abſurd, then if a man ſhould conclude in this ſort. *Parſons* the Ieſuite is not a Cardinall, though he had once skarlet brought to his lodging in *Rome* to make his robes, as *Watſon* teſtifieth: therefore the author of theſe pretended proofes hath right to put on thoſe robes. For as there are other fit to be Cardinals, though neither *Parſons* nor this good author be; ſo there are other ſocieties of Chriſtians in the world beſides the *Romaniſts* and Proteſtants, to which traditions & rules to know them, may pertaine, if Proteſtants haue no claime to them. But the *Romane* church is an Apoſtolical church plãted by the Apoſtles of Chriſt, & receiuing an Epiſtle from bleſſed *Paul*, wherein ſhe is commended: therefore in my iudgement ſhe hath not onely claime to traditions, but is a rule to know them by.

This conſequence is as bad as the former; for I doe not make the preſent profeſſion, teſtimony, or iudgment of euery Apoſtolical church to be a rule to know true traditions by, ſeeing there would be no certainty in ſuch a rule: the preſent profeſſion of the Apoſtolicall churches of *Rome*, *Epheſus*, *Sardis*, and *Philadelphia*, being contrary the one to the other; but the conſtant teſtimony that the Paſtors of ſuch a church haue giuen from the beginning. But his Maieſtie in open Parliament acknowledged, the *Romane* church to be our mother church; therefore we muſt beleeue in all things as ſhe doth, and by no meanes forſake her, or depart from her.

For the clearing of the meaning of this ſpeech of his Maieſty, and the ſilencing of theſe cauillers, we muſt note, that the churches of Chriſt in the world are of two ſorts: for ſome were planted by the Apoſtles themſelues, or their coadiutors the Euangeliſts by their directions, which are named Apoſtolicall churches; and ſome other there are, that receiued not the faith immediatly from the Apoſtles or their coadiutors, but from the

the churches which the Apoſtles had planted.

The former of theſe were euer eſteemed to be mother churches, in reſpect of the later. So the churches of *Alexandria*, *Antioche*, *Epheſus*, and the like, were mother churches to many famous churches in thoſe parts of the world; and ſo the *Romane* church is a mother church to many churches of the Weſt, that receiued their Chriſtianity and faith from her: neither may the daughter churches, as his Maieſty excellently obſerued, depart farther from thoſe mother churches, from which they receiued the faith, then they are departed from themſelues in their beſt eſtate, and firſt eſtabliſhment: but as the *Romaniſts* thinke it lawful for the daughter churches of the Eaſt to depart from thoſe their mother churches, from which they reciued their faith, becauſe, as they ſuppoſe, they are gone from their firſt faith: ſo we thinke with his Maieſty, that wee may iuſtly depart from our mother church of *Rome*, becauſe ſhe hath forſaken her firſt faith commended by the Apoſtle, and is ſo farre changed, that a man may ſeeke *Rome* in *Rome*, and not finde it.

That which he addeth, that no rules can leade vs to the finding out of any traditions that aduantage vs, is moſt vntrue: For the certaine and indubitate tradition, whereby the Scriptures are deliuered vnto vs from the Apoſtles of Chriſt, doth aduantage vs ſo much, that thereby the Papacy is almoſt ſhaken to peeeces; and beſides, the forme of Chriſtian doctrine, and catholique interpretation of Scripture, brought downe vnto vs from the Apoſtles, diſcouereth vnto vs the nouelties and ſingularities of the *Romaniſts*, to our great aduantage, and confirmation in the truth of our profeſſion.

Hauing thus in his fancie engroſſed all traditions, and appropriated them to the preſent *Romane* church, he goeth forward and inferreth out of my admitting ſome kinde of traditions, and aſſigning rules to know them, that diuers particular things which hee ſpecifieth, are traditions. The two firſt inſtances that he giueth, are the ſigne of the croſſe, & the mingling of water with wine in the holy Sacrament, whereof I haue ſpoken before. The third, is the reuerence of Images, which hee ſaith, is by my rules, proued to be an Apoſtolicall tradition. It is well hee dareth not ſay, the worſhipping of Images is proued to be Apoſtolicall, for that by [a] S. *Gregory* and the Fathers, it will bee proued to bee rather a Diabolicall then an Apoſtolicall tradition.

a *Greg. lib. 9. epiſt. 9.*

Wherefore let vs ſee what thoſe rules are that proue the reuerence of Images to be Apoſtolical, ſeeing it is euident [b] the church had them not at all for a long time, and [c] *Euſebius* aſſureth vs, the making and hauing of them, was by imitation of Heatheniſh cuſtome. *The rules*, ſaith hee, *that proue this, are the Paſtors of the Apoſtolicall Churches in the ſecond* Nicene *Councell, and old cuſtome*; but theſe are no rules aſſigned by me: For I neuer admit the iudgement of the preſent Paſtors of Apoſtolicall churches

b *Auguſt. in Pſalm. 113.*

c *Euſeb. lib. 7. hiſtor. cap. 17.*

ches, or custome to be rules to know true traditions by, and therfore much lesse make the Bishops in the second Councell of *Nice* to be rules of this sort; but the consenting profession of the Pastours of an Apostolicall Church, successiuely from the beginning, and the generall and perpetuall obseruation of a thing from the time that Christianity was first knowne in the world, by neither of which he shall euer proue, either the worshipping or reuerencing of Images, to be Apostolicall.

The fourth thing that he saith by my rules is found to be an Apostolical tradition, is sacrifice, and praier for the dead; but herein hee is deceiued, or goeth about to deceiue others, as in the rest: For it is true indeede, that the offering of the sacrifice of praise and thankesgiuing, the naming of the dead, and praier for their and our ioynt consummation and publique acquitall in the day of Christ, is such an Apostolicall tradition as hath ground in Scripture; but he can neuer proue, that the offering of a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead, or praier to deliuer them out of purgatory paines, was deliuered as a tradition frō the Apostles, by any of my rules, to wit, consent of Fathers from the beginning, or continued practize from the Apostles times.

The like I say of his fifth instance, for he cannot proue the vow of single life in Priests to haue bene from the beginning; but I haue largely proued the contrary in my fifth booke of the Church. So that the vow of single life is not proued out of any of the rules set downe by mee to be an Apostolicall tradition. Wherefore let vs proceede to the rest of his instances.

Hee telleth vs in the next place, that we may resolue with the ancient Fathers, that Reliques to be reuerenced is a tradition, because M. *Willet* telleth vs, *Vigilantius* was condemned of heresie for denying it.

Surely it is greatly to be doubted, that he is not a sound and perfect *Romish* Catholique, for that hee dareth not say the worshipping of Images and Reliques, is a tradition, but misseth the matter, and saith only, the reuerencing of them is a tradition. For touching the reuerence of Reliques, if he meane nothing else thereby, but the reuerent, and honorable laying vp of such parts of the bodyes of Gods Saints, as come to our hands, it is a Christian duty that we stand bound vnto, so that not onely M *Willet*, but we all thinke *Vigilantius* was iustly condemned, if he either despised, or contemptuously vsed the dead bodies of the Saints.

Neither neede we flye to vnwritten tradition to seeke proofes for the necessity of this duty, for they are plentiously found in Scripture; but if he meane by the reuerencing of Reliques, the shewing of them to be touched and adored, wee thinke it impiety, and know it was forbidden by
p *Greg. lib. 30. Epist. 30.* p S. *Gregory*, who condemneth the bringing forth of any parts of the bodies of Gods Saints departed, into the sight of men, to be seene or handled of them.

That

That particular and perſonall abſolution from ſinne after confeſſion, is an Apoſtolicall and godly ordinance, which is his next inſtance, we make no doubt; but deny, that it is an vnwrittē ordinance; neither can this good man proue it ſo to be. For doth Chriſt in Scripture giue the keyes of the kingdome of heauen to the Apoſtles and their ſucceſſors, with power to binde, and power to looſe, with power to remit, and power to retaine ſinnes? and is it not a written verity, that particular abſolution is neceſſary? His Maieſty, on whom he fathereth this tradition, did moſt learnedly, and excellently diſtinguiſh in the conference hee mentioneth, three kindes of abſolution from ſin, making the firſt to bee the freeing of men from ſuch puniſhments of Almighty God, as ſinne ſubiecteth them vnto, in that they offend him; and this is proper to God, in that he only hath power not to puniſh, that hath power to puniſh; and the Miniſters of the Church concurre hereunto no otherwiſe, but onely by bringing men by force of the Word and Sacraments into ſuch an eſtate, wherein God finding them, will not puniſh them.

The ſecond kind of abſolution, is the freeing of men from the cenſures of ſuſpenſion, excommunication, penitentiall corrections, and ſuch puniſhments as the church may inflict; and in this kinde the Church may properly be ſaid to abſolue.

The third kinde of abſolution, is the comfortable aſſuring of men vpon the vnderſtanding of their eſtate, that they ſhal eſcape Gods fearefull puniſhments.

In theſe two later ſorts the Miniſters of the Church haue power to abſolue, and perſonall abſolution in either of theſe ſences is rightly ſaid to bee an Apoſtolicall and godly ordinance; but it is a written ordinance, and not an vnwritten tradition, which is the thing that this man ſhould proue.

There is another kinde of abſolution imagined by the Papiſts; which is a ſacramentall act, giuing grace *ex opere operato*, to the remiſſion of ſinnes, which is not an Apoſtolicall ordinance, but an inuention of their owne, whereof I haue ſpoken [q] elſe where.

Touching the miniſtration of baptiſme by priuate perſons in the time of neceſſity, it is not ſaid to bee an vnwritten tradition by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and therefore it is not to this purpoſe; no more then that Biſhops are ſaid to be *Diuinæ ordinationis*; ſeeing the diſtinct degrees of Biſhops and Presbyters are proued out of the Scripture. That confirmation is an Apoſtolicall tradition, we confeſſe; but it is a written tradition, both in reſpect of the firſt practiſe of it by the Apoſtles, who laid their hands on ſuch as were baptized by others; from which authority, the cuſtome of impoſing hands doth come, as [r] *Hieromy* teſtifieth; as alſo in reſpect of the neceſſity of the continuance of it, in that the Apoſtle to the [ſ] *Hebrewes*, reckoneth the impoſition of hands together with the doctrine of baptiſmes

q Appendix to the 3. booke of the Church. cap. 24.

r *Hieron contra Luciferian.*

ſ Chap. 6.

baptiſmes, amongſt the foundations of Chriſtian religion. We doubt not therefore, but it is a fitting thing that the Biſhop ſhould confirme by impoſition of hands, thoſe that are baptized by others, but it is rather for the honour of Prieſthood, then the neceſſity of any law, as *Hierome* teſtifieth; for that otherwiſe they were in a woful caſe, who in places farre remote, dye before the Biſhop can come to them, if none could receiue the ſpirit of God but by the impoſition of his hands. It is therefore a ſacramentall complement not to be neglected, but not a Sacrament. But this good man will proue it to be a Sacrament. Firſt, becauſe, as hee ſaith, it is ſo ioined by vs with baptiſme. And ſecondly, becauſe it hath both a viſible ſigne and grace by the communion-booke reuiued. It ſeemeth he was neuer any good diſputer, he bringeth ſo many weake and ſilly arguments, and yet vrgeth them as if they were vnanſwerable.

t Hier. vbi ſupra.

Surely theſe reaſons will bee found too weake to proue confirmation a Sacrament, if they fall into the hands of any one that will take the paines to examine them. For firſt, if he meane, that it is ioyned by vs with baptiſme as a Sacrament, he is greatly deceiued, ſeeing wee ioyne it onely as a Sacramentall complement. And ſecondly, though it haue an outward ſigne, and inuiſible grace; yet the ſigne is not ſo much a ſigne of that grace which the Biſhop impoſing hands by his praier obtaineth for the confirmation of the parties he layeth his hands vpon, as a ſigne of limitation, or reſtraint, ſpecifying and ſetting out the partie on whom he deſireth God to powre his confirming grace: and therefore it hath not the nature of a Sacrament, wherin there muſt be a viſible ſigne of that grace that is conferred. Secondly, becauſe, though the Biſhop ouerſhadowing the party by the impoſition of his hands, do in a ſort expreſſe & reſemble the hand of God ſtretched forth for the protecting, aſſiſting, & ſafe keeping of the party, which is an inuiſible grace, yet it followeth not that it is a Sacrament: for the u fiery and clouen tongues, were a viſible ſigne of that gracious gift of the ſpirit which the Apoſtles receiued in the day of *Pentecoſt*, enabling them with all fiery zeale to publiſh the myſteries of Gods kingdome in all the ſeuerall languages of the world; yet were they no Sacraments, as x *Bellarmine* noteth, becauſe the grace whereof theſe fiery tongues were a ſigne, was not giuen by force of this ſigne, as a ſet meane appointed by almighty God: So in like ſort, the impoſition of hands is a ſigne of protecting, aſſiſting, and ſafe keeping grace, not giuen or obtained by the due vſe of this ſigne, as in Sacraments, but to bee obtained by the prayers of the Biſhop, and Church of God.

u Acts. 2.

x Bellar de Sacram. in genere.

That which hee hath out of *Baſil*, is to little purpoſe; for I hope, he thinketh not the doctrine of the Trinity to bee holden by bare and onely tradition, without the warrant of the written word of God. And if Saint *Baſil* reckon the forme of wordes, wherein wee profeſſe our faith

faith in the blessed Trinitie, to bee a tradition, it proueth nothing against vs, seeing the thing so professed is conteined in Scripture.

That the ordaining of Bishops in Dioceses to rule their churches, and Metropolitanes in prouinces to call and moderate Synodes, was an Apostolicall tradition, we make no question; but we deny it to bee an vnwritten tradition. For whereas in the *Acts* y *Paul* sendeth for the Presbyters of *Ephesus* to *Miletum*, in the z *Reuelation* it appeareth by the Epistles of the Spirit of God, directed to the seuen churches of *Asia*, that amongst many Presbyters feeding the flocke of Christ in *Ephesus*, there was one chiefe, who had a kinde of eminent power, who is named the Angell of the Church, and who is commended or reproued for all things done well or ill within the limits and bounds of the same.

y Acts 20.
z Reuel. 2.

That the Bishop of *Winchester* saith, the Article of Christs descending into hell, and the Creed wherein it is conteined, is an Apostolicall tradition, deliuered to the Church by the direction and agreement of the Apostles, is nothing but that we all say. Neither is the Popish conceit touching vnwritten Articles of religion, thereby confirmed: for howsoeuer the Creede of the Apostles may bee said to bee a tradition in respect of the orderly collection of the principall heades of Christian faith into a briefe summe and Epitome, which are scatered heere and there in Scripture; yet no Article of this Creed is beleeued or receiued by bare and onely tradition, but they are all proued out of Scripture, as that worthy and learned Bishop doth most excellently confirme and proue the Article of Christs descending into hell out of the same.

After these particular instances, this author groweth to a generall conclusion, and asketh why we may not say with the Councell of *Florence*, cited by M. *Willet* for generall, and the Patriarches of the Apostolique Seas there present, with the Councell of *Constance* not of vnequall authority, and the Councell of *Trent*, that Protestancy in all points is false, and Catholique religion true?

It seemeth the good man is neere driuen, and hath spent all his strength in this tedious discourse of Traditions, and therefore in the conclusion hee taketh a strange course: for insteed of prouing by the testimonies of Protestants, as hee vndertooke, that *Romish* religion is true, and Protestancy false, hee asketh, why hee may not say, with the Councels of *Florence*, *Constance*, and *Trent*, that Protestants religion is false, and the *Romish* profession true?

Touching the Councell of *Trent*, it is of so great authority with vs, that if hee had beene pleased to let vs knowe his name, and

and vrge his owne authority, we would as soone haue listned vnto him, as to that Councel in any thing it hath defined touching the controuersies that are betweene vs and the Papists: for we know, that howsoeuer there wanted not many learned and worthy men in that meeting, that opposed themselues mainly against many things there questioned, and in conclusion agreed vpon, they were forced to giue way to the preuailing faction. I will giue one example in steede of many, [a] touching the certaine knowledge each man hath of his owne estate, whether he be in grace or not.

a *Vega. defens. trident. decr. de iustif. l. 9. c 7.*

There was great opposition in that meeting, many protesting, [b] that the authors of vncertainty would bring in a worse errour, then any was imputed to *Luther*; yet the conclusiō passed against them, though in [c] some ambiguity of words and termes, to giue them some contentment: the like might be said touching the authority of the vulgar translation, and sundry other things, as it appeareth by the confession of their owne Diuines there present.

b *Ibid. cap. 46.*
c *Ibid. ca. 8.*

Wherefore to passe by that Councell, and to come to the Councels of *Florence* and *Constance*, I maruaile that this man dareth say, they are of equall authority, whereas Cardinal [d] *Bellarmine* reckoneth the *Florentine* Councell amongst those that are absolutely approued, and that of *Constance* amongst those that are partly approued, and partly reiected; in which number hee doth likewise account the Councell of *Basil.* But it may bee he is of the faction of the *French*, who deny the Councell of *Florence* to be generall, [e] who neither would come to it when it was holden, nor receiue the decrees of it when it was concluded.

d *Bellar. de Concil. cap. 7.*

e *Andrad. de Script & trad. authorit. lib. 2.*

It is true indeed that many Bishops of the *Orientall* and *Greeke* Churches were there, and many of them consented with the *Latines*, in hope of helpe from them against their barbarous and cruel enemies, so that it may carry some shew of a general Councel; but the Patriarch of *Constantinople* was dead before the conclusion. Some protested against the vnion there agreed on; the churches of the East would not admit it, as being concluded by their Bishops that were there without commission from them, and therefore do not account it a lawful, free, general Councel. *But* (saith he) *the Patriarches of the Apostolique Seas of Alexandria and Antioche, were present with the Bishop of Rome, and subscribed to the decrees and conclusions of that Councell, therefore it must be accounted generall.*

The antecedent of this argument is most false and vntrue: for the Patriarches of the Apostolique Seas, were not there in person, but others supplyed their places; neither can he say it was all one, as if they had bene personally present, seeing what their Vicegerents did in their names, in all likelihood they would haue done, if they had bene present; when themselues confesse, that the acts of the Popes Legate, are not of binding force, vnlesse he ratifie them, for that sometime, as in the deposition of *Ignatius*, & setting vp of *Photius*, they may go against his instructions.

This

This I do the rather insist vpon, for that the vnion agreed on in this Councell, and consented vnto by these Vicegerents, was disliked by the Bishops that remained at home, and so could be of no force; they that were sent, having no commission to discusse or determine any other points of difference, but that touching the proceeding of the holy Ghost; and yet aduenturing of themselues, to define and determine some other very important controuersies.

But to let this passe, these two Councels of *Florence* and *Constance* are ill matched by this author, For they agree no better together then fire and water; the one of them defining, that the Pope is head of the whole vniuersall church; and the other making him only head ouer particular churches, but subiect to the whole vniuersal church, and a general Councell representing the same.

Wherupon [f] *Caietane* denyeth it to be a general Councell, and others say, it was a generall Councel, but partly approued, and partly reiected. And doubtlesse, howsoeuer this author make shew to the contrary, yet hee knoweth right well, that this Councel did more aduantage our cause, and shake the Papacy, in making the Popes, as men, subiect to errour, and vile disorders, inferiour to general Councels, then it helpeth them, or hurteth vs, by disliking and condemning some positions of *Wickliffe*, partially and corruptly gathered out of his writings by his aduersaries, and taken in the worst sense, which were so vttered by him, as being rightly vnderstood, might haue a good and catholique meaning, as *Gerson* testifieth.

[f] *Cited ab Andrad. ibid.*

And therefore if it were granted, that it was a lawfull generall Councell, yet it followeth not, that I must acknowledge *Romish* religion to be true in all points, seeing it is pronounced false by this Councell in the chiefest, and most principall of all other, which is touching the supreme commanding power of the Pope ouer the whole vniuersall church, and his infallible iudgement, from which no man may appeale.

But such is my infelicity, that I must be forced to acknowledge, that *Romish* religion is true in all points, though this Councell define the contrary. His words are: *This of necessity Doctor* Field *with his Protestants must acknowledge, or freely by their recited doctrine confesse, that there neither is nor can be hereafter, by his Rules, any true and certaine Scripture, tradition, or religion in the world.*

A hard case, and ill choyce, if we must needes runne into one of these extremities, either to acknowledge that our whole religion is false, or that there is no certaine Scripture, tradition or religion in the world. But though the Sea be before vs, and *Pharaoh* and the *Ægyptians* behinde vs, yet I hope we shall neither fall into the hands of the one, nor be swallowed vp of the gulfes of the other.

Let vs see therefore, whether our danger be so great as he would make

vs beleeue. If, saith he, *we neither haue Scripture, exposition of the difficulties of it, nor tradition, but by tradition, as Doctor* Field *hath granted, and those onely three rules to know them: if those rules may propose vnto vs false Scripture, false expositions of their obscurities, and false traditions in matters of faith, faith cannot bee certaine, and the religion grounded vpon it is ouerthrowne.*

If this be all, I hope the worst is past; for if I should grant, as hee maketh me absurdly to doe, that wee haue neither Scripture nor tradition, but by tradition; yet cannot those rules I assigne to know true traditions by, propose vnto vs false Scriptures or traditions. For what are they, but the constant practise of the whole Christian church from the beginning, the consent of the most famous learned in al ages, or at least in diuers ages, no man contradicting or doubting, and the constant testimony of the Pastors of Apostolicall churches, from their first establishment successiuely witnessing the same things?

Indeed if these rules could propose vnto vs false traditions, false Scriptures, or expositions of the difficulties thereof, our faith could not be certaine, and all religion were ouerthrowne; but neither he, nor all the Diuels in hell shall euer force vs to acknowledge any such thing, neither is there any point of *Romish* superstition proued by any such traditions, as are found to bee true traditions by these rules. But, will some man say, doth he make no shew of proofe, that we acknowledge these rules may propose vnto vs false traditions, false Scriptures, and expositions of the difficulties in them? Doubtlesse he doth. For thus he concludeth very terribly against vs. *The testimonie and iudgment of the Patriarches or Bishops of Apostolical Seas, is one of the rules assigned to know true traditions by: but wee acknowledge that the Patriarches of Apostolicke Seas did erre in the Councell of* Florence, *and propose vnto vs false exposition of Scripture; therfore we must confesse whether wee will or not, that the rules wee assigne may propose vnto vs false Scriptures, and false expositions of Scripture.*

Vnto this concluding argument, wherein the force of the whole chapter lyeth, we answer briefly and peremptorily. First, that the maior proposition is most false, as hee well knoweth; for I neuer make the iudgement and opinion of the present Bishops of Apostolicall churches, to be the rule to know true traditions by: but deny it, and professe the contrary against the Papists, and make onely the testimony of the Pastors of Apostolicall churches, successiuely from the beginning witnessing the same things, to be a rule in this kinde. Secondly, that the Patriarches of the Apostolicke Seas, he speaketh of, were not at the councel of *Florence* in their owne persons, but had others to supply their places, whose proceedings they disclaimed, and voyded whatsoeuer they did in their names, because they presumed to discusse and determine diuers matters of controuersie without directions and instructions from them.

But

But howsoeuer we thinke of the proceedings in this Councell, yet he saith, no Protestant church can shew any such authority for their cause, as that of the Councels of *Florence*, *Constance*, and *Trent*.

It had bene well if he had bene better aduised before hee had so much disenabled vs: for hee shall finde that we can and will shew farre greater authoritie for our cause then the late Councels of *Florence*, *Constance*, and *Trent*, and that in the weightiest points of all other. For did not the Bishops in the great Councel of *Chalcedon*, professe openly, that the reason why the Fathers gaue the prœminence to the Bishop of *Rome*, was the greatnesse of his citty, being the seat of the Emperours, and that they thought it fit to giue equal priuiledges to the Bishop of *Constantinople* for the same cause, seeing it was become the seate of the Emperours, and named new *Rome*? Did not the 6. generall Councell in *Trullo* confirme the same parity of the B. of *Constantinople* with the B. of *Rome*? and doe not the decrees of these two Councels shake in peeces the whole frame and fabricke of the Papacy? Did not the second, fourth, and sixth Councels, &c. make the B. of *Constantinople* a Patriarch, and set him in degree of honour before the other two of *Alexandria* and *Antioche*, notwithstanding the resistance of the *Romane* Bishops, and their claime from *Peter*? Did not the sixth generall Councell blame the Church of *Rome* for sundry things, and particularly among other, for forcing married men entring into the orders of ministery, to forsake the matrimoniall society of their wiues? Did not the Councell of *Nice* referre both Bishops and other inferiour clergy-men to be ordered by their owne Metropolitanes, and the [h] Councels of *Africa* thereupon condemne appeales to *Rome*? Did not the Councell of *Eliberis* forbid the lighting of tapers in the Cæmiteries, or places of buriall, to the disquieting of the spirits of the Saints departed? and did it not abolish those pernoctations in the places of buriall, which *Hierome* vrged so violently against *Vigilantius*, and forbid the hauing of any pictures in churches: *Ne quod colitur, aut adoratur, in parietibus depingatur*? Doth not the Canon of the Apostles prescribe, that all the faithfull that come together in the church, and communicate not in the Sacrament, shall be excommunicate, which also the Councell of *Antioche* reuiueth, and confirmeth? Doth not *Gelasius* command all them to be excommunicated, that receiuing the Sacrament of the Lords body, abstaine from the participation of the cuppe? Did not the church of *Rome* thinke it so farre necessary that the people should communicate in both kindes, that *Ordo Romanus* prescribeth on good Friday, when they consecrate not, but receiue that which was reserued being consecrated the day before, they should take wine & consecrate it by putting or dipping the body of the Lord into it, with pronouncing the Lords prayer, that so the people might receiue the whole Sacrament? and yet now the halfe communion is sufficient.

[h] *Conci. Carthag. 6. & 7. cap. 105. epist Concil. ad Celestinum.*

Did not the *Milevitane* and *Transcane* Councels condemne those errours touching the strength of nature, and power of free-will to performe the workes of vertue, without assistance of speciall grace which since haue been received in the *Romane* Schooles, as if they had been catholicke verities.

The like might be shewed in many other particulars, but these may suffice. Wherefore let vs proceede to his eighth chapter.

Chap. 8.

IN this chapter, first, hee sheweth that generall Councels are of highest authority in the Church of God; and secondly, laboreth to proue that they testifie for *Romish* Religion. To proue that Councels are of highest authority in the Church of God, which no man denieth, hee produceth the testimonies of the Bishop of *Winchester*, Doctor *Morton*, the Protestant Relator of religion, and Doctor *Sutcliffe*. And lastly addeth, that I am clearely of the same opinion, assuring all men, that the interpretations of Scripture proposed by priuate men, are not so proposed and vrged by them, as if they would bind all others to receiue them, & that none but Bishops assembled in a generall Councell may interprete Scriptures, in such sort, as by their authority to suppresse all them that gaine-say such interpretations. For so are my words, which he hath altered to make men think I allow none in any sort to interprete Scriptures, but generall Councels, wherein he wrongeth me, as he well knoweth, seeing I professe the contrary, euen in the place cited by him.

This allegation of my words might haue bene spared, seeing there was neuer any man doubted of the truth of that, for proofe whereof hee alledgeth them.

Wherefore let vs come to his second part, wherein he endeuoureth to shew, that generall Councels make for the *Romish* religion: this hee proueth, because, when Protestants deny the authority of generall Councels, they haue no excuse, but because they were called by the Popes authority. So, saith he, Doctor *Field*, Doctor *Sutcliffe*, M. *Willet*, and the rest.

Surely it is a most shameleſſe kind of dealing to charge men with that they neuer thought, spake, nor wrote; yet so doth the honest man vse me in this place, & therefore citeth neither booke nor page, as he is wont to do, but sendeth his reader to seeke that which he shall neuer find. For I neuer denied the authority of any Councell, onely because it was called by the Pope, as hee vntruly reporteth: so that it is vaine & foolish that hee vrgeth, that in so doing I contradict my selfe, in that the rules assigned by me to know true traditions, as the testimonie of the Pastors of Apostolicall churches from the beginning, the practise and consent of holy Fathers,

do

do warrant vs, that that priuiledge euer belonged to the Sea of *Rome*, that without the consent thereof, no councel could be called, none confirmed.

For the clearing of this point, touching the calling, and confirming of councels, we must note, that they are of diuerse sorts; some Diocesan, holden by each Bishop in his diocese; some Prouinciall, consisting of the Bishops of a Prouince called together, or at least moderated by the Metropolitane; some Patriarchicall, consisting of the Metropolitanes and Bishops of diuerse prouinces vnder one Patriarche; and some Oecumenicall, consisting of all the Bishops in the world.

The canon he speaketh of, must be vnderstood of Oecumenicall councels onely, wherein things concerning the faith and state of the whole Catholique church are handled, for otherwise each Bishop might hold a Diocesan Synode, each Metropolitane a Prouinciall, and each Patriarche a Patriarchicall, without requiring the consent of the Bishop of *Rome*: wherefore let vs see how, and in what sort the consent of the Bishop of *Rome* was required to the holding of generall councels, and to what purpose his confirmation of their decrees was sought. Cardinall *Cusanus* handleth this matter excellently well, shewing at large, that the meaning of the canon of the primitiue church was not to giue any such absolut eneffe to the Bishop of *Rome*, that his negatiue should dash all, or his affirmatiue establish what he pleaseth, without the consent and approbation of the rest, but that being one of the prime Patriarches, and chiefe Bishops of the Christian church, nothing should be concluded without seeking, requiring, and expecting his presence, ioynt deliberation, and consent: which is not to be maruelled at, seeing no generall councell can be of force, wherein the meanest Bishop in the world is purposely neglected, or refused, offering himselfe to such deliberation. As no chapter act can be good, wherein any one hauing voyce in chapter, is neglected or excluded, though when he is present, or at least called, and not excluded nor neglected, things may passe, though he say no: euen so in like sort in a generall councell, though no such assembly be lawful and of force, wherein the Bishop of *Rome* is neglected, or his ioynt deliberation and consent not sought; yet a man is rather to adhere to the Fathers in such a meeting consenting together, then to the person of the Pope contradicting or refusing to assent to that they resolue on; as not onely those papists do thinke, that teach the Pope may erre, and is inferior to generall councels in the power of iurisdiction, but they also that are opposite to them in iudgement, as [k] *Andradius* sheweth out of Cardinall *Turrecremata*, who professeth, that a man should rather assent to the consenting voice of the Fathers assembled in a generall councell, then to the person of the Pope dissenting from them, or refusing to confirme and ratifie that they agree vpon; and that in the power of discretiue iudgement the councell is greater then the Pope.

i *Concord. Cath. lib. 2. cap. 35.*

k *Defens. fid. Trident. lib. 2.*

Besides this, we are to obserue, that when the canon prouided, no Councell should be holden, and be of force without the Bishop of *Rome*, the meaning of it was not precisely in respect of his person, but of him, and the Metropolitanes and Bishops of the West prouinces subiect to him as Patriarche of the West, who were a great and principall part of the Christian church. For the maner was when a generall councell was to be holden in the East, as all the general councels that haue bene were, that the Bishop of *Rome* as Patriarch of the West, should impart the occasions of such a general meeting in councel to the seuerall Metropolitanes subiect vnto him, and they calling their Bishops together in their seuerall prouinces, should send whom they thought fit to the same generall meeting, with such directions, and resolutions, as it pleased them; and as[1] Cardinall *Bellarmine* hath rightly obserued, it was inough if many Bishops of the East meeting and comming together, some few came out of the West; yea sometimes, though none at all came, as appeareth by the second generall councell holden at *Constantinople*, if the resolutions which the Bishop of *Rome* sent as agreed on in the seuerall Synodes subiect to him, as Patriarch, and the determinations of the Bishops and Fathers assembled, concurred and consented. And this doubtlesse was the reason why the confirmation of the Bishop of *Rome* with his Westerne Synodes, was required for the ratifying of generall councels, because neuer being present in person, and very few or none of his Bishops being at those councels, it was necessarie they should confirme and ratifie what the rest in councell debated, discussed, and resolued on by testifying their assent. For what could passe currantly as an act of a generall councell, whereunto a great and principall part of the Christian world consented not? So that it was not the Popes personall confirmation that was desired in ancient times, as if all the Bishops in the world might erre, and the certaintie of truth rested in him onely, as some men now teach; but the consent of those Bishops that were subiect to him as Patriarch of the West, as well as his owne; who being absent were to ratifie, strengthen and confirme the determinations of them that were present, not as beeing more infallible in iudgement then they, but by a ioynt concurrence, and agreement. This is all that can be proued out of the consent of Fathers, Historians, and practise of former times; and therefore this man doth but trifle in this as in the rest. Wherefore to conclude this matter touching councels, I dare vndertake to proue, that Papists deny and reiect more councels then any of our Diuines do. Touching the right of calling councels, and in what cases they may be called without the consent of the Bishop of *Rome*, without any breach of the canon alleaged, I haue shewed my opinion in the fifth booke of the Church. And therefore seeing the Author of these proofes proceedeth no farther in alleaging any thing out of that which I haue written, I will here leaue him, not doubting but others whom he hath

1 *De Concil. et Ecclesia, l. 1. c. 17. In Concil. 2. et 3. nulli fuerunt ex occidente, sed Damasus & Celestinus concilia illa confirmarunt nomine suo & aliorum Episcoporum, quos ipse Romæ Collegerant. Constantinus pro 6. Concilio scribit ad Agathonem vt mittat tres personas de sua, Ecclesia, et 12. Metropolitanos de suo concilio. Agatho rescribit, cum vniuersis Synodis subiacentibus Concilio Apostolicæ Sedis.*

hath wronged will make him know he hath dealt no better with them, then he hath with me; and that therefore the plausible conclusion he maketh in the end, of it selfe falleth to the ground, the premises vpon which it should stay it selfe, being taken away. For we neither acknowledge, that Papists holding the infallibilitie of the Popes iudgement, the vniuersalitie of his iurisdiction, and power to dispose the kingdomes of the world; beleeuing Free-will, to performe and do the actions of vertue, without assistance of speciall grace; perfection of inherent righteousnes, satisfactions, merit of condignitie, propitiatorie sacrifice of the Masse, and the like, can euer be saued so liuing and dying; nor that the present *Romane* church is the true church of Christ, nor that the preeminence they now giue to the Pope, was either claimed or practised ouer the whole church, from S. *Peter* to these our dayes, as this nameless and shameless Author saith we do: nor that all the bookes which the *Romane* church now receiueth for canonicall Scriptures were deliuered for such by the Apostles, or receiued for such by the church; nor that the true and best translations of holy Scripture, with the lawfull supreme binding exposition of them together with Apostolicall traditions, generall councels, or primitiue Fathers giue any testimony that the present *Romane* church is that company of holy ones, that household of faith, that Spouse of Christ, and church of the liuing God, which is so diligently to be sought after; whose communion we must embrace, whose directions we must follow, and in whose iudgement we must rest; but contrariwise we are well assured all these do witnesse against her, that she is an erring heretical, and apostaticall church; that she hath forsaken her first faith, departed from her primitiue sinceritie, plunged those that adhere vnto her into many grosse and damnable errors, and defiled her selfe with intolerable superstition and idolatrie, so that as well in respect of her errours in faith, superstition and idolatry in diuine worship, as of her slanderous, treacherous, bloudy, and most horrible and hellish practises, to ouerthrow and destroy all that do but open their mouthes against her abhominations, we may iustly account her to be the Synagogue of Sathan, the faction of Antichrist, and that *Babylon* out of which we must flie, vnlesse we will be partakers of her plagues.

FINIS.

